THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, AS WELL Eccleſiaſtical as Civil.

BY

Mr. DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

VOL. XII.

CONTAINING

The latter Part of the Reign of CHARLES I; from the ſetting up of his Standard at *Nottingham* in *Auguſt* 1642, to his Death in *January* 1648-9.

Done into *ENGLISH* from the *FRENCH*, with large and uſeful NOTES mark'd with an *, by N. TINDAL, *A. M. Vicar of* Great-Waltham *in* Eſſex.

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TO THE

READER.

MR. DE RAPIN THOYRAS's Method in Writing the Hiſtory of King *Charles the Firſt*, obliging him to inſert at length, abundance of *Declarations*, *Treaties*, *Letters*, *Speeches*, and other *Original Papers*, with the Subſtance of many more, this and the two foregoing Volumes may very juſtly be ſaid to be leſs a *Tranſlation* than the *French* it ſelf. And here it may be obſerved, that when a Foreigner, who is equal to the Work, undertakes to write in his own Tongue the Hiſtory of any Nation, though he bids fair to do it with greater Impartiality than a Native, and

though his Hiſtory may be the beſt digeſted of any extant, as is certainly the Caſe of *Rapin*'s, yet is it hardly poſſible for the Author to avoid being guilty of numberleſs little Miſtakes and Blunders.

For this Reaſon, it muſt not be thought ſtrange, that in many Places of this Reign the *Tranſlation* differs from the *French*, particularly where the Subſtance of *Original Papers* is given; but however great Care has been taken on ſuch Occaſions, faithfully to inſert the very Words of *Ruſhworth*, or of whatever Author is quoted. By which means Multitudes of Errors are corrected, and many Notes to that purpoſe avoided.

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK XXI.

Containing the Third and Laſt Part of the Reign of CHARLES I.



THE King had imagined that the ſetting up of his Standard would draw great Numbers of People to *Nottingham*, who would come and offer him their Service: But he found himſelf very much out in his Reckoning. He had with him but three Hundred Foot, and ſome Trained-Bands drawn together by the Sheriff * of the County. His Cavalry conſiſted only of eight Hundred Horſe, and his Artillery was not yet come from *York*, from whence it was difficult to bring it, many Things being wanting to prepare and form it for marching, and beſides

CHARLES I. 1642. Aug. *Condition of the King at* Nottingham.

* Sir *John Digby.*

1642. there were not Foot enough levied to guard it. Nevertheless, as he had given out abundance of Commissions, and ordered his Forces to repair to *Nottingham*, he expected them in that Town, though not without Danger, the Parliament having at *Coventry* a Body of five Thousand Foot, and fifteen Hundred Horse. Thus the King was in a very sad State before the War was well begun. He had appointed *Robert Bartu* Earl of *Lindsey* for General; but he had yet no Army. The Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice* his Nephews, Brothers of the Elector *Palatine*, being come to offer him their Service in the beginning of *September*, he made the first General of his Horse, which were quartered at *Leicester*, whither the Prince went and took upon him the Command.

He is in great Danger.

The King it is certain was in extreme Danger at *Nottingham*. That Town was not in Condition to hold out long, and the King having hardly any Forces, if the Parliament's Troops who were within Twenty Miles of the Place, had marched directly to him, he must have been forced to retire with Dishonour to *York*, unless he would have run the hazard of being made Prisoner. All those about him saw the Danger, being so evident; but it was no easy Matter to avoid it, without quitting *Nottingham*, which could not but be very prejudicial to him. For this Reason it was moved in the Council to send a Message to both Houses, with some Overture to incline them to a Treaty. The Intent of this Proposition was doubtless to give the King to understand that his Affairs were in such a Situation, that nothing but a Peace could free him from the Perplexity and Danger he was exposed to. But the Mover of this Advice could hardly think that a bare Offer of Peace was able to effect it, after what had passed before the Rupture. It is therefore very likely, his Design was that in proposing a Peace, something more should be tendered than what had been offered before. The King easily perceived what was hinted,

His Council advise him to propose a Peace.

The King refuses.

Clar. II. p. 7.

and

and was ſo offended at it, that he broke up the Council that it might be no farther urged. 1642.

He is adviſed to propoſe a Peace, upon the likelihood of its being rejected.

Nevertheleſs the next Day the ſame Motion was renewed, but under a different View. As it was found no doubt that what had offended the King, was the plain meaning of propoſing a Peace, namely, that his Majeſty muſt depart from ſome one of his Pretenſions, Care was taken to remove this hateful Meaning, and it was adviſed only to ſend a Meſſage to both Houſes in order to gain Time. The King was ſtill againſt it, alledging, to propoſe a Peace in ſuch a Juncture, would be diſcovering his Weakneſs too much: That his Enemies would reject the Offer with Inſolence, and nothing but Diſhonour would thereby accrue to himſelf. But it was repreſented to him that ſuch a Meſſage might do Good, and could do no Harm. That indeed, both Houſes it was likely, would reject the Offer, but then they would render themſelves odious to the People, who were deſirous of Peace, and who would be the more inclined to ſerve his Majeſty for his Endeavours to procure it. That if the Overture was accepted, the King would have an Opportunity of evidently ſhowing he had undertaken the War purely in his own Defenſe. In fine, that the bare Offer of Peace would of Courſe retard the Preparations of the Parliament, becauſe Men's Minds would be in ſuſpenſe, whilſt the King's Levies might be continued by virtue of the Commiſſions already ſent out.

Reaſons to back the Advice.

He yields to it.

The King yielded to theſe Reaſons, becauſe the Thing was not to offer any new Conditions, but only to lay a Snare for the Parliament, and retard their Preparations. This was the ſole Motive of the Meſſage, wherein, as we ſhall ſee preſently, the King propoſed nothing new, and which however he would have afterwards to be looked upon as an evident Sign of his ſincere Deſire of Peace. But though ſome pretend that his Majeſty's Meſſage, and the Parliament's Refuſal contributed very much to promote the King's Levies, and undeceive the People of the good Opi-

1642. nion they had of the Intentions of both Houſes, I can never believe that ſuch weak Reaſons were able to produce ſo great Effects. It is true, if by *the People*, is meant only thoſe who were devoted to the King, it is not unlikely that the Refuſal of Peace might render the Parliament odious to them, and promote their taking up Arms for the King. But if by *the People*, be underſtood the Parliament's Party, or rather all the People in general, and without Diſtinction, it is not eaſy to conceive how the Refuſal of a bare Propoſition, without any Thing new in it could produce ſuch an Effect *. The People, no doubt, wiſhed for Peace rather than War. But they would have a ſolid Peace, ſupported by other Foundations than the King's bare Word, and not a Peace in general, ſuch as his Majeſty propoſed. They had already rejected ſuch a kind of Peace; and upon this Senſe of the Nation it was that the Parliament's whole Authority was founded. This was no new Thing: The Matter had been long diſputed without coming to any Concluſion. How therefore could the bare propoſing to treat, without any particular Offer, cauſe the People ſo very much to ſide with the King, and render the Parliament the more odious, if they rejected? And yet upon this Foundation the King conſtantly built, after the beginning of the War, as will be ſeen in the Sequel. The ſecond Reaſon was wholly founded on the Prejudices of the Privy-Counſellors. For ſuppoſing the Negotiation had been actually ſet on Foot, by what freſh Evidence would the

Remark on the foregoing Reaſons.

* It is judiciouſly obſerved by a modern Author, That thoſe on whom the Parliament's Repreſentations prevailed, were generally People of the Midland Counties, and the Traders in the ſouthern Parts of the Kingdom, who had ſmarted moſt by the Arbitrary Acts of Power, ſuch as Seizures of Goods, Proſecutions for Ship-Money, Loans, Tunnage and Poundage, illegal Impriſonment, *&c.* Thoſe on whom the King's Repreſentations prevailed, were generally his Subjects in the fartheſt Parts of the Nation, in *Wales*, *Cornwal*, *Cumberland*, &c. who were the leaſt ſenſible, and had beent he leaſt afflicted with the late Preſſures and Sufferings after the King's departing from the known Laws.

the King have been able to demonſtrate that the War was only defenſive on his Part, ſince he had already alledged all that could be ſaid on that Subject, and ſince his *Papers* were publiſhed? The Third Reaſon had ſcarce any more Strength. For if the bare Overture of a Treaty was capable of keeping People in ſuſpence, and retarding the Parliament's Levies, it might alſo have the ſame Effect with regard to the King's. But the Counſellors took it for granted, that his Majeſty's Levies would be continued with vigour, whilſt the Parliament's Preparations would be at a ſtand: That is to ſay, the Parliament's Friends would fall into the Snare, whilſt care ſhould be taken privately to warn the King's to avoid it. Nothing is a clearer Evidence, with what Motive they adviſed the King to ſend this Meſſage to the Parliament. 1642.

Be this as it will, the Meſſage was ſent the 25th of *Auguſt*, Three Days * after the ſetting up of the Standard, by the Hands of the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *John Culpepper*, and ſome others. *1

The King's Meſſage to both Houſes of Parliament. Ruſh. IV. p. 784. Aug. 25.

He therein propounded to both Houſes, "That "ſome Perſons might be by them enabled to treat "with the like Number authorized by him, in ſuch "a Manner, and with ſuch Freedom of Debate, as "might beſt tend to the Peace of the Kingdom. "And he aſſured them, that nothing ſhould be "wanting on his part, which might advance the "Proteſtant Religion, oppoſe Popery, ſecure the "Laws of the Land, and confirm all juſt Power "and Privileges of Parliament. If this Propoſition "ſhould be rejected, he proteſted he had done his "Duty ſo amply, that God would abſolve him from "any of the Guilt of that Blood which muſt be "ſpilt."

* This ſuppoſes the Standard was ſet up the 22d of *Auguſt*, as indeed *Whitlock* and *Ruſhworth* both ſay. Though *Rapin*, after the Lord *Clarendon*, ſaid it was erected the 25th. *See* Vol XI. *p. ult.*

*1 The Earl of *Dorſet*, and Sir *William Uvedal*, Knight.

1642. *The King's Deputies ill received*

As the War was sufficiently proclaimed by the setting up of the Standard, the King, one would think, should have demanded a Safe-Conduct for his Deputies. But though he had neglected to take this Precaution, they pretended, on what Grounds I know not, to go and sit in their Places, each in the House they belonged to, without any previous Notice *. The Lords, offended at the Earl of *Southampton*'s Boldness, called upon him to withdraw, and ordered him to send in his Message in Writing, and wait for an Answer out of *London*. The *Commons* also obliged *Culpepper* to deliver his Message at the Bar, at which the King took great Offence.

The Parliament's Answer.

The Answer of both Houses to his Majesty's Message was (*a*): "That notwithstanding their Endea-
"vours to prevent the distracted Estate of the
"Kingdom, nothing had followed but Proclamati-
"ons and Declarations against both Houses of Par-
"liament, whereby their Actions were declared
"Treasonable, and their Persons Traitors. So that
"until those Proclamations were recalled, and the
"Standard taken down, they could not by the fun-
"damental Privileges of Parliament give his Ma-
"jesty any other Answer to his Message."

The King's Messengers being returned to *Nottingham* with this Answer, *His Majesty*, says the Lord *Clarendon*, *was contented to make so much farther use of their Pride and Passion, as to give them occasion by another Message to publish more of it to the People.* It is easy to judge from hence, whether the King's real Motive was a sincere Desire of Peace, seeing his Messages were intended only to render the Parliament odious. He said in this, "That he never de-
"signed to declare both Houses of Parliament
'Traitors,

Vol III. p. 12.

The King's 2d Message Sept. 1.

* Sir *John Culpepper*, by reason of the Penalty of a Hundred Pound to be paid by all Members who were not at the House by such a Day, did not take his Place, but sent in for leave, which was denied him.

(*a*) August 28.

" Traitors, or ſet up his Standard againſt them, and " much leſs to put them and the Kingdom out of " his Protection; he utterly profeſſed againſt it be- " fore God and the World. But he promiſed, that " if a Day were but appointed by them for the re- " voking of their Declarations againſt all Perſons as " Traitors or otherwiſe for aſſiſting him, he would, " with all Chearfulneſs, upon the ſame Day recall " his Proclamations and Declarations, and take " down his Standard." 1642.

One may obſerve in this Meſſage, as in all his other *Papers*, the Genius and Character of *Charles* I. It was his way continually to make uſe of obſcure Expreſſions, the Interpretation whereof he reſerved to himſelf. It is true, he had not in expreſs Terms declared both Houſes Traitors: but he did not refrain calling their Members ſo, as the Earl of *Eſſex* and others. Thus, according to his way of reaſoning, thoſe that executed the Orders of both Houſes were Traitors and Rebels, though the Houſes themſelves were not ſo. It may be affirmed, that thoſe kinds of little Artifices were one of the principal Cauſes of this Prince's Misfortunes, by reaſon of their making him forfeit the Truſt and Confidence of his Subjects. They inſpired the Parliament with a perpetual Jealouſy of being intangled by Treaties, wherein it would have been impoſſible to avoid this ſort of ambiguous Expreſſions.

The Anſwer of both Houſes. Sept. 16.

The two Houſes replied, " That his Majeſty not " having taken down his Standard, recalled his Pro- " clamations and Declarations, whereby he had de- " clared the Actions of both Houſes of Parliament " to be Treaſonable, and their Perſons Traitors, " and having publiſhed the ſame ſince his Meſſage " of the 25th of *Auguſt*, they could not recede " from their former Anſwer. That if his Majeſty " would recall his Declarations, and return to his " Parliament, he ſhould find ſenſible Proofs of their " Fidelities and Duties, *&c.* That they could never

1642. "allow themselves, representing likewise the whole "Kingdom, to be ballanced with those who gave "evil Counsels to his Majesty."

Rush. V. p. 2. Mean while, both Houses perceiving that the King's Aim was to keep People in suspense by an uncertain Expectation of Peace, published a Declaration, protesting they would never lay down their Arms till his Majesty had left the Delinquents to the Justice of the Parliament.

The King's 3d Message The King, on his Part, failed not, pursuant to his Purpose, to make use of the Answers of both Houses to his two Messages, in a Third which he sent to them, saying, "That let all the World judge who "had used most Endeavours to prevent the present "Distractions, either he who had condescended to "desire and press it, or the two Houses, who had Sept. 11. "refused to enter into a Negotiation. That for the Rush. V. "future, if they desired a Treaty of him, he should p. 2. "remember that the Blood which was to be spilt in "this Quarrel was that of his Subjects, and there- "fore would return to his Parliament as soon as the "Causes which had made him absent himself from it "should be removed."

Both Houses finding the King's Intent was to render their Refusal to treat odious to the People, returned a more home and particular Answer to this Message than those they had made to the two first. The Substance whereof was as follows:

The Parliament's Reply. Rush. V. p. 3. "That at the very time his Majesty propounded "a Treaty, his Soldiers were committing numberless "Oppressions and Rapines.

"That they could not think his Majesty had done "all that in him lay to remove the present Distrac- "tions, as long as he would admit of no Peace, "without securing the Authors and Instruments of "these Mischiefs from Justice.

"That

" That they beſought his Majeſty to conſider his 1642
" Expreſſions, *That God ſhould deal with him and his*
" *Poſterity, as he deſired the Preſervation of the juſt*
" *Rights of Parliament.* That nevertheleſs, his In-
" tention was to deny the Parliament the Privilege of
" declaring to be Delinquents thoſe they deemed
" ſuch, a Privilege which belonged to the meaneſt
" Court of Juſtice in the Kingdom.

" That his Majeſty had no cauſe to complain that
" he was denied a Treaty, when they offered all that
" a Treaty could produce, *Security*, *Honour*, *Service*,
" *Obedience*, *Support*, and ſought nothing but that
" their Religion and Liberty might be ſcreened from
" the open Violence of a wicked Party.

" That if there were any Cauſe of Treaty, *they*
" *knew no competent Perſon to treat betwixt the King*
" *and the Parliament.*

" That beſides, the Seaſon was altogether unfit,
" whilſt his Majeſty's Standard was up, his Procla-
" mations and Declarations recalled, whereby his
" Parliament was charged with Treaſon.

" That indeed his Majeſty had often proteſted his
" Tenderneſs of the Miſeries of *Ireland*, and his
" Reſolution to maintain the Proteſtant Religion,
" and the Laws of this Kingdom. But that theſe
" Proteſtations could give no Satisfaction to reaſo-
" nable and indifferent Men, when at the ſame time
" ſeveral of the *Iriſh* Rebels, the known Favourers
" of and Agents for them, were admitted to his Ma-
" jeſty's Preſence with Grace and Favour, nay, ſome
" of them employed in his Service: When the
" Cloaths, Munition, Horſe, bought by his Par-
" liament for the Supply of the *Iriſh* War, were vio-
" lently taken away, and applied to the Maintenance
" of an unnatural War againſt his People.

" That if his Majeſty would be pleaſed to come
" back to his Parliament, they ſhould be ready to
" ſecure his Royal Perſon, Crown and Dignity, with
" their Lives and Fortunes."

The

1642. The King did not let this Answer go without a Reply. But instead of doing it by way of Message, he published a Declaration to this Effect:

The King's Declaration. Sept. 27. Rush. V. p. 5.

" In the first Place, he alledged the Laws in his " Favour.

" He denied that his Soldiers had committed any " Disorders or Violences, and affirmed, he had " never suffered them to oppress any Person whatever.

" He recriminated upon the Parliament. He de- " nied that there were any *Irish* about him, and main- " tained that it was a notorious Calumny, like that " cast upon him heretofore by Mr. *Pym*.

" He said, The Artillery-Horses he had taken at " *Chester* were few in Number, and of small Value. " And for the Cloaths, if his Soldiers had taken any " that were designed for the Service of *Ireland*, it " was done without his Order; and though he might " have seized Three Thousand Suits which were " going thither, yet he refused to do it, and gave " Order for their speedy Transportation.

" That the Parliament made no scruple to em- " ploy in the War against their King a Hundred " Thousand Pounds, particularly appointed for the " Relief of *Ireland*.

" That of near Five Hundred Members, of which " the *Lower-House* consisted, there remained not a- " bove Three Hundred, the rest having been driven " away by Tumults and Threats, or withdrawn " themselves out of Conscience from their desperate " Consultations. That of above a Hundred Peers " there remained but Fifteen or Sixteen in the *Upper-* " *House*.

" That it was not the Body of the Parliament, " but only the violent leading Members that were " the Authors of the War."

I omit several general Assertions which might then be necessary to the King's Designs, but which have been already seen in the foregoing Papers.

During these Paper-Skirmishes, both Sides prepared for War. The Earl of *Essex* having ordered his Forces to assemble at *Northampton*, sate out from *London* the 9th of *September* to go and head the Army; and having reviewed them, he found about Sixteen Thousand Men well armed, and well appointed with a good Train of Artillery. Then the King, perceiving he could stay no longer at *Nottingham* with safety, marched towards the Borders of *Wales* with his Troops, which were yet so few in Number, that they did not deserve the Name of an Army. He was not resolved in what Place to stay and expect the Forces that were to come to him from several Parts: but his Design was to secure, if possible, *Shrewsbury* or *Chester*, without knowing however whether either of these Towns would receive him, the Parliament's Party having been very active and vigilant in those Parts. For this Reason the King did not march very far in a Day. When he came to *Wellington*, about seven Miles from *Shrewsbury* *, he drew his little Army together, and caused his Military Orders for the Discipline thereof to be read before them; which done, he took occasion to make a Speech to his Soldiers, and the better to satisfy them of his good Intentions towards the Publick, he made the following Protestation.

1642. *The Earl of* Essex *heads the Parliament's Army.*

The King marches from Nottingham *towards* Wales. Sept. 16.

I do promise in the Presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his Blessing and Protection, That I will to the utmost of my Power, defend and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Religion established in the Church of England, *and by the Grace of God, in the same will live and die.*

The King's Protestation at the Head of his Army. Sept. 19.

I desire to govern by the known Laws of the Land, and that the Liberty and Property of the Subject may be by them preserved with the same Care as my own just Rights.

* The Author says, *just by Derby*. As there are abundance of these little Geographical Mistakes in the *French*, care will be taken to correct them all in the Translation, without troubling the Reader every time with a Note.

1642. *Rights. And if it please God, by a Blessing upon this Army raised for my necessary Defence, to preserve me from this Rebellion; I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the Sight of God, to maintain the just Privileges and Freedom of Parliament, and to govern by the known Laws of the Land to my utmost Power, and particularly to observe inviolably the Laws consented to by me this Parliament.*

In the mean while, if this Time of War, and the great Necessity and Straits I am now driven to, beget any Violation of those, I hope it shall be imputed by God and Man to the Authors of this War, and not to me, who have so earnestly laboured for the Preservation of the Peace of this Kingdom.

When I willingly fail in these Particulars, I will expect no Aid or Relief from any Man, or Protection from Heaven: But in this Resolution I hope for the chearful Assistance of all good Men, and am confident of God's Blessing.

The King was not contented with making this Protestation to his Army, but moreover in all the considerable Places he passed through, he assembled the Inhabitants, and strove to convince them of the Sincerity of his Intentions. These were necessary Precautions, at a time when the Business was to gain the People to his Side: for on them it was that the Strength of both Parties depended.

He is received at Shrewsbury.

From *Wellington* the King marched to *Shrewsbury*, having received the agreeable News that the Town had declared in his Favour, and the Inhabitants would give him a joyful Reception. Here he resolved to fix his Head-Quarters, and appoint the Rendezvous of his Army. This was a very convenient Place to expect the Troops which were levying for him in *Wales*, *Yorkshire* and *Lancashire*, and to send for his Ordnance, which had not been able to follow him to *Nottingham* for want of Horses. This had forced him to make use of a Hundred Draught-Horses which the Parliament had sent to *Chester* to be transported into *Ireland*.

He seizes some Draught-Horses designed for Ireland. Rush. V. p. 13.

Ireland. He wanted to have the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Conſent, who was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and was then with him at *Nottingham.* But the Earl conſtantly refuſing to give any Orders about theſe Horſes, bought with the Parliament's Money, the King gained one *Errington* a Servant of the Earl's, who went and took them in his Maſter's Name and delivered them to the King *. The Parliament taxed the King with this Buſineſs, as we have ſeen above. 1642.

He borrows the Arms of the Militia.

As for Arms, the King not having a ſufficient Quanty for all the Troops that were to come from divers Parts, had taken the Arms of the *Militia* in all the Places through which he paſſed: But it was by way of Loan; that is to ſay, he obtained the Conſent of the Officers of the *Militia* to take away their Arms on promiſe of reſtoring them. As ſoon as the King came to *Shrewsbury*, the Number of his Troops increaſed to ſuch a Degree, that in a few Days he had an Army of ten Thouſand Foot, and four Thouſand Horſe, with which he was entirely ſecured from the Danger he was in whilſt his Army was forming.

He forms an Army of fourteen Thouſand Men.

The Parliament's Negligence in ſending the Earl his Inſtructions. The Reaſon of it.

It is ſomething ſtrange that the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould neither moleſt the King whilſt at *Nottingham*, nor give him any Diſturbance in his March to *Shrewſbury*. It is likely, if upon his Arrival at *Northampton* he had marched directly againſt him, he would have put him to a ſtand, and perhaps hindered him from ever getting an Army together. This Neglect can be aſcribed only to his not having Power to act directly againſt the King's Perſon till he received his Inſtructions, which he expected every Day, and which came too late. Both Houſes it ſeems, could not believe that the King would be able to be ready ſo ſoon as he was, and imagined that his Inability to raiſe Men and Money would compel him to retire to ſome Corner of the Kingdom, or throw himſelf into their

* The Earl ſays in his Letter, the King gave *Errington* a Warrant to fetch the Horſes, which he executed without his Knowledge or Conſent. See the Letter, *Ruſh.* V. p. 13.

1642. their Arms for Protection. At leaſt this is what they ſtrove to infuſe into the People, for fear of terrifying them with the Notion of a War, the Iſſue whereof might be doubtful. The King made an Advantage of this Miſtake to aſſemble all his Forces at *Shrewsbury*, and provide himſelf with Money, which he was in extreme want of. His Friends at *London* had taken Care of this laſt Article, and privately ſent conſiderable Sums to *Oxford*. Beſides, the Univerſity, which had all along ſtood firmly attached to the King, had been prevailed upon to promiſe to deliver up all the Plate belonging to the Colleges, which was no ſmall Quantity. The Point was only how to convey this Aid ſafely to his Majeſty. To that end the King ſent thither Sir *John Byron* with a ſmall Detachment of Horſe, not daring to give them a ſtronger for fear of raiſing a Suſpicion, that it was for ſome conſiderable Occaſion. *Byron* coming to *Oxford*, received the Money and Plate, and returned back towards *Shrewsbury*, by way of *Worceſter*, taking all poſſible Precautions to avoid being attacked in his March. For this Aid of Money which the King could not be without, was of vaſt Moment to him. For which Reaſon, the better to ſecure it, he Detached Prince *Rupert* with a Body of Horſe, who marched on the other Side of the *Severn* to *Worceſter* in order to ſtay there for *Byron*, and guard him to *Shrewsbury*.

The King raiſes Money ſeveral ways.

The Univerſity of Oxford *give him their Plate.*

The King ſends Byron *to* Oxford.

In the mean Time, the Earl of *Eſſex*, after ſome Days ſtay at *Northampton*, and the ſecuring of *Warwick*, reſolved to go and ſet up his Head Quarters at *Worceſter*. To that Purpoſe, he ſent Colonel *Nathaniel Fiennes* before, who came to *Worceſter* at break of Day, ſome Hours after Sir *John Byron* was got in with his Convoy. *Fiennes* at his Arrival being told that there were ſome of the King's Horſe in the Town, the Number whereof he did not know, retreated in haſte without attempting any Thing. Preſently after Prince *Rupert* arrived, and to ſecure *Byron*'s Convoy, who was reſting himſelf in order to march

A Fight near Worceſter, *wherein Prince* Rupert *had the better.* Sept. 22. Ruſh. V. p. 23.

march on, passed through the Town, and went and posted himself with his Horse at some distance on the other Side. As he did not believe there were any Enemies in those Parts, he was not very careful to hinder many of his Troopers from staying in the Town. When he came to the Place he had pitched upon, he unlighted with his Brother Prince *Maurice*, and most of the Officers, reposing themselves on the Ground. On a sudden they perceived, within Musquet-Shot, five Hundred Horse of the Enemy marching up a narrow Lane. These were a Body commanded by Colonel *Sandys*, whom the Earl of *Essex* had sent before to take Possession of *Worcester*. Prince *Rupert* instantly mounting his Horse, charged these Troops in a Moment, as they came out of the Lane, and the Charge was so vigorous that the Enemy was entirely routed, and *Sandys* slain, with some Thirty of his Men. This Action, of how little Moment soever it was, failed not to inspire the Parliament's Troops with great Terror, chiefly by reason of the Courage and Activity of Prince *Rupert*, who gave them afterwards Cause to be confirmed in the high Opinion they had of his Valour: For he was one of the bravest Princes in *Europe*. But though he had gained some little Advantage on this Occasion, he did not think fit to expect the Enemy at *Worcester*. He went from thence some Hours after, and safely conducted the Convoy of Money to *Shrewsbury*, where the King immediately ordered the Plate to be coined. The next Day, the Earl of *Essex* possessed himself of *Worcester*, and making some stay there, he secured in the mean while, *Hereford*, *Gloucester*, and *Bristol*. 1642.

The Earl of Essex *takes several Places.*

It would doubtless be very strange, that in the Twenty-days stay the King made at *Shrewsbury*, his Army should so mightily increase, if, as some say, this speedy Increase was the Effect of the Parliament's Denial to treat with his Majesty. For so short a Space does not seem sufficient to determine the People to repair to the Places where they were listed,

and

1642. and to conduct these new-raised Troops to *Shrewsbury*. It may at least be affirmed, that it is much less strange, that the King's new Levies, which could not be ready whilst his Majesty was at *Nottingham*, or which did not care to go to a Place so exposed, might be in Condition to march during his stay at *Shrewsbury*, though it was but of Twenty Days, seeing he had issued out his Commissions before he left *York*.

The King marches towards London. However this be, the King finding himself at the Head of an Army little inferiour in Number to the Earl of *Essex*'s, and perceiving it was not enough to remain in quiet at *Shrewsbury*, whilst the Enemy was taking, without Resistance, the principal Towns in the Heart of the Kingdom, believed he ought to find out means to put a speedy Conclusion to the War. There were two: One was to go and fight the Enemies, the other to gain some Days Marches of them, and appear before *London*, before they should be able to arrive. The King took this last Course, in Expectation that he should raise an universal Consternation in *London*, which might afford his Friends Opportunity to serve him effectually. So marching on a sudden, the 12th of *October* with his Army, which was not much incumbered with Baggage, there being not one Tent, and but little Artillery, he quartered that Night at *Bridgenorth*, ten Miles from *Shrewsbury*, next Day he came to *Wolverhampton*, the third Day to *Bromicham*, and the fourth to *Kenelworth*, where he rested one Day. It was two Days before the Earl of *Essex* had notice of his March, and began to follow him. It evidently appears by the Rout the King took, that if he was not in quest of the Enemies, at least he feared them not, since he could not be ignorant how easy it was for the Earl of *Essex* either to put himself in his way, or overtake him. In all likelihood he imagined the Earl would not dare to hazard a Battle, or that being much more incumbered with Baggage and Artillery, his March would be considerably retarded. Be this

Essex follows him.

af

as it will, it was not till the 22d of *October* that the two Armies came within ſix Miles of one another, without having had any notice of each other's March, till that Day, which looks very ſtrange. But what is ſtill more ſo, is that the King, to whom Speed was ſo neceſſary, had advanced no farther in five Days, ſince leaving *Kenelworth* the 17th, he was on the 22d four Miles North of *Banbury*, and that the Earl of *Eſſex*, who went the 15th from *Worceſter*, ſhould be but at *Keinton* the 22d, which is not above twenty Miles. The King, who till then knew not where the Earl of *Eſſex* was, lay incamped near a Village called *Edgcot*, where he had Intelligence the 22d in the Night, that the Enemies were at *Keinton*, about ſix Miles off. He found then it would be too difficult a Task to execute his Deſign upon *London*, with the Enemies ſo cloſe at his Heels: And therefore he reſolved to turn back and give them Battle. To that end, he drew up his Army on *Edge-hill*, from whence might be ſeen all *Keinton*-Plain, where the Parliament's Army ſtood in Battle-Array, the 23d in the Morning. The Fight began not however till Three in the Afternoon. It is not known what induced the King to defer it ſo long*: But for the Earl of *Eſſex* he had a very ſtrong Reaſon not to be in haſte. Not imagining himſelf ſo near a Battle, he had left behind two Thouſand Foot, and five Hundred Horſe, with his Artillery, and conſequently, Delay could not but be advantageous to him. 1642.

Battle of Edge-hill. Oct. 23. Ruſh. V. p. 23.

Prince *Rupert*, who commanded the King's Right Wing of Horſe, marching down the Hill and advancing to charge the Enemies Left Wing, on a ſudden, Sir *Faithful Forteſcue* who commanded a Troop of the Parliament's Horſe, moving forward with his whole Troop from the Groſs of their Cavalry, and joining Prince *Rupert*, with his Highneſs charged

* The Lord *Clarendon* ſays, though the Horſe were ready, the Foot were quartered at ſuch a Diſtance, that many Regiments marched ſeven or eight Miles to the Rendezvous, ſo that it was one a Clock before the King's Forces moved. Vol. III. p. 45.

1642. thoſe he had juſt deſerted *. This unexpected Accident ſtruck the Parliament's Horſe with ſuch a Terror, each Man looking upon his Companion as upon an Enemy, that they were entirely routed, and purſued above two Miles from the Field of Battle. By this unadviſed Purſuit the King was in Danger of the ſame Fate which befel his Predeceſſor *Henry* III, at the Battle of *Lewes*. The Parliament's Left Wing ſtood their Ground no better than the Right. They ran away full Speed, and were purſued with the ſame Fury and Imprudence. What was moreover fatal to the King, was, that a Regiment of Horſe, which ſerved for a Body of Reſerve, thinking the Victory unqueſtionable by the Flight of the Enemies Cavalry, with Spurs and looſe Reins followed the Chace, and could not be kept back by their Commanders.

All this while the Foot of both Armies were engaged without Victory's inclining to either Side. But at laſt, Sir *William Balfour*, to whom the Earl of *Eſſex* had given the Command of the Reſerve, turned the Scale. As ſoon as he ſaw the King's Horſe employed in the Purſuit of the flying Troops, he went and charged the Foot in the Flank, and put them into ſuch Diſorder, that the King with the two Princes his Sons, were in Danger of being made Priſoners. The Earl of *Lindſey*, the King's General, was taken, having been ſhot in the Thigh, of which Wound he died the next Day, and the Standard, which was always near the King's Perſon, was loſt by the Death of the Standard-Bearer [Sir *Edmund Verney*,] but it was recovered aftewards no Body knows how *.

The

* Sir *Faithful Forteſcue* was come from *Ireland* to haſten Supplies, and had a Troop of Horſe raiſed for him for that Service, but his Troop was diſpoſed into the Parliament's Army, and he was now Major to Sir *William Waller*. Clarend. III. p. 47.

*, It was reſcued by Captain *John Smith*, Lieutenant of the Lord *John Steward*'s Troop, newly returned from the Execution of the Runaways. He was knighted for it, and made Standard-Bearer. *Whit. Mem.* p. 61. Ruſh. V. p. 34.

The Return of Prince *Rupert* with his Horſe, prevented the King from being entirely defeated. For *Balfour*, who had only a ſmall Body of Reſerve, ſeeing the Cavalry coming back from the Chace, ſuddenly quitted the Fight, and went and ſcreened himſelf near the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Foot. Had the King and Prince *Rupert* been able to perſwade their Horſe to charge the Parliament's Infantry, who had hardly any Cavalry to ſupport them, very probably they would have put them to rout, and obtained a compleat Victory. But the Horſe that were returned from the Purſuit in extreme Diſorder, could never be brought to charge the Enemies, who ſtood in good Order, though they were in great Danger. As ſoon as the Earl of *Eſſex* ſaw the Enemies Cavalry returning, he had drawn off his Infantry from the Battle, and ranged them in the beſt manner he could, that they might be the better able to ſupport the Charge of the King's Horſe, who, in all appearance, would come and attack them. But it was not his Buſineſs to renew the Fight. It was ſufficient for him to keep his Ground, as he did, till Night which freed him from his Uneaſineſs. 1652.

When the Battle began, there was not above two or three Hours Day left, and as the King's Horſe had ſpent a good while in the Purſuit of the Runaways, and as after their Return, they could not be prevailed with to renew the Fight, it was too late for the King to be able to rally his Infantry who were in great Diſorder, and whereof above two Thirds were miſſing. Both Armies kept their Poſts all Night, but in the Morning neither thought themſelves fit to renew the Battle. It is true the Forces left behind by the Earl of *Eſſex*, arrived with his Artillery. However as he had no other Cavalry but the five Hundred Horſe that were newly come, and the ſmall Body commanded by *Balfour*, he did not think he ought to hazard a ſecond Battle againſt a Body of Cavalry that had been victorious the Day before, and were ſtill facing his Army. The King on his Side, finding

1642. himself without Infantry, and considering that his Troops had suffered very much by the Cold, which had been exceeding sharp that Night, believed it sufficient to let his Enemies see he feared them not. In this State the two Armies faced one another the whole Day, without desiring to come to Blows. At last, the Earl of *Essex* ordering his Baggage to be drawn off, the King withdrew to the Quarters he had taken the Day before the Battle, and the Earl of *Essex* marched towards *Warwick*. The Number of the slain on the Field of Battle was about five Thousand. But what the Earl of *Clarendon* says, that two Days after, the King reviewing his Army, found there were not wanting above three Hundred Men, is hardly credible, even according to his own Description of this Battle. But without dwelling upon the particular Circumstances of the Battle, which were extremely disguised or exaggerated by both Parties, who equally claimed the Victory, the Consequences demonstrate, that they might have owned more justly, that each had been worsted *. The King went from *Shrewsbury* with Design to make an Attempt upon *London*; but after the Battle, he laid aside that Thought, though the Road to *London* was open, and believed it best to retire to *Oxford*. On the other Side, the Earl of *Essex* marches after the King to prevent his going to *London*, but after the Battle leaves the way open to him, and retiring to *Warwick*, puts it out of his Power to hinder or stop him. I believe this is enough to show that this Battle was an interchanged Thrust, which afforded no real Matter of Triumph either to the King or the

Vol. III. p. 57.

* In this Battle were killed on the King's Side, the Earl of *Lindsey*, the Lord *Stewart*, the Lord *Aubigney*, Son to the Duke of *Lenox*, Sir *Edmund Verney*, &c. On the Parliament's Side, perished the Lord *St. John of Bletzo*, and Colonel *Charles Essex*. The Lord *Willoughby* was taken Prisoner in endeavouring to rescue his Father the Earl of *Lindsey*. Upon the News of this Battle (says *Whitlock*, p. 61.) all Countries were alarmed and frighted, being a strange Thing in *England*.

the Parliament. Indeed, three or four Days after the Battle, the King took *Banbury*-Caſtle, where was a Garriſon of eight Hundred Foot, and a Troop of Horſe. But if the Circumſtances of taking this Place be well conſidered, it will be found that it was far from being a Conſequence or Effect of Victory. For firſt, the King ſummoned the Caſtle, contrary to the Opinion of all his Generals, who believed his Army little able to undertake this Siege. Secondly, he alledged for Reaſon, that he could not determine what to do, till he was informed of the Intentions of the Enemy, and that in Caſe they deſigned to attack him, he could not fight in a Place of more Advantage. From hence may be inferred, that he was not himſelf fully ſatisfied of the reality of his Victory, ſince he imagined the Earl of *Eſſex* in Condition to come and attack him. In ſhort, *Banbury*-Caſtle ſurrendered upon the firſt Shot, which makes it uncertain, whether the King would have perſiſted in the Siege in Caſe of Reſiſtance, and whether the Earl of *Eſſex* would have ſuffered him to do it unmoleſted. The taking of *Banbury* determined the King to withdraw to *Oxford*, the only Place in thoſe Parts at his Devotion, by means of the Univerſity, whoſe Members were extremely attached to his Intereſt. 1642.

Doubtful Iſſue of this Battle.

The King retires to Oxford.

Though the Parliament challenged alſo the Victory, they were very ſenſible they had no great Cauſe to triumph. They were obliged however to make a Parade of this pretended Victory, as if it had been real, that they might croſs the King's Friends who were ſtriving to ſtrike Terror into the *Londoners*, and induce them to ſue for Peace, on account of this pretended Succeſs of his Majeſty's Arms. The King had ſtill a great Number of Friends in the City, there having been yet no Meaſures taken to get rid of them. Nay, in the Parliament itſelf there were not a few who ſtaied there on Purpoſe to do the King Service, when occaſion ſhould offer, and who failed not to make the beſt of the preſent one. The News concerning the Battle of *Edge-Hill* or *Keinton*, being

Great Conſternation in the Parliament.

The King's Friends take occaſion to propoſe a Peace.

1642. very various at first, the King's Friends at *London*, magnified carefully all the Circumstances which might give room to believe that his Majesty was victorious, in order to dispose the People to Peace. For it must be observed, that after the Breach, the King's grand Aim was always to dazzle the People with the specious Term of *Peace*, and never ceased to hope that the Nation would compel the Parliament to come to an Agreement, by leaving him in Possession of all his Prerogatives. This was his favourite Project, from which he never swerved, not even when his Affairs were most prosperous. We shall see hereafter, on sundry Occasions, with what constancy he endeavoured to put the Plan he had formed in Execution. The present Occasion was the first since the beginning of the War. When both Houses had perfect Information of the Success of the late Battle, what publick Demonstrations soever they made to cause the People to believe their Army was victorious, they were very sensible such Victories were little capable to constrain the King to throw himself into their Arms, though the People had been amused with the hopes. Then the King's Well-wishers who were still in the House of Commons, observing the Consternation the Major-part of the Members expressed, grew more bold, and scrupled not to propose a Peace as the only Means to free themselves from Trouble. It is very probable this was done with the King's Consent, who at the same Time was using his utmost Endeavours to perswade the Publick, that he had obtained at *Edge-hill* a compleat Victory.

The Day before the Battle both Houses published a Declaration, of which I shall content my self with relating the Substance: for having given already so many of these kinds of *Papers*, I am afraid I shall tire my Readers if I insert here at large those that follow.

The

1462. *The Parliament's Declaration before the Battle.* Oct. 22. Rush. V. p. 26.

The two Houſes proteſted in the firſt place, "That "no private Paſſion or Reſpect, no evil Intention to "his Majeſty's Perſon, no Deſign to the Prejudice "of his juſt Honour and Authority, engaged them "to raiſe Forces, and take up Arms.

"That his Majeſty had refuſed to receive an hum- "ble and dutiful Petition, which they had directed "the Earl of *Eſſex* to deliver to him.

"That they were fully convinced, that the King "was ſo engaged to the Popiſh Party, that all "Hopes of Peace were excluded.

"That great Numbers of Papiſts had in ſhew con- "formed themſelves to the Proteſtant Religion, in "order to qualify themſelves for Poſts in the King's "Army.

"That his Majeſty endeavoured at firſt to keep "off all Jealouſies and Suſpicions, by many fearful "Oaths and Imprecations, concerning his Purpoſe "of maintaining the Proteſtant Religion, and the "Laws of the Kingdom, cauſing ſome profeſſed "Papiſts to be diſcharged out of his Army, and "none to be received that would not come to Church, "receive the Sacrament, and take the Oaths. But "that afterwards his Confidence in the Prieſts did "more clearly appear: Perſons impriſoned for "Prieſts and Jeſuits having been releaſed out of "the Goal of *Lancaſter*, and Commiſſions granted "to profeſſed Papiſts.

Here Fourteen of them were named.

"That the Lord *Herbert*, Son to the Earl of "*Worceſter*, a notorious Papiſt, was made General "of the King's Troops in all *South-Wales*.

"That thoſe who raiſed Forces for his Majeſty in "the *North* of *England*, did arm and employ Pa- "piſts.

"That Men had been ſent to *Hamburgh* and *Den-* "*mark* to raiſe Forces there, and to bring them over "to join with the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, and the Army "of Papiſts which was intended to be raiſed in *New-* "*caſtle*.

1643. "That the King had received in his Court divers "Papists in *Ireland*; some of which were indicted of "High-Treason for their Rebellion there; namely, "the Lord *Taffe*, &c.

"That divers *English* Traitors were the chief Coun- "sellors and Actors in this unnatural War, as the "Lord *Digby*, *Oneal*, *Wilmot*, *Pollard*, *Ashburn- "ham*, &c.

"That divers Jesuits and Priests in foreign Parts "made great Collections of Money for the Relief of "the Papists in *Ireland*, and the furthering of his "Majesty's Designs against the Parliament.

"For all which Reasons they were resolved to en- "ter into a *solemn Oath* and *Covenant*, and expected "that their Brethren of *Scotland* would help and assist "them, according to the Act of Pacification between "the two Kingdoms."

The King answered this Declaration with two o- thers, which were published after the Battle of *Edge- hill*. In the First he said:

Rush. V. p. 29. "That notwithstanding the solemn Protestation "of both Houses, of having no evil Intention to "his Person, yet they had used their utmost Power, "by the Strength of their Army, to have destroyed "him.

"That if he refused to give Admittance to the "Petition sent by the Earl of *Essex*, it was because "it was sent by Persons whom he had particularly "accused of High-Treason. [*Here he gave a long Account of this whole Matter.*]

"He denies his ever having had any Inclination "to the Papists, or that he had released any Priests "or Jesuits out of the Goal of *Lancaster*.

"He says that the Papists supposed to have Com- "missions were not so much as known to him, and "that they had no Command in his Army.

[*It*

[*It muſt be obſerved upon theſe two laſt Articles, 1ſt, That the Priſoners he had releaſed out of the Goal of* Lancaſter, *had been impriſoned as Papiſts, Prieſts and Jeſuits, but had not been convicted as ſuch. And therefore the King thought he might deny he had releaſed any Prieſts,* &c. 1642.

2dly, The King, when he ſaid there were no Popiſh Officers in his Army, meant by his Army, that which he commanded in Perſon, and the Parliament underſtood that which was commanded by the Earl of Newcaſtle. *It might therefore be true, that the Popiſh Officers commiſſioned by the Earl of* Newcaſtle *were not known to the King. But the Army in the North was as much his Army as that he commanded himſelf.*]

" He expreſsly denied that he ever ſent to raiſe " Forces in *Hamborough* or *Denmark*.

" He affirmed that the Parliament entertained ſe- " veral Papiſts in their Troops, and that of this he " ſpoke knowingly, as having taken ſeveral of them " Priſoners at the Battle of *Edge-hill*."

The ſecond Declaration was intitled, *His Majeſty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects after his late Victory againſt the Rebels on* Sunday *the 23d of* October, 1642. Ruſh. V. p. 39.

This Title was prefixed on purpoſe to cheriſh the Fears the King's Friends were endeavouring to infuſe into the People, on account of the pretended Victory lately obtained by the King againſt the Parliament's Army.

The Intent of this Declaration was to vindicate the King upon three main Articles; namely, 1. That his Majeſty favoured Popery and employed Papiſts in his Army. 2. That his Deſign was to root out Parliaments. 3. That it was his Intention by the Commiſſion of Array to take away part of Gentlemens Eſtates from them. I ſhall ſpeak here to the Firſt only, becauſe after what has been already ſeen, it would be needleſs to repeat what the King alledged in his Vindication upon the two Laſt. As to the Firſt therefore he ſaid:

" That

1642. *The King's Answer concerning his employing Papists.*

" That although he should employ Papists, no " one would wonder, who considered the Hardships " and Streights he was driven to, and the little " Scruple the Parliament made to employ popish " Officers and Soldiers, who served in great Num- " bers in their Army; the Industry they used to " corrupt their Loyalty; the private Promises they " allured them with to their Service, even to the " assuring them that all the Penal Laws should be " repealed. That notwithstanding the Artifices of " his Enemies, and the Weakness of his own Condi- " tion, he could not prevail with himself to recall his " Proclamation against receiving into his Army such " as had not taken the Oaths. He owned however, " that he had swerved from this general Rule, in " favour of some of eminent Abilities in Command " and Conduct. "

We shall find hereafter, that though this Proclamation was not recalled, it was very far from being punctually observed.

Presently after both Houses returned an Answer to this Declaration, the Substance whereof was as follows:

The Reply of both Houses. Rush. V. P. 41.

" That it was astonishing the King, having affirm- " ed so positively that a far greater Number of Pa- " pists served in their Army than in his, should not " have been pleased to name a single Instance: That " they should have been glad of knowing their " Names, as it would have afforded them Means to " remove those of that Religion, who under the " Profession of Protestants, might have crept into " the Army without that Privity. "

Then they pretended to show, by several Reasons, the Absurdity of saying that the Parliament endeavoured to corrupt the Loyalty of the Papists, with the Promise of repealing the penal Laws, and alledged divers Instances of their Severity against them during the sitting of the present Parliament.

But for a Demonſtration, ſaid they, that the King acted not with Sincerity when he alledged in his Vindication, that he had ordered no Recuſant to be received into his Troops, and that this Order was all an Illuſion, they named ſeveral Popiſh Officers who had Commiſſions under the King's own Hand, which Commiſſions then remained in the Houſe of *Commons*. Moreover, they annexed to this Declaration a Petition preſented to the King by the Popiſh Inhabitants of the County of *Lancaſhire*, deſiring leave to provide themſelves with Arms for his Service, and the King's Anſwer granting their Requeſt. This Petition and his Majeſty's Anſwer ſeem to me ſo deciſive in the preſent Caſe, which was ſo often repeated, that I think it incumbent on me to inſert them here in their own Terms. 1642.

To the KING's moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The Humble Petition of us the Inhabitants of *Lancaſhire*, whoſe Names are under-written, in behalf of our ſelves and divers others being Recuſants,

Humbly ſheweth,

THAT whereas we, and the reſt of this County, your Majeſty's moſt loyal Subjects, are diſarmed, and not ſufficiently provided for the Defence of your Royal Perſon and our own Families; our moſt humble Supplication to your Majeſty is, That we may be received into your gracious Protection from Violence, have our Arms, taken from us, re-delivered in this time of actual War, and by your Majeſty's ſpecial Direction be enabled further to furniſh our ſelves with Competency of Weapons for the Security of your Royal Perſon (if we be thereunto required) our Countries and Families, who now are not only in danger of the common Diſturbances, but alſo menaced by unruly People to be robbed: And when by the Almighty's

The Petition of the Lancaſhire *Recuſants.* Ruſh. V. p. 49.

1642. *Almighty's Assistance your Majesty's Kingdom shall be settled, in case we be again disarmed, that a full Value of the Money in lieu thereof may be restored.*

The KING's ANSWER.

To our Trusty and Well-beloved Sir *William Gerrard* Baronet, Sir *Cecil Trafford* Knight, *Thomas Clifton*, *Charles Townley*, *Christopher Anderton* and *John Clansfield*, and other of our Subjects Esquires, in the County of *Lancashire*.

Charles R.

The King's Order for Papists to provide Arms. Sept. 27. Rush. V. p. 50.

TRUSTY and Well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas by reason of the Laws and Statutes of our Realm, by which all Recusants convicted are to be without Arms, your Arms have been taken from you: So that now in this Time of imminent Danger, wherein there are Armies raised against our Commands, and contrary to our Proclamations, and are marching against us, and divers of our good Subjects, for obeying our lawful Commands, and opposing the rebellious Proceedings of others ill-affected, are by a strong Hand seized upon and imprisoned, their Houses plundered, and their Goods taken away; and the like is threatned to our Selves, who, as all other our Subjects, ought to have our Protection against unlawful Violence and Force: And the Laws made for disarming Recusants were made only for a Provision to prevent Danger in time of Peace, and were not intended to bar you from a necessary Use of Arms in time of actual War, for your own Safety, or for the Defence of our Person against all Rebels and Enemies, which by your Duty and Allegiance you are bound unto; which is not, nor ever was meant to be discharged, or taken away by any Act: And whereas the Arms which were taken away from you, ought by Law to have been kept and preserved,

to have been made use of by you in such time of open War, or by such others as you shall provide, yet under the specious Pretence of disarming Recusants and Persons ill-affected, your Arms have been disposed and dispersed into the Hands of several Persons ill-affected, and for the most part Fomenters and Exciters of the Commotions now raised in this Kingdom; Our Will and Command therefore is, and we charge and require you upon your Allegiance, and as you tender the Safety of our Person, and the Peace and Welfare of our Kingdom, That you forthwith with all possible Speed provide sufficient Arms for your selves, your Servants, and your Tenants, which we authorize and require, during the time of open War raised against us, to keep and use for the Defence of us, and of your selves, and of your Country, against all Forces and Arms raised, or to be raised against us, or against our Consent, or contrary to our Proclamations, by colour of any Order, or Ordinance or Authority whatsoever: And we shall (according as we are bound to all our Subjects) use our utmost Powers for the Protection of you and yours, against all Injuries and Violence. And whensoever these Arms which you shall so provide (after it shall please Almighty God to put an end to these Dangers and Distractions) shall be taken away from your Custody, by reason of our Laws now in force, we do hereby assure you, we will allow you for the same, so much as you shall have dispenced in Provision thereof. 1642.

It is proper to observe on account of these two Papers, that the Question between the King and both Houses was not whether the King might lawfully or not employ Papists in his Service, but whether he did really employ any. Care therefore must be taken not to confound the Matter of Right with the Matter of Fact, the Last only being the Point in Question. Now these two Papers make appear, that the King actually employed Papists in his Service, even in the Beginning of the War, and before any Blood was spilt: for this Petition was presented to him whilst he was yet at *Shrewsbury* *. For *Remark on this Subject.*

* The King's Answer in *Rushworth* is dated *Sept.* 27. at *Chester.* Vol. V. p. 50.

1642. Rush. V. P 50.

For the greater Conviction, both Houſes annexed alſo to their Declaration a Liſt of the Names of Twenty-eight Officers, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Serjeants, Majors, Captains and Lieutenants that were Papiſts, and actually in the King's Service in the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s Army.

The King offers a Pardon to the City of London. Rush. V. P. 51.

The King and the Parliament were in this State of Sharpneſs and Animoſity, when his Majeſty's private Friends in the Houſe of Commons moved to ſue for Peace, under colour of the Parliament's Inability to continue the War after their late Loſs at *Edge-hill*. The King on his part, to confirm the Notion his Friends were ſtriving to infuſe into the People, that the Parliament's Army was entirely routed, and to encourage his Well-wiſhers in *London* to join with thoſe in the Parliament-Houſe, ſent an Offer of Pardon to the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; thereby inſinuating to the Inhabitants, that ſuch an Offer muſt proceed from the Superiority he had acquired by his Victory. He practiſed the ſame thing with regard to ſome other Towns. It is certain there was then a pretty great Stir in *London* cauſed by the King's Friends, who under Pretence of dreading a War, that, according to them, was ſo unfortunately begun, uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to bring the People openly to demand a Peace. Againſt theſe ſecret Practices it was the Buſineſs of the Leading-Men in the Parliament to guard. And as they were no leſs able than their Adverſaries, they quickly found Means to baffle their Project. Inſtead of oppoſing the Motion to ſue to the King for Peace, they ſeconded it with all their Power. They ſaid, "That the Par-

Meaſures of the Party oppoſite to the King.

"liament had not taken up Arms for the Sake of "going to War, but only to procure a good Peace, "the moſt deſirable Thing in the World: That both "Houſes ought not to be aſhamed to make the firſt "Advances, and humbly ſue for Peace to their So-"vereign, but withal care muſt be taken that a too-"great Zeal for Peace might not be a means to leave "them at the Mercy of their Enemies: That in

"order

" order to make ſuch a Peace as was neceſſary for 1642.
" the Welfare of the Kingdom, the King muſt be
" given to underſtand that they were not yet reduced
" to the Paſs of being forced to accept of ſuch Terms
" as he ſhould pleaſe to impoſe, and therefore, if
" they would have a Peace wherein every Man
" might find his Safety, it was neceſſary to take good
" Meaſures for the Continuance of the War: That
" among all the Means which could be uſed, they
" ſaw none ſo proper as to invite their Brethren of
" *Scotland* to come to their Aſſiſtance, purſuant to
" the Treaty between the two Nations. Not that
" they actually ſtood in need of them, the Parlia-
" ment's Affairs not being reduced to ſuch Extre-
" mity, that haſte ſhould be made to call in Fo-
" reigners; but that the *Scots*, there was no doubt,
" would anſwer their Requeſt ſo as to convince the
" King, this Refuge would not be wanted by both
" Houſes in caſe of need: That thereby they ſhould
" become more formidable; and if the King were
" really deſirous of a Peace, he would be forced to
" grant it upon reaſonable Terms, which was all
" they ought to expect."

The Parliament reſolves to demand Aid of the Scots.

As this Advice was very plauſible, and beſides propoſed by Men in whom the Majority had great Confidence, it was approved of by the Houſe. Indeed, no body could be ignorant that by the Peace offered by the King hitherto, and which his Friends moved to ſue for, could be meant only a Peace that ſhould put him in Poſſeſſion of all his Prerogatives, and that his Word ſhould be taken for Security that he would abuſe them no more. But though the Members of Parliament doubted not that the King would grant an Act of Oblivion in the manner they ſhould deſire it, they did not believe that ſuch a Peace might be of Advantage to the Kingdom, becauſe they did not believe the King's Word to be a ſufficient Security. Beſides, the *Presbyterians* were no better pleaſed than they had been hitherto, with a Peace which would of courſe reſtore Epiſcopacy to all its former Luſtre.

Wherefore

1642. Wherefore Things not being yet brought to that Pass, that the Parliament should be induced to wish for such a Peace, it was resolved, 1. That his Majesty should be addressed for settling the Peace of the Kingdom. 2. That the Preparations of Forces and other necessary Means for defence should be prosecuted with all Vigour, if an honourable and safe Peace might not be obtained. 3. That the *Scots* should be applied to for Assistance, in Case there should happen to be any occasion. These Resolutions entirely broke all the Measures of the King's Friends, who had flattered themselves that the pretended Victory of *Edge-hill* would produce some great Effect.

A Declaration for incouraging Apprentices to list themselves in the Parliament's Army. Rush. V. P. 53.

Pursuant to these Resolutions, the Parliament took care to recruit the Earl of *Essex*'s Army, and to that End it was ordained that such Apprentices as would be listed for Soldiers, should reckon the Time spent in the Wars, as part of that they were bound to serve by their Indentures. Whereupon great Number of Apprentices ingaged in the Parliament's Service.

The Parliament's Declaration to the Scots. Rush. V. P 393.

After that, both Houses sent a Declaration into *Scotland*, wherein they did not demand indeed an immediate Aid: but said, "That they did not doubt "but the *Scots* would assist them, if there should be "occasion, according to the Treaty of Amity and "Alliance between the two Nations. That therefore they desired them to raise such Forces as they "should think sufficient to secure their own Borders "against the Attempts of the Army of Papists levelled by the Earl of *Newcastle* in the North of "*England*. To engage them the more to what they "desired, they said, the Enemies of the Protestant "Religion were so prevalent with his Majesty, that "he had rejected all the Petitions presented to him. "That the War in Hand was for the Maintainance "of Religion, against the Efforts of those who had "projected its Destruction, and that in order to preserve it more effectually, they had willingly em-

"braced

" braced the Invitation of the *Scots*, to a nearer De- 1642.
" gree of Union in Matters of Religion and Church-
" Government, which they had accordingly reſolved
" to purſue."

Remark on the Propoſition to unite the two Churchs.

It was now ſome Months ſince the *Scotch* Commiſſioners reſident at *London*, hinted in a Memorial preſented to the Parliament, that the *Scots* paſſionately deſired the Churches of *England* and *Scotland* might be united in the ſame Worſhip and Diſcipline. As this Propoſition was expreſſed by way of Wiſh only, and beſides was worded in ſuch a manner, that it might mean either that the *Scots* deſired the *Engliſh* to embrace the Worſhip and Diſcipline of the Church of *Scotland*, or that they themſelves were willing to conform to the Church of *England*, the Parliament had, in the ſame ambiguous Terms, civilly anſwered, that they wiſhed the ſame Thing too, and would heartily concur in bringing it about. This Anſwer was doubtleſs framed by the leading *Presbyterians* to ſerve as a ſort of Corner-Stone, of which they hoped to make, one Day, good Uſe. But it was not yet time to declare their Mind more openly, for fear of loſing all the *Church-of-England-Men* that were againſt the King. Probably theſe Men would have been alarmed, if they had clearly known that the *Presbyterians* intended to eſtabliſh their Worſhip and Diſcipline upon the Ruins of the Church. For the ſame reaſon alſo, in the Declaration abovementioned, both Houſes, or rather the Managers, thought not proper to ſpeak any plainer, and in ſaying, that both Houſes intended to purſue this Union, the Propoſition was left in all its ambiguity, though it was eaſy for the *Scots* to perceive, that in time, they ſhould receive Satisfaction. For it is not to be imagined that there were none but *Presbyterians* in the Parliament's Party, though this may be the Notion ſome would have us conceive of that Party, their Aim having been to inſinuate that the War between the King and Parliament was properly a religious

1642. War, and that the Parliament's ſole Deſign was to deſtroy the Church of *England*, in order to eſtabliſh *Presbyterianiſm* in its room. As generally ſpeaking, this Deſign was unjuſt in its ſelf, they would infer from thence, that the War againſt the King was ſo too. This Reaſoning would be ſolid and convincing, were it true, that the oppoſite Party to the King had propoſed to themſelves no other End. But as it is certain the *Presbyterians* were not the only Perſons that had Cauſe to complain of the King, it is no leſs ſo, that the Party of his Enemies conſiſted not of *Presbyterians* alone, but of a very great Number of Church-Men, who ſaw, that under Colour of deſtroying *Presbyterianiſm*, an Arbitrary Power was going to be ſet up. It is no hard Matter to conceive that theſe Men ſhould be ill-affected to the King, ſide with the Parliament, and remain as yet firm to their Party. But it is inconceiveable that the *Preſbyterians*, who in the beginning of the Parliament made ſo poor a Figure in both Houſes, as well as in the Kingdom, ſhould be grown ſo very numerous in the ſpace of two Years, or that the Members of the Church of *England*, who complained of the King's former Adminiſtration, ſhould entirely renounce the Church, and embrace *Presbyterianiſm*. It is certain therefore that although the *Presbyterian* Party, conſidered as a Religious Party, were grown powerful in the Parliament, there were however in that ſame Party, conſidered as Enemies to the King, abundance of Church-of-*England*-Men who had no other view but the Reformation of the Civil Government, and the ſecuring the Nation's Liberties. Theſe were the Men the Parliament had a mind, and were obliged to manage, for fear of frighting them away before they could be engaged to turn *Presbyterians*, whether by the Superiority the Parliament ſhould acquire in the Courſe of the War, or by the abſolute Neceſſity they ſhould be under of relinquiſhing the People's Liberties, or of recurring to the Aſſiſtance of the *Scots*, which could not be obtained but by changing the

the Government of the Church. On the other Hand, the Church-of-*England*-Men could not take it ill that the Parliament kept fair with the *Scots*, ſince their Aſſiſtance might happen to be abſolutely neceſſary. The ambiguous Expreſſions therefore in the Declaration, with reſpect to the Union of the two Churches, helped to manage all thoſe who were concerned for the Parliament's Affairs. The *Scots* were gladly ſuffered to think that the Propoſition was underſtood in the Senſe they themſelves gave it, and to the Church-of-*England*-Men it was hinted, that the Parliament was properly bound to nothing, in promiſing to endeavour an Union, becauſe there was no more Reaſon for the Church of *England* to conform to that of *Scotland*, than for this laſt to conform to that of *England*. That however great Advantage would accrue from this pretended Engagement, inaſmuch as the King, from the Apprehenſion of ſeeing the Parliament cloſely united with *Scotland*, would be induced to make Peace upon reaſonable Terms. 1642.

New Projects of the King's Friends in London.

Though on this Occaſion, the King's Enemies had gained ſome Advantage in the Parliament, his Friends did not look upon themſelves as ſubdued. They plainly ſaw, that as long as both Houſes ſhould be able to act with Freedom, the King's Adverſaries would always get the better, and that it was hardly poſſible to take away this Freedom without an extraordinary Aſſiſtance. Wherefore whilſt Men were ſtill in the Fear and Trouble occaſioned by the Battle of *Edge-hill*, they ſent the King Word, that if he would come and appear before *London* with his Army, they did not queſtion but ſuch Commotions would be raiſed in the City, as would turn to his account, in which his Friends would not fail to exert themſelves to the utmoſt of their Power. This made him reſolve to march to *London*. To that End, he ordered a Body of Horſe to go before, who advancing as far as *Reading*, the Parliament's Troops that were quartered there, were ſeized with ſuch a Terror, that they all left the Place, and the King

The King marches to Reading.

1642. came thither a few Days after with his Army. Both Houſes were alarmed when they heard the King was within thirty Miles of *London*. And therefore, whether for that reaſon, or with Deſign to amuſe him, they ſent and deſired a Safe-Conduct for a Committee of Lords and Commons to attend his Majeſty with a Petition for Peace, purſuant to a Reſolution taken ſome Days before. The King granted a Safe-Conduct for the Committee, excepting only for Sir *John Evelyn*, who was one of the Number, becauſe he had proclaimed him Traitor. In the mean Time, both Houſes had Advice that the Earl of *Eſſex* was marching towards *London* with the utmoſt Speed. For which Reaſon they were in no haſte to ſend the Committee to the King, on pretenſe of his ſcrupling to admit *Evelyn*. It is hard to conceive why the King, who could not be ignorant that the Execution of his Project depended upon Diſpatch, ſtayed long enough at *Reading* to give the Earl of *Eſſex* time to come to *London* as ſoon as himſelf. However this be, he marched the 11th of *November* to *Colebrook*, fifteen Miles from *London*. Mean while the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army arrived much about the ſame Time, near *London*. But whether it was not ready ſoon enough, or the Parliament was frighted, the Committee * was ſent to his Majeſty the ſame 11th Day, with a very humble Petition, to appoint a Place for a Treaty. The King returned a gracious Anſwer to this Petition, teſtifying he wiſhed for nothing more than a Peace, and to that end, was content to enter into Treaty. The Committee being come back to *London* with this Anſwer, the Parliament immediately ſent Orders to their Forces not to exerciſe any Act of Hoſtility. But within few Hours of the Departure of the Committee, the King began to march towards *Brentford*, which is but ſeven Miles from *London*, and arriving there the 13th in

Both Houſes petition for a Treaty.
Nov. 11.
Ruſh. V. p. 58.

Difficulty about a Safe-Conduct.

The Earl of Eſſex *marches to* London;

and the King to Colebrook.

He receives the Committee.
Nov. 11.
Ruſh. V. p. 58.

Clarend. III. p. 75.

He aſſaults Brentford.
Ruſh. V. p. 59.

* Conſiſting of the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Pembroke*, the Lord *Weenman*, Mr. *Pierrepoint*, and Sir *John Hippeſley*.

in the Morning, he attacked the Town, where ſome of the Parliament's Troops were quartered, and became Maſter of it, after meeting ſome Reſiſtance *. Preſently after he ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes to inform them, that after he had anſwered their Petition laſt Night, he received Advice that the Earl of *Eſſex* was drawing his Forces out of *London* towards him, which had obliged him to march to *Brentford*: That however he was ſtill deſirous of Peace, and expected their Committee at *Brentford* that Night, or early the next Morning. 1642.

He retires to Kingſton.

The Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army was indeed arrived near *London* the 12th, and the Earl himſelf was ſitting in the Houſe of Peers the 13th, during the Aſſault at *Brentford*. Whereupon both Houſes ordered the Lord-Mayor to ſend out the Trained-bands, to join with the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, and by that it became much ſtronger than the King's. The ſame Day the General made the neceſſary Preparations for Battle; but the King not thinking fit to expect him, drew off towards *Kingſton*.

The Parliament complains.

The Parliament complained that the King had deceived them under the falſe Appearance of being deſirous of treating about a Peace, ſince immediately after the Departure of the Committee, he marched to ſurpriſe *Brentford*. The King juſtified himſelf two Ways. He ſaid in the firſt Place, that not only there was no Truce agreed upon, but none ſo much as deſired. Secondly, that after the Committee was gone, he received certain Information that the Earl of *Eſſex* had ſent Forces to *Kingſton*, *Acton*, and other Places, to ſurround him, which obliged him to advance to

The King tries to vindicate his March to Brentford. Ruſh. V. p. 60.

* Part of Colonel *Hollis*'s Regiment were quartered there, who made a vigorous Defenſe, but would in all probability been moſt of them cut off, if the Lord *Brooke*'s and Colonel *Hambden*'s Regiments had not come to their Relief, and maintained a fierce and bloody Fight till Night, wherein many were ſlain, others driven into the River, and many taken Priſoners. So that they quitted the Town in the Night, and the King poſſeſſed it. *Ruſh.* V. p. 59. *Whitlock*, p. 62.

1642. *Brentford.* The former of these Reasons was the best, for there being no Cessation of Arms, he might justly take all Advantages as he thought proper. But he insisted the least upon this, because having missed his Aim, he would not have it appear that he had intended to become Master of *London*, or at least to raise Commotions there in his Favour, for fear of exposing his Friends to a strict Inquisition. The latter was not of the same Force. For if he was afraid of being hemmed in at *Colebrook*, he did not avoid that Inconvenience, by advancing eight Miles nearer *London*. He rather made it greater by that March, unless he advanced with Design to attack the Enemy, which did not appear by his Conduct.

Clarend. III. p. 74. The King is furnished with another Reason, which is not contained in a sort of Manifesto, published by himself on this Occasion. Prince *Rupert*, it is said, had advanced to *Hownslow* with the Horse, without the King's Order, and when there, was informed that the Parliament had sent Forces to *Kingston*, *Acton*, and other Places: And therefore, finding he was going to be surrounded, sent to the King to desire him to move forward with his Infantry to disengage him. This Reason to me seems so very weak, that I should think it needless to refute it, if it did not come from the Pen of the illustrious Author of the History of those Days. I will not say that it does not make much for Prince *Rupert*'s Honour to affirm, he had advanced without the King's Order with his Cavalry, which too is not very likely. But first, if the Prince did think himself in Danger, it was much easier for him to draw back to the King, than for the King to march to his Relief. Secondly, What probability was there that the Parliament's Forces, which are supposed to have been detached to hem in the Prince, should go and post themselves between him and the King? Thirdly, The Earl of *Essex*'s Army came near *London* but that very Day, and was in no Condition to march ten or twelve Miles fruther to attack the Prince.

It is therefore extremely probable that the King, when he left *Oxford*, intended to ſurprize *London*, or hoped that his Friends would manage ſo, as he ſhould be received there without Oppoſition, before the Earl of *Eſſex* could arrive. But he either loſt too much time at *Reading*, or was prevented by the Earl's Expedition. Nevertheleſs, ſince he was not ignorant that the Parliament's Forces were now very near *London*, one cannot well ſee what it ſignified to attack *Brentford*, unleſs it was to brave the Parliament, or having firſt deſigned to give Battle, he altered his mind upon hearing that the Train'd-bands of *London* were ſent out to join the Earl of *Eſſex*. Be this as it will, having miſſed his Aim, he was forced to frame Reaſons to colour his attacking *Brentford*, and to try to perſuade the People that he had done it only in his own Defence. After all, it is very likely that when he ſent back the Committee from *Colebrook*, he was determined to march to *Brentford*, and was not ſorry the Parliament amuſed themſelves with the Hopes of a Treaty. At leaſt the Reaſons he alledged in his Vindication, did not prove the contrary. 1642.

Military Actions in ſeveral Places.

This War continued all the Winter in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, there being hardly a County free from it. My Deſign is not to deſcend to the Particulars of all the little Skirmiſhes and Conflicts during the War. Theſe Matters may be agreeable to the *Engliſh*, who are acquainted with the Situation of the Places, or concerned in the Honour of thoſe who ſignalized themſelves on theſe Occaſions: But Foreigners, for whom I profeſs to write, having no Concern therein, I ſhall confine my ſelf to relate in few words ſome of the principal Actions.

In the North. Ruſh. V. I. p. 91.

In the Beginning of the Month of *December*, the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, who had levied an Army for the King in the northern Parts, began his March towards *York*. He was ſtopped at the Paſſage of the River *Tees*, which parts the Biſhoprick of *Durham* from *Yorkſhire*, by young *Hotham*, who had with him a

1642. Detachment of the little Army commanded by the Lord *Fairfax* in that County for the Parliament: But the Earl forced the Paſſage, and came to *York* with about Eight Thouſand Men.

Tadcaſter and Giſborough Fights.

There were likewiſe during this Winter, in the ſame County, two pretty warm Fights. The Firſt at *Tadcaſter*, where the Lord *Fairfax* was intrenched, and where he was attacked by the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, who, after an obſtinate Diſpute was obliged at laſt to retreat. The Second was at *Giſborough*, where Sir *Hugh Cholmley* defeated Six Hundred of the King's Party, commanded by Colonel *Slingsby*, who was taken Priſoner with a good Number of his Men.

Jan. 16. 1642—3.

Taking of Leeds. Jan. 23.

Some Days after, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* the General's Son, attacked the Town of *Leeds*, defended by Sir *William Savil* with Fifteen Hundred Men, carried it by Storm, and took Five Hundred Priſoners. Theſe were the moſt remarkable Actions in the *North*, during the Winter that followed the firſt Campaign.

In the South Waller *takes* Farnham *and* Chicheſter Dec. 29.

In the *South*, Sir *William Waller*, Commander for the Parliament, blew up *Farnham*-Caſtle, and made the Garriſon Priſoners of War. Shortly after he took *Wincheſter*, and then *Chicheſter*, after an Eight Days Siege.

In the midland Counties Wilmot *takes* Marlborough.

In the Midland Counties, ſeveral notable Actions, though little deciſive, were alſo performed. The 5th of *December*, *Wilmot* Commiſſary General of the King's Horſe, the Lord *Digby* and others, attacked the Town of *Marlborough* fortified by the Parliament, where was a numerous Garriſon. The Town being carried by Storm, was plundered and burnt, and about a Thouſand of the Garriſon ſlain and taken Priſoners.

Cirencester *taken.*

February the 2d Prince *Rupert* carried *Cirenceſter* by Aſſault, and took Twelve Hundred Priſoners. *

March

* Among whom were *Warnford* and *Fetty-place*, (two Gentlemen of good Quality and Fortune near that Town) and Mr. *George*, who ſerved for that Burrough. Above Two Hundred were ſlain.

March the 1ſt the Lord *Brooke* attacked ſome of the King's Forces intrenched in the Cloſe of the Cathedral of *Lichfield*, and was there ſlain: but after his Death his Men carried the Cloſe. 1642. Lichfield *taken.* *The Lord* Brooke's *Death.*

The 19th of the ſame Month a Battle was fought at *Salt-Heath* near *Stafford*, which was maintained on both Sides four Hours, till at laſt the Earl of *Northampton*, who commanded the King's Forces, being ſlain, the Parliament's Troops became victorious. *Battle of* Salt-Heath, Ibid. p. 152.

The ſame Day Sir *William Waller* ſurprized the Lord *Herbert*, who was beſieging *Glouceſter*, killed Five Hundred of his Men, and took above a Thouſand Priſoners. After that, he took *Chepſtow* in *Monmouthſhire*, and then the Town of *Monmouth* itſelf. North-ampton's *Death.* Waller *defeats the Lord* Herbert. Ibid. p. 263.

I proceed now to what paſſed in the *Weſtern* Counties, from the Beginning of the War to the Month of *March* the next Year, 1643. As the War was always very ſharp in thoſe Parts, and as the Superiority was there obſtinately diſputed, it will be neceſſary, for the better Underſtanding theſe Events, to give a particular Account of what paſſed in theſe Counties.

From the Time the King was at *Beverley*, after having failed in his Attempt upon *Hull*, he ſent the Marquiſs of *Hertford* into the *Weſt*, to try to raiſe a Party ſtrong enough to give the Parliament's Forces a Diverſion. He granted him a Commiſſion to command in all the weſtern Parts, and the Marquiſs made Sir *Ralph Hopton* his General of Horſe. The Marquiſs being come into *Somerſetſhire*, fixed his Quarters at the *Bath*, where he was able to raiſe but few Men, by reaſon of the Vigilance of the Committee of the Militia, who greatly obſtructed his Levies. At laſt, the Earl of *Bedford*, who commanded in thoſe Parts for the Parliament, having drawn together a much greater Number of Forces than were thoſe of the King, the Marquiſs of *Hertford* was forced to retire into *Wales*. He ſent however Sir *Ralph Hopton* with about One Hundred and Fifty Horſe into *Cornwal*, to endeavour to bring that County to the King's Intereſt. *Affairs of the Weſt.*

1642. reſt. The Earl of *Bedford* neglected to purſue this little Troop, not doubting but the Committee of the Militia would be able to diſperſe them, and went and joined the Earl of *Eſſex*. Theſe things were done before the Battle of *Edge-hill*.

Hopton was well received in *Cornwal*, and ſeconded by Sir *Bevil Greenvil* a *Corniſh* Gentleman, who managed it ſo, that the County declar'd for the King. After which, *Hopton* drew together Three Thouſand of the Train'd-bands and marched towards *Lanceſton*, from whence they chaced the Committee of the Militia, who had aſſembled ſome Troops. But endeavouring to lead theſe Train'd-bands into *Devonſhire*, they refuſed to march out of their County. For which reaſon he diſmiſſed them, having firſt driven the Committee from the little Town of *Saltaſh*.

Mean while, with the help of the Gentlemen of the County, he found means to levy Five Hundred regular Troops, with whom he became abſolute Maſter of all *Cornwal*, and even made Incurſions into *Devon*.

The Parliament having Intelligence of *Hopton*'s Progreſs in *Cornwal*, ordered all their Forces in *Dorſet* and *Somerſet* to join with thoſe of *Devon*, and gave the Command of this Army to the Earl of *Stamford*. The Earl putting himſelf at the Head of theſe Troops, ſent *Ruthen* a *Scotchman* Governour of *Plymouth*, with a Detachment into *Cornwal*. He was no ſooner entered there, but he was met by Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who put him to rout, killed abundance of his Men, and took above Twelve Hundred Priſoners. *Ruthen*, after his Defeat, retired to *Saltaſh*, where he endeavoured to fortify himſelf, and the Earl of *Stamford* threw himſelf into *Taviſtock*. *

Ruthen *defeated by* Hopton.

Hopton

* This Battle was fought on *Bradock-down* near *Liskard*. The chief of the *Corniſh* Gentlemen that helped Sir *Ralph Hopton* to raiſe his Forces were Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, Sir *Nicholas Stanning*, *John Arundel*, and *John Trevannion*, all Four Members of Parliament.

Hopton taking advantage of the Terror he had struck into the Parliamentarians, divided his Forces into two Bodies; with one he marched towards *Ruthen*, and beat him out of *Saltaſh*, and thereby remained again Maſter of *Cornwal*. The other Body moved towards *Taviſtock*, which the Earl of *Stamford* quitted and retired to *Plymouth*. Whereby *Hopton* was enabled with the more eaſe to fix Quarters in *Devonſhire*. But ſhortly after both Parties having agreed to obſerve an exact Neutrality in the two Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal*, that the War might be removed into other Parts, *Hopton* retired with his Forces into *Cornwal*. 1642.

Civil Affairs of the Year 1642.

Having related the principal Military Actions of the firſt Campaign, and the enſuing Winter, it will be neceſſary to ſay a word of ſome other things which indeed followed from the War, but were not decided by Arms.

Remark on the Levies of Money on both Sides.

Money being the Sinews of War, it is not ſtrange the King and the Parliament ſhould do their utmoſt to raiſe all they could. But the wonder is, that they ſhould upbraid each other with all the Expedients they made uſe of to that End. According to the Laws of the Land, the King can levy no Money upon the Subject without Conſent of Parliament: but it is no leſs certain, that the Parliament cannot impoſe Taxes without the Royal Aſſent. Taxes are laid by *Acts*, to which the King and both Houſes muſt neceſſarily give their Approbation. But what is to be done when the King and Parliament are at War with one another? If the Laws are to be kept, Neither muſt levy Money upon the People, and then it will be almoſt impoſſible to wage War, or elſe Both muſt be left at Liberty to raiſe it as they can, without regarding each other's Conſent. This was what the King and the Parliament practiſed, and yet they reproached one another with breaking the Laws. If we will believe the Authors who writ in favour of the King, his Majeſty had no other Money but what he was ſupplied with voluntarily by way of Gift or Loan.

1642. Loan. If he ſometimes taxed the Counties in his Power, it was always with the Inhabitants Conſent. But this is a kind of Artifice to deceive the Reader. For it means no more than that ſome of the Leading-Men of a Town or County were gained, by whom it was reſolved to give the King ſuch a Sum, after which it would have been in vain for the reſt to oppoſe it or refuſe to pay their Quota. The Parliament proceeded in much the ſame manner. They demanded for the Maintenance of the War, Contributions which they termed *voluntary*, but which were very far from being ſo. This plainly appeared by an Ordinance of the 29th of *November*, whereby it was ordered that thoſe ſhould be taxed, who had refuſed to contribute freely. The King, deeming this Ordinance to be an expreſs Breach of the Law, iſſued out a Proclamation to forbid Obedience thereto. He publiſhed another of the ſame Nature, to command all Perſons not to execute the Ordinance of Parliament for paying *Tonnage* and *Poundage* to the two Houſes. All this was grounded upon the Laws requiring the Royal Aſſent for the Impoſition of Taxes. But ſuch was the Seaſon then, that a ſtrict Obſervance of the Laws was become impracticable. The Parliament anſwered this laſt Proclamation, not by acknowledging the Laws were violated by their Ordinance, but by ſaying that the Statute the King went upon, was made to hinder the King from impoſing any Tax without Conſent of both Houſes, and not to deveſt the Parliament of the Right to impoſe what they thought proper. It is eaſy to perceive that this was nothing but Cavil and Chicanry, ſince the King's Conſent was no leſs neceſſary for impoſing a Tax than that of both Houſes. Or rather, they had no Right neither the one nor the other ſeparately, if the Laws had been kept to. And yet the King in the Month of *February* next enſuing, publiſhed another Proclamation, ordering the paying to him at *Oxford* the Cuſtoms ariſing from Goods imported, wherein, in all appearance, he was ill-obeyed.

This

This Matter occurs ſo often hereafter, not only with reſpect to Levies of Money, but alſo with regard to every thing enjoined by the King or both Houſes, that it will not be amiſs to have ſome Notion of the Principles of both Parties, in order to avoid running into wrong Opinions. 1642.

Remark on the Principles the King would eſtabliſh.

Ever ſince the Beginning of the preſent Parliament the King had all along profeſſed a ſtrict Adherence to the Laws of the Land. This he perpetually oppoſed to the Conduct and Pretenſions of the Parliament. After the War was begun, he pretended in the like manner, that the Laws were to be obſerved with the ſame Strictneſs as in the midſt of Peace. It is very viſible how advantageous to him this Principle was. According to the Law, the two Houſes could raiſe neither Men nor Money, much leſs employ them againſt their Sovereign: for he always ſuppoſed the War was only defenſive on his Part. He found therefore no better way to reſtore the publick Peace than to ſtick to the Laws, on the Obſervance whereof depended the Nation's Happineſs. Nothing was truer than this Principle taken in general, and independently of the particular Caſe the Kingdom was in. But as the King himſelf owned, the Laws being only an empty Name, if they are not kept, and the Executive Power being lodged in the King's Hands, the Point was to know whether the King could be relied upon for the Diſcharge of this Truſt, after what had paſſed the Fifteen Firſt Years of his Reign. There lay the Difficulty of the Buſineſs between the King and the Parliament, to ſolve which the King offered only his bare Word, whereon the Parliament could not or would not rely. It is evident then, that when the King pleaded the Laws in his behalf, he ſaid nothing that in the leaſt prejudiced the Parliament's Claims. The Thing was not to know whether the Laws aſcribed ſuch or ſuch Prerogatives to the Sovereign: the Parliament owned as much: but the Queſtion was to know whether the King was to be truſted with the Executive Power after what had paſſed.

1642. ſed. So the whole Difficulty was to know by what means the Execution of theſe ſame Laws, agreed to by both Parties, might be ſecured. The King carefully avoided the Examination of this Point, whether the People had a right to demand Security of him, and uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to reduce the Diſpute to this, *Whether this or that were enjoined by the Laws.* This is the prevailing Principle in all his *Papers* without one Exception.

On the other Hand, the Parliament were no leſs embarraſſed. It is true, they clearly enough ſhowed that the King had made ill-uſe of his Prerogatives, whilſt in full Poſſeſſion thereof, and from thence they inferred that it was neceſſary to reduce his Power within certain Bounds. But they ſuppoſed that in order to bring him within theſe Bounds, there was no other way but to ſtrip him entirely of this ſame Power, by depriving him of the Command of the Militia and his other Prerogatives ſo often mentioned. The Queſtion in this reſpect was therefore, whether it were poſſible to find Expedients which being added to the King's Word and Oath, might ſecure to the Nation their Liberties. But the two Houſes induſtriouſly avoided to enter upon that Queſtion. They were ſatisfied with ſuppoſing, without alledging any poſitive Proof, that the King had taken up Arms to deſtroy the Privileges of the People and Parliament, and conſequently the War was no more than defenſive on their Part. By that they pretended to vindicate their daily manifeſt Breaches of the Laws, repreſenting them as abſolutely neceſſary to attain the End they propoſed to themſelves of ſettling the Peace of the Kingdom. One can ſcarce help perceiving in this Conduct the Aim of certain Men, who laboured to render an Accommodation impracticable, that they might the better execute the Project of altering the Government of the Church, to which a Peace would have brought inſuperable Obſtacles. Could the King have prevailed with himſelf to yield in that Point, Expedients would not have been

been wanted to adjuſt the other Differences. We ſhall be convinced of this hereafter, when we come to ſee the Difficulties of the Peace reduced, as I may ſay, to this ſingle Article. 1642.

Aſſociation of the northern Counties for the King.

I have already ſaid, that the King ſent the Earl of *Newcaſtle* into the North, to bring over to his Party the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, with the Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Weſtmoreland*, and to levy an Army. The Earl executed ſucceſsfully this the King's Deſign. He managed ſo, that theſe four Counties entered into Aſſociation to furniſh him at the common Expence, with Men and Money, ſo that he ſet an Army on foot eight Thouſand ſtrong. But at the ſame time, he taught the King's Enemies to form the like Aſſociations, which perhaps they would never have thought of.

The like Aſſociation for the Parliament.

As ſoon as the Parliament was informed of this Aſſociation, they ordered the like to be entered into by the Counties that owned their Authority, and appointed Generals to command their Forces. The Lord *Fairfax* was made General of *Yorkſhire*, *Brereton* of *Cheſhire*, *Waller* of *Hampſhire*, the Lord *Grey* of *Lancaſhire*, Major-General *Brown* of *Berkſhire*, the Earl of *Derby* of *Shropſhire*, Colonel *Middleton* of *Wales*, and the Earl of *Mancheſter* of *Eſſex*, and the Counties adjoining, called the Eaſtern Counties, namely, *Eſſex*, *Cambridge*, *Iſle of Ely*, *Hertford*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and the City of *Norwich* *. By means of theſe Aſſociations the Parliament had Forces always ready, who indeed were deſigned only for the Defenſe of the aſſociated Counties, but were however imployed ſometimes in other Service. The King frequently tried to prevent theſe Aſſociations in Counties where he knew he had a good Number of Friends, as for Inſtance, in *Kent*, and ſome other Counties. But when both Houſes perceived the King's Practices were like to prevail in any of the Shires where they were Superiour, they obliged

Ruſh. V. P. 94.

* Theſe were the aſſociated Counties.

1642. obliged them to associate with others, and furnish their Quota.

Neutralities. Rush. V. p. 100. Besides this kind of Associations between the Counties of the same Party, there were made also in the beginning of the War, private Agreements between neighbouring Counties of different Parties, to observe between them an exact Neutrality. These Agreements were founded on the common Advantages of the contracting Counties, as they removed thereby the War from their own Doors, and settled a mutual Commerce between them, which they could not well be without. I have given an Instance already in the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal*. The like Agreement was made between the two Parties in *Yorkshire* and *Cheshire*. But the Parliament refused to authorize these private Agreements, because they were too much for the King's Advantage, who in the End would have been able, by this means, to draw all his Forces together in one Place, whereas he was obliged to disperse them throughout the whole Kingdom. Besides, the King's Party had so well managed his Concerns, that these Agreements were made only in Places where it was for his Advantage; as for Example, in *Yorkshire*, where nothing was intended but to stop the Inroads of the Garrison of *Pontfret-Castle*, which very much annoyed the City of *York*.

The Parliament sets them aside. Ibid. p. 101.

The King causes some Prisoners to be condemned The King having retired to *Oxford*, after the *Brentford* Affair, carried thither the Prisoners that were taken at *Brentford* and *Edge-hill*. Within a few Days after his Return, he granted to Sir *Robert Heath* a Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, to try some of these Prisoners, among whom was Captain *John Lilburn*, who with some others was condemned to die, for being taken in Arms against the King. The Parliament having notice of this Sentence before its Execution, declared, that if any Prisoner of War should be put to Death at *Oxford*, or elsewhere, they would inflict the like Punishment upon such Prisoners as were or should be taken hereafter. This Declaration saved the Lives of the condemned Persons, the

The Parliament threatens to do the like Rush. V. p. 93.

King not thinking proper to expoſe his Officers to the ſame Fate. 1642.

Though the Meaſures of the King's Friends to oblige the Parliament to make Peace were broken, as I ſaid above, they were not diſheartned. As the King, after the Buſineſs of *Brentford* had fortified *Reading*, and left there a ſtrong Garriſon, they pretended the Inhabitants of *London* had Cauſe to be very much alarmed at their Neighbourhood. So, under Colour of preventing the Dangers, they drew up a Petition, to which they procured as many Hands as poſſible, to deſire leave of both Houſes to preſent to the King ſome Propoſitions which he might conſent to with Honour. Many of the Inhabitants of *Weſtminſter*, and of the Pariſhes of St. *Martin's* and *Covent-Garden*, known to be the King's Adherents, prepared alſo the like Petition. It was a very uncommon Thing, and of dangerous Conſequence, for private Perſons, without the Interpoſition or Approbation of the Magiſtrates, to take upon them to make Overtures of Peace to the King. Accordingly, the Parliament would not receive their Petition, nay, ordered that the Authors ſhould be brought to Juſtice. They did not expect, it is likely, that the Parliament would make uſe of their Mediation for a Peace: But in publiſhing this Petition, wherein they called themſelves the richeſt and moſt conſiderable Inhabitants of *London*, their Aim was to inſinuate to the People, that the honeſt Part of the Citizens wiſhed for Peace upon more moderate Terms than the Parliament, but were kept in Subjection by the Magiſtrates. The two Houſes fully perceiving the Drift of this Petition, ordered it ſo, that the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of *London*, ſent a very humble Petition to the King, wherein they took Care to clear themſelves from all Diſloyalty, and expreſſed an earneſt Deſire for Peace. To that Purpoſe, they beſought his Majeſty to return to his Parliament, accompanied with his Royal, not Martial Attendance, to the end whatſoever was

1642-3.

The King's Friends try to ſow Diſcord in London.

They deſire leave to petition the King.

The Parliament oppoſes it.

Petition of the Mayor and Aldermen of London. Ruſh V. p. 110.

1642-3. amiss in Church and State might be reformed by the Advice of both Houses, and such a Peace obtained as should be for the Honour of his Majesty, and the Welfare of his Subjects. This Petition showed that the City of *London* desired no Peace, but what the Parliament should please to agree upon with the King. It had this Advantage of the first, that it came from the Mayor and Common-Council, whereas that other was subscribed only by private Hands.

The King's Answer. The King was really perswaded that the *Londoners* desired and would accept of such a Peace as he should be pleased to grant, but that the Magistrates in concert with the Parliament, did all they could to prevent it. This Petition being presented to him the 10th of *January* 1642-3, he returned a very gracious Answer, and gave it in Writing to the Committee of Aldermen. He said, "That he never entertained any Misapprehension of the Loyalty of his City of *London*, or of the Inhabitants in general: but that he could not say the same with regard to their Magistrates, and particularly Alderman *Pennington* their pretended Lord-Mayor, and two or three more *, who endeavoured with all their Power to prevent the People, and stir them up to Rebellion. Then he enumerated all the Outrages that were exercised at *London* upon himself and the Laws, and assured, that he was ready to return to them, when they should be in a fit Posture to receive him with Honour and Safety, and had apprehended the Disturbers of the Publick Peace, that they might be proceeded against by Course of Law, as guilty of High-Treason." The King hoped great Matters from his Papers, which he readily deemed to be unanswerable. But the wonderful Effects he flattered himself with did not always come up to his Expectations. Possessed with this Notion, when he delivered his Answer in Writing to the Committee of Aldermen, he told them, it was his Desire that

* *Vow, Foulk* and *Manwaring*, are named by the King.

that it ſhould be read publickly at a Common-Hall and before the People. The Lord-Mayor, with the Conſent of both Houſes, willingly gave his Majeſty this Satisfaction, and his Anſwer was accordingly read in Publick. But the Parliament had ſent a Committee of Lords and *Commons* to be preſent at the Reading, and afterwards to reject the King's Anſwer. This did Mr. *Pym*, one of the Committee in a ſet Speech, the Deſign whereof was to ſhow that the King's whole Anſwer was full of nothing but ſcandalous and injurious Aſperſions upon the City and Parliament. So the King had little Reaſon to be ſatisfied with the Succeſs of his Anſwer, on which however he had much depended, imagining it would be capable of ſowing Diſcord between the People of *London* and the Magiſtrates. 1642-3.

The King's Anſwer is read in publick,

and replied to by Pym. Ruſh. V. p. 113.

Some Days after the King ſent to the *Sheriffs* of *London* a Declaration, grievouſly complaining of *Pym*'s Speech, and of the publiſhing a Pamphlet in the City in his Name, as if he retracted his former Promiſes. He required alſo the Maſter and Wardens of the ſeveral *Companies* of the City to ſummon all their Members, and to read this Declaration with his fore-mentioned Anſwer, publickly in their ſeveral *Halls*. He declared that *Iſaac Pennington* not being regularly elected according to their *Charter*, or lawfully admitted, could not be looked upon as Lord-Mayor of *London*, and ordered the *Sheriffs* to commit him to ſafe Cuſtody, with ſome other Aldermen. But the Parliament perceiving the King's Aim was to ſtir up the People of *London* againſt their Magiſtrates, commanded the *Sheriffs* not to execute this Order.

The King's Order to the Sheriffs of London. Jan. 17. Ruſh V. p. 120.

As the King frequently ſent private Agents to *London* to correſpond with his Friends there, and to be fully informed of what paſſed in the City and Parliament, both Houſes thought proper, in order to render this Practice more difficult, to declare that all Perſons coming from the King's Quarters to *London* without a Safe-Conduct, ſhould be treated as Spies.

Order of both Houſes concerning Spies.

1642-3. *Disputes about the Papists in both Armies.*

During this same Winter, before the opening of the second Campaign, the Contest about the Number of Papists in the Service of the King and of the Parliament was renewed, on occasion of some Papers published by the Earl of *Newcastle* and the Lord *Fairfax* against each other. The Earl of *Newcastle* did not deny that he had Papists in his Army: But maintained, they were few in Number, and besides it was lawful to employ them, since it was not because of their Religion, but for their Loyalty. On the other Hand, he affirmed, there were great Numbers in the Parliament's Army, and appealed for the Truth of what he said to their Muster-Rolls. I confess this Proof to me seems of no Weight. For besides that these Rolls were not published, and consequently not easy to be come at by every Body, very probably the Religion of the Officers and Soldiers was not specified. However this be, the King and the Earl of *Newcastle* openly asserted, there were abundance of Papists in the Parliament's Army. The Earl of *Clarendon* has advanced the same Thing: But in all their Writings, there is not so much as a single Catholick named: Whereas the Parliament produced Lists of Popish Officers in the King's Service, with their Names, Quality, and Employs. Besides, it is easy to see that the King, according to his Principles, and according to his Behaviour to the Papists, from the beginning of his Reign, made no scruple to employ them, and that they might themselves expect some Benefit by serving him. But what Interest the Parliament could have to employ *Catholicks*, or what Advantage could accrue to them from that Service, does not appear so visible. After all, the Imputation perpetually cast upon him afterwards of having Popish Armies, on pretense that he refused not the Assistance of Papists, and the Consequence drawn from thence, that his Intent was to destroy the Protestant Religion, must be deemed a very great Aggravation, and a mere Calumny to render the King odious.

After

After the Queen was in *Holland*, she did not spend her Time idly. She laboured effectually to procure the King Officers, Arms and Ammunition, in which the Prince of *Orange* her Son-in-law's Credit was a great help to her. Ever since *September* 1642 both Houses had sent an Agent, *Walter Strickland*, to the *Hague* to complain to the States-General of the Preparations making in *Holland* for the King, and of the Supplies that had been sent him. *Strickland* was received but very coldly, by Reason of the Prince of *Orange*'s Credit in the Assembly of the States. Besides, the States-General did not look upon him as a publick Minister, because hitherto it had never happened that the Parliament had sent Agents Abroad in their own Name. They were contented therefore to depute one of the Members of their Assembly, to know what he had to say. *Strickland* put into their Hands a Declaration from the Parliament, to this Effect:

1642-3. *Supplies sent to the King from* Holland. *The Parliament sends* Strickland *to the* Hague. *He meets with a cold Reception.*

" That the Lords and Commons understood by " an intercepted Letter of the Lord *Digby*'s, that he " had addressed himself to the Prince of *Orange*, and " by his Countenance and Help made Provision of " great Quantities of Ordnance, Powder, Arms, " and divers other sorts of warlike Provision: And " the said Prince, the better to encourage divers " Commanders of *English* Regiments in the Service " of the *States*, to resort to the King's Aid against " the Parliament, had promised to reserve their Pla- " ces for them in their Absence.

He delivers to the States a Declaration of both Houses. Rush. V. p. 157.

" That they could not believe that this was done " by any Authority of the *States*, considering the " great Help they had received from *England*, when " they lay under the heavy Oppression of their Prin- " ces. Neither could they think that they would be " forward to help to make those Slaves, who had " been useful and assistant in making them Freemen: " Or that they would forget that the Troubles and " Dangers of them both issued from the same Foun-

1642-3. " tain, and that those who were set at Work to undermine Religion and Liberty in *England*, were " the same which by open Force had sought to do " the like in the *Low-Countries*.

" That it could not be unknown to them, that " the Jesuitical Faction had corrupted the King's " Counsels, and the Consciences of a great Part of " the Clergy, plotted to destroy the Parliament, " raised a cruel Rebellion in *Ireland*, endeavoured " to divide the King from his Parliament and Peo- " ple, and by false Slanders incensed his Majesty so " as that he had resolved to set up his Standard, " and draw his Sword for the Destruction of his Peo- " ple, whom by the Laws and Constitutions of the " Kingdom he is bound to preserve and protect.

" That the Question was not, whether the King " should enjoy the same Prerogative and Power " which belonged to former Kings his Predecessors; " but whether that Prerogative and Power should " be employed to the Defence or the Ruin of the " Kingdom.

" That it could not be denied, but that it would " be more Honour and Wealth, Safety and Great- " ness to his Majesty in concurring with his Parlia- " ment, than in the Course he was in; but that his " Counsellors lookt more upon the prevailing of " their own Party, than upon any of those great " Advantages, which he might obtain by joining " with his People.

" That both Houses had lately expressed so ear- " nest Inclinations to a national Love and Amity with " the United-Provinces, that they had petitioned " his Majesty that they might be joined with them " in a more near and strait League and Union: And " they could not but expect some Returns from them " of the like Expressions; therefore desired that " they would be so far from blowing the Fire which " began to kindle amongst them, that they would " rather endeavour to quench it by strengthening

" and

" and encouraging them, who had no other De- 1642-3.
" ſign but not to be deſtroyed, and to preſerve
" their Religion."

This Declaration was neglected a good while, the States-General not vouchſafing to return any Anſwer. At length, *Strickland* having preſented it to the States of *Holland*, theſe laſt promiſed to obſerve a ſtrict Neutrality, and engaged the Province of *Zealand* to take the ſame Reſolution. They even arreſted ſome Ships laden with Ammunition and Soldiers for the King. Then the States-General could no longer help taking notice of the Parliament's Declaration, and returned in Anſwer: " That they would expreſsly " forbid every body to tranſport any Weapons or " warlike Ammunition into *England*, and would " gladly employ their Mediation for putting an end " to the Troubles."

Holland and Zeland promiſe to ſtand neuter.

The Anſwer of the States-General. Ruſh. V. p. 160.

But this could not hinder the underhand Supplies that were ſent to the King, by reaſon of the Prince of *Orange*'s great Credit. During the Winter, General *King* a *Scotchman* brought his Majeſty Ordnance and Ammunition, and General *Goring* brought over ſome *Engliſh* Officers that were in the Service of the States. It is true, that from time to time the *Engliſh* Ships ſeized ſome of thoſe Veſſels that were ſent to the King. *Strickland* made frequent Complaints of theſe indirect Supplies: But the States-General took no notice of them. Nay they granted the Queen, who was preparing to return to *England*, ſo large and general a Paſſport, that by virtue thereof ſhe might tranſport into *England* Troops, Ordnance, Arms and Ammunition, in what Quantities ſhe pleaſed. Nevertheleſs the States of *Holland*, whom it concerned to keep fair with the Parliament, ſtopped one of the Queen's Veſſels laden with Ammunition; whereupon ſhe delivered in a Proteſtation. In all probability they had a mind to keep in with both Parties, with the Parliament by ſeizing one of the Ships, and with the Queen, by ſtopping but one

Supplies are ſent however to the King from Holland.

The States grant the Queen a large Paſſport. Jan. 22.

The States of Holland ſtop one of the Q's Ships.

1642-3. out of many. We shall see hereafter, that the Supply brought to the King by the Queen was very considerable. She arrived about the middle of *February* in *Burlington* Bay, and from thence went to *York*, where she made some stay.*

The Queen arrives in England, Feb. 22. Rush. V. p. 156.

The King, as I said, constantly insisted upon the Laws of the Land, and urged that they ought to be observed in time of War as in time of Peace. The admitting of this Principle would have turned greatly to his Advantage, for the Laws not supposing an actual Division between the King and Parliament, ascribed to the King sundry Prerogatives which he could have made use of against his Enemies. For instance, by virtue of the Prerogative, he pretended to adjourn the Courts of Justice to *Oxford* during *Hilary-Term*, but the Parliament would not consent to it.

The King would adjourn the Courts of Justice to Oxford. *The Parliament is against it.* Dec. 27. 1642.

On the other Side, the Counties being divided between the two Parties, the Parliament addressed his Majesty, setting forth the Inconveniencies that would follow the holding the *Assizes* in the several Counties, some whereof were for the King and some for the Parliament, besought him to agree to their being put off to a more convenient Season. But the King positively refused it, under colour of the Necessity of punishing Malefactors at all times. Had he gained this Point, he might have condemned as Rebels all those that had taken Arms against him, for the Judges could not have administred Justice but according to Law, which not supposing an open War between the King and Parliament, condemn without Distinction, all that are in Arms against the King. But the Case the Kingdom was then in, being wholly extraordinary and unexpected, the Parliament pretended

The Parliament suspend the holding the Assizes against the King's Will.

* The Day after her Majesty's landing, Four of the Parliament's Ships came into the Road, and firing upon the Vessels that were landing the Ammunition; the Balls reached the Town, near the Place where the Queen was resting herself after her Voyage. Whereupon she was forced to remove to an obscure Lodging behind a Hill. The Earl of *Newcastle*'s Army guarded her to *York*.

tended the Laws could not be executed in that reſpect without ſome Reſtriction and Explanation. For this reaſon they deſired the *Aſſizes* might be ſuſpended, till ſome means might be agreed upon for the impartial rendering of Juſtice. But finding the King refuſed to conſent to it, they publiſhed an Ordinance forbidding the *Aſſizes* to be held till further Order. 1642-3.

Though the War was begun ever ſince the Month of *April* 1642, and though a Battle and ſeveral Skirmiſhes had been fought, the King could hardly be perſuaded that the very Perſons who were up in Arms againſt him, could or dared refuſe the Obedience that was due to him. Of this Notion he gave an evident Proof in the Month of *March* 1642-3, on the following Occaſion. The City of *Briſtol* being in the Hands of the Parliament, as has been ſaid, the King had gained Mr. *Robert Yeomans* [the laſt-Year-Sheriff] one of the principal Citizens, and ſent him a Commiſſion to raiſe Forces, and appoint what Commanders he thought proper, *Yeoman*'s Deſign being to deliver up the City to the King. To that purpoſe he joined with one *Boucher* another Citizen, and they two formed a Plot into which many of the Inhabitants entered, to ſeize the City for the King. This Plot being diſcovered the very Night it was to be executed, the Conſpirators were impriſoned, and the Parliament ſent down a Commiſſion to Colonel *Nathaniel Fiennes* the Governour, to call a Council of War, and proceed againſt the Priſoners by Martial-Law. The Conſpirators being condemned to die, the King writ to the Governour by General *Ruthen*, that if he put theſe Men to death, ſome Priſoners in his Hands ſhould undergo the ſame Fate. *Fiennes* returned the General a Civil Anſwer: But in ſhowing him however the Difference between Priſoners of War and ſecret Spies and Conſpirators, he threatned in his Turn that Opportunities would not be wanting in the Courſe of the War, for the Parliament to make uſe of Repriſals. Whereupon the King writ a thundering Letter to the Mayor and Aldermen

Plot to deliver up Briſtol *to the King.* March 7. Ruſh. V. p. 153.

1642-3. men of *Briſtol*, commanding them as well as all the Inhabitants to riſe againſt the Governour and Garriſon, and ſet the condemned Priſoners free. It was eaſy to foreſee the Mayor would ill obey this Order. Accordingly the Priſoners [*Yeomans* and *Boucher*] were executed, without the King's thinking fit to do the like by the Priſoners he had in his Power.

The Conſpirators are puniſhed.

How Matters ſtood with the King and the Parliament.

Before I proceed to relate what paſſed in the ſecond Campaign of the Year 1643, I think it abſolutely neceſſary to ſhow how the King and Parliament ſtood diſpoſed as to Peace and War. Military Actions depending upon many Circumſtances of Time, Place, Number and Bravery of the Troops, Conduct and Abilities of the Officers, theſe Things indeed are Ingredients of Hiſtory but not the Chief. If in the recital of warlike Exploits, the End of Hiſtory was to teach the Art of War, all the Circumſtances of the Sieges, Battles, Skirmiſhes, would be eſſential: but there is another End which much more affects the Generality of Readers. And that is, to know the Cauſes and Grounds of the Beginning and Continuance of Wars, and conſequently the Intereſts, Motives and Artifices of the Parties concerned, to which military Actions owe their Birth. This is the Reaſon why I reſolved to be brief in the Deſcription of Battles, that I might enlarge the more upon the forementioned Points, which I look upon as moſt material. Nothing, in my Opinion, is more proper to ſhow how the King and Parliament really ſtood diſpoſed, than the Treaty at *Oxford* in the Months of *March* and *April* 1643, about a Peace. And therefore I was reſolved to give here a particular Account of that Negotiation, and the rather as I ſhall thereby avoid the Neceſſity of explaining afterwards abundance of Things, which otherwiſe might not be fully underſtood.

The Parliament deſire a Safe Conduct to treat of a Peace. Ruſh. V. p. 164.

Both Houſes of Parliament having conſidered that the King made ſome Advantage of the Inclination he had all along ſhown for Peace, ſent and deſired a Safe-Conduct for Commiſſioners they intended to ſend

to

to him, which the King granting, the Commiſſioners preſented to his Majeſty certain Propoſitions as proper to ſerve for Foundation to a Peace*. *Ruſhworth* has preſerved in his *Collections* two Speeches made in Council upon this Occaſion, the Earl of *Briſtol*'s to perſuade the King to continue the War, and the Earl of *Dorſet*'s to demonſtrate the Advantages and Neceſſity of a Peace. The Subſtance of the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Reaſons was as follows: 1642-3.

The Earl of Briſtol's *ſpeech for the Continuation of the War.* Feb. 1. Ruſh. V. p. 127.

" 1. That the Parliament had declared divers of " the greateſt and moſt eminent among the Nobility " Delinquents in the higheſt Nature; ſo that there " could not be an Accommodation without the ut- " ter Ruin of themſelves and their Families.

" 2. But granting that this Article were removed, " his Majeſty could not condeſcend with his Honour " to beg Peace of his Subjects.

" 3. That no mention could be found in the Hiſ- " tory of *Spain* of inteſtine and civil Wars, becauſe " they were truly Subjects, and their Sovereign truly " a Sovereign. But ſince in *England* the State would " neither be ſo to the King, nor ſuffer the King to be " ſo to them, he thought they ſhould be compelled " to it.

" 4. That it was no Diſhonour for Subjects to con- " deſcend to their King, but it was an exceſſive Di- " minution to his Majeſty's Royalty, to ſubmit him- " ſelf to his Subjects.

" 5. His

* The Commiſſioners on this Occaſion were the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury* and *Holland*, with the Viſcounts *Wenman* and *Dungarnon*, and Sir *John Holland*, Sir *William Litton* Knights, *William Pierrepoint*, *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, *Edmund Waller*, and *Richard Winwood*, Eſquires. They had their firſt Acceſs to the King in *Chriſt-Church* Garden, where he was walking with the Prince, and divers of the Lords attending him. All kiſſed his Hand, and *Waller* approaching the laſt, his Majeſty ſaid, *Though you are the laſt, yet you are not the worſt, nor the leaſt in my Favour.* The Diſcovery of a Plot then in Hand in *London* to betray the Parliament, wherein *Waller* was concerned, did (ſays *Whitlock*, p. 64.) manifeſt the King's Courtſhip to *Waller* to be for that ſervice.

1642-3. " 5. His Opinion therefore was, That his Majeſty " ſhould neither propound to the Parliament, or re- " ceive from them any Conditions for Peace, but " ſuch as ſhould abſolutely comply with the Regal " Dignity and Prerogative, and ſuch as be no way " prejudicial to his Majeſty's Servants and Counſel- " lors, or their Eſtates.

" 6. That there was an Army on Foot which " could by Force compel that, which fair Words " could not Effect."

On the other Side the Earl of *Dorſet* repreſented:

The Earl of Dorſet's Speech for an Accommodation. Ib. p. 128.

" 1. That Peace, and a ſudden one, was abſo- " lutely neceſſary betwixt his Majeſty and the Par- " liament.

" 2. That he would not adviſe them to embrace " a Peace that ſhould be more diſadvantageous than " the War, a Peace which would deſtroy the Eſtates " and Families of the Nobility. But it was to be " conſidered, that the Parliament declared that only " againſt Delinquents, ſuch as they conjectured had " miſcounſelled his Majeſty, and were the Authors " of the Tumults in the Commonwealth. But this " Declaration of theirs, except ſuch Crimes could " be proved againſt them, were of no Validity; the " Parliament would do nothing unjuſtly, nor condemn " the innocent; and certainly innocent Men needed " not fear to appear before any Judges whatſoever. " He who ſhould, for any Cauſe, prefer his private " Good before the publick Utility, was but an ill " Son of the Commonwealth.

" 3. That the Buſineſs of the Kingdom was to " ſtudy to reconcile all Differences between his Ma- " jeſty and his Parliament, and ſo to reconcile them, " that they ſhould no way prejudice his Royal Pre- " rogative, of which the Parliament being a loyal " Defender (knowing the Subject's Property de- " pendent on it) would never endeavour to be an " Infringer; ſo that if Doubts and Jealouſies were

" taken

" taken away by a fair Treaty between his Majeſty 1642-3.
" and the Parliament, no doubt a Means might be
" deviſed to rectify Differences.

" 4. That in *Spain*, the Subjects were ſcarcely re-
" moved a Degree from Slaves, nor the Sovereign
" from a Tyrant. But in *England* the Subjects had,
" by a long and received Liberty, made their Free-
" dom reſult into a ſecond Nature: Neither was it
" ſafe for the Kings to ſtrive to introduce the *Spaniſh*
" Government upon this Free-born Nation, nor juſt
" for the People to ſuffer that Government to be in-
" forced upon them; which he was certain his Ma-
" jeſty's Goodneſs never intended.

" 5. Granting that his Majeſty had an Army of
" gallant and able Men, yet he had infinite Diſad-
" vantages on his Side, the Parliament having double
" his Number, and ſurely Perſons of as much Bra-
" very, nay, and ſure to be daily ſupplied when
" any of their Number failed, a Benefit which his
" Majeſty could not boaſt of, they having the moſt
" popular Part of the Kingdom at their Devotion;
" all, or moſt of the Cities, conſiderable Towns and
" Ports, together with the maineſt Pillar of the
" Kingdom's Safety, the Sea, at their Command,
" and the Navy; and, which was moſt material of
" all, an unexhauſted Indies of Money to pay their
" Soldiers, out of the liberal Contributions of Coin
" and Plate ſent by People of all Conditions, who
" accounted the Parliament's Cauſe their own.

" 6. All which things conſidered, he concluded it
" neceſſary to beſeech his Majeſty to take ſome pre-
" ſent Order for a Treaty of Peace betwixt himſelf
" and his High-Court of Parliament."

It is not ſaid what was the Reſult of the Council's Deliberations; but we may judge by what followed, that the King reliſhed the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Reaſons better than the Earl of *Dorſet*'s. I return to the Treaty at *Oxford*.

The

1643. *The Parliament demand a Peace, but desire it not.*

The Parliament having to guard against the Artifices of the King's Friends, who were strenuously endeavouring to persuade the People that the War was waging only for the sake of some of their Members, could not better cross their Design than by openly suing to the King for Peace, and by publishing the Terms on which they were ready to conclude it. They meant to show by these Terms that it was not the private Concerns of some of their Members that put them upon Action, but solely the Welfare and Security of the Nation: However, they knew at the same time the King would not accept the Conditions. His Majesty, on his part, was obliged to show he wished for Peace, seeing he had all along pretended to have taken up Arms only in his own Defence. But the Truth is, he desired it no more than the Parliament, because he saw plainly that it was no favourable Juncture to obtain such a Peace as he aimed at, with the perfect Restoration of all his Prerogatives. Thus, though neither the King nor the Parliament had any Intention to endeavour after a Peace in good Earnest, they were however both indispensably obliged to express their Desire of one to satisfy the People, that they preferred not their own private Interest to the Good of the Kingdom. For this Reason the King continually urged the restoring the Laws to their former Vigour, and the Parliament constantly insisted upon Security for the Observance of the same Laws, and thereby they both rendered a Peace impracticable. The Substance of the Propositions presented to the King by the Parliament was to this Effect: *

The King does not desire it neither.

" I. That

* The Earl of *Northumberland* read the Propositions to the King with a sober and stout Courage, and being interrupted by him, he said smartly, *Your Majesty will give me leave to proceed?* The King answered, *Ay, ay*: So the Earl read them all through. *Whitlock's Mem.* p. 64. *Rush.* V. p 165.

1642.

The Parliament's Propoſitions. Ruſh. V. p. 165.

" I. That the Armies on both Sides be disband-
" ed, and his Majeſty be pleaſed to return to his
" Parliament.

" II. That he leave Delinquents to a legal Tryal
" and Judgment of Parliament.

" III. That the Papiſts be diſbanded and diſarmed.

" IV. That his Majeſty be pleaſed to give the
" Royal Aſſent to the following Bills:

" 1. For taking away ſuperſtitious Innovations.

" 2. For the utter aboliſhing of all Archbiſhops,
" Biſhops, Deans, *&c.*

" 3. Againſt ſcandalous Miniſters.

" 4. Againſt Pluralities.

" 5. For Conſultation with godly, religious and
" learned *Divines*: That his Majeſty be pleaſed to
" promiſe to paſs ſuch other Bills for ſettling of
" Church-Government, as, upon Conſultation with
" the Aſſembly of the ſaid *Divines*, ſhall be reſolved
" on by both Houſes of Parliament.

" V. That his Majeſty be pleaſed to give his Con-
" ſent, That an Oath may be eſtabliſhed by Act of
" Parliament to be adminiſtred in ſuch manner, as
" by both Houſes ſhall be agreed on; wherein they
" ſhall abjure and renounce the Pope's Supremacy;
" the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory,
" worſhipping of the conſecrated Hoſt, Crucifixes
" and Images; and that the refuſing the ſaid Oath,
" being tendered in ſuch manner as ſhall be appointed
" by Act of Parliament, ſhall be a ſufficient Con-
" viction in Law of Recuſancy.

" And that his Majeſty be pleaſed to conſent to,

" 1. A Bill for the Education of the Children of
" Papiſts by Proteſtants.

" 2. To a Bill for the true levying of the Penalties
" againſt Recuſants, in ſuch manner as both Houſes
" of Parliament ſhall agree on.

" 3. To

1643. " 3. To a Bill whereby the Practice of Papists a-
" gainst the State may be prevented.

" VI. That the Earl of *Bristol* and the Lord *Her-*
" *bert* may be removed from his Majesty's Councils
" and Court, and that they may not bear any Office,
" or have any Employments concerning the State or
" Commonwealth.

" VII. That the Militia be settled in such a man-
" ner as shall be agreed on by both Houses.

" VIII. That his Majesty be pleased to appoint
" for Judges * —— with the Clause, *Quam diu se*
" *bene gesserint.*

" IX. That all such Persons as have been put out
" of the Commission of Peace, *&c.* since the first Day
" of *April* 1642, may again be put into them; and
" that such Persons may be removed, as shall be ex-
" cepted against by both Houses of Parliament.

" X. That his Majesty be pleased to pass the Bill
" presented to him to vindicate and secure the Privi-
" leges of Parliament, from the ill Consequence of the
" late Precedent in the Charge and Proceeding against
" the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the Five Members of the
" House of Commons.

" XI. That his Majesty's Royal Assent may be
" given unto such Acts as shall be advised by both
" Houses of Parliament, for the satisfying and pay-
" ing the Debts and Damages wherein the two
" Houses of Parliament have engaged the publick
" Faith of the Kingdom.

" XII. That

* Sir *John Brampston* for Chief Justice of the *King's Bench*, *William Lenthal* the Speaker Master of the *Rolls*, and to continue the Chief Justice of the *Common Pleas*, and make Serjeant *Wilde* Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*. And that Mr. Justice *Bacon* be continued; and the Serjeants *Rolls* and *Atkins* made Justices of the *King's Bench*; *Reeves* and *Foster* continued; Serjeant *Pheasant* made one of the Justices of the *Common Pleas*; Serjeant *Creswel*, Mr. *Samuel Brown*, and Mr *John Pulleston* be made Barons of the *Exchequer*. Rush. V. p. 167.

" XII. That his Majeſty be pleaſed to enter into 1642.
" a ſtrict Alliance with the States of the United-
" Provinces, and other Neighbour-Princes and States
" of the Proteſtant Religion.

" XIII. That in the General Pardon which his
" Majeſty hath been pleaſed to offer to his Subjects,
" all Offences and Miſdemeanors committed before
" the 10th of *January* 1641, which have been, or
" ſhall be queſtioned in Parliament before the 10th
" of *January* 1643, ſhall be excepted; which Of-
" fences and Miſdemeanours ſhall nevertheleſs be ta-
" ken and adjudged to be fully diſcharged againſt all
" other inferiour Courts: That likewiſe there ſhall
" be an Exception of Offences committed by any
" Perſons, which have had any Hand in the Rebelli-
" on of *Ireland:* And an Exception of *William* Earl
" of *Newcaſtle*, and *George* Lord *Digby*.

" XIV. That his Majeſty will be pleaſed to re-
" ſtore ſuch Members of either Houſe of Parliament
" to their ſeveral Places out of which they have
" been put ſince the Beginning of the Parliament;
" that they may receive Satisfaction and Reparation
" for thoſe Places; and that all others may be re-
" ſtored to their Offices and Employments, who have
" been put out of the ſame upon any Diſpleaſure
" conceived againſt them for any Aſſiſtance given to
" both Houſes of Parliament, or obeying their Com-
" mands, or forbearing to leave their Attendance
" upon the Parliament without Licence, or for any
" other Occaſion ariſing from the Differences be-
" twixt his Majeſty and his Parliament."

The King conſents to a Treaty.

Theſe Propoſitions were a clear Evidence enough that although both Houſes ſued for a Treaty in order for a Peace, they were however far from deſiring any ſuch thing, ſince they urged Matters which the King would ſcarce have granted, had his Condition been much worſe than it was at that time. Nevertheleſs, as he had talked very much of the Offer he made in the Month of *Auguſt* laſt, to treat of a

1642. Peace, and of the Denial of both Houſes, he did not think it adviſeable wholly to reject theſe Propoſitions. He conſented therefore that they ſhould be debated in a Treaty: But he gave Six others on his Part; namely,

The King's Propoſitions. Ruſh. V. p. 169.

"1. That his Majeſty's own Revenue, Magazines, Towns, Forts and Ships which have been taken or kept from him by Force, be forthwith reſtored unto him.

"2. That whatſoever had been done or publiſhed contrary to the Laws of the Land, or derogatory to his Majeſty's Power and Rights be renounced and recalled.

"3. That whatſoever illegal Power hath been claimed and exerciſed by both or either Houſe, over his Subjects, as impriſoning their Perſons without Law, ſtopping their *Habeas Corpus*'s, and impoſing upon their Eſtates without Act of Parliament, be diſclaimed, and all ſuch Perſons ſo committed forthwith diſcharged.

"4. That a Bill be framed for the better preſerving of the *Book of Common-Prayer* from the Scorn and Violence of *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and other Sectaries, with proper Clauſes for the Eaſe of tender Conſciences.

"5. That all ſuch Perſons, as, upon the Treaty, ſhall be excepted out of the General Pardon, ſhall be tried, *per Pares*, according to the uſual Courſe and known Law of the Land.

"6. And to the Intent this Treaty may not ſuffer Interruption by any intervening Accidents, that a Ceſſation of Arms and free Trade for all his Majeſty's Subjects be firſt agreed upon."

The King deſires a Ceſſation may be ſettled firſt.

Some Days after, the King ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes, to deſire that the laſt of his Propoſitions might be firſt taken into Conſideration, to the end that during the Ceſſation of Arms, the Peace might be

be treated of with the greater Tranquillity, to which they conſented. 1643.

It was the 28th of *February* before both Houſes ſent the Terms to the King, on which they propoſed to conclude a Suſpenſion of Arms, during the Treaty; namely,

Articles for a Ceſſation ſent by the Parliament. Ruſh. V. p. 170.

" 1. That all manner of Arms, Ammunition, Victuals, Money, Bullion, and all other Commodities paſſing without ſuch a Safe-Conduct as may warrant their Paſſage, may be ſtayed and ſeized on, as if no ſuch Ceſſation were agreed on at all.

" 2. The ſame with regard to all manner of Perſons paſſing without ſuch a Safe-Conduct.

" 3. That his Majeſty's Forces in *Oxfordſhire* ſhall advance no nearer to *Windſor* than *Wheatly*, and in *Buckinghamſhire* no nearer to *Aylesbury* than *Brill*; and that in *Berks* the Forces reſpectively ſhall not advance nearer the one to the other than now they are: And that the Parliament-Forces in *Oxfordſhire* ſhall advance no nearer to *Oxford* than *Henley*; and thoſe in *Buckingham* no nearer to *Oxford* than *Aylesbury*: And that his Majeſty's Forces ſhall take no new Quarters above Twelve Miles from *Oxford* any way; and that the Parliament-Forces ſhall take no new Quarters above Twelve Miles from *Windſor* any way.

" 4. That no Siege ſhall be begun or continued againſt *Glouceſter*, and that his Majeſty's Forces now employed in the Siege ſhall return to *Cirenceſter*, and *Malmsbury*, or to *Oxford*, as ſhall be moſt for their Conveniency; and the Parliament-Forces which are in *Glouceſterſhire*, ſhall remain in the Cities of *Glouceſter*, *Briſtol*, and the Caſtle and Town of *Berkley*, or retire nearer to *Windſor*, as they ſhall ſee Cauſe; and that thoſe of *Wales* which are drawn to *Glouceſter*, ſhall return into their Quarters, where they were before they drew down to *Glouceſterſhire*:

1643 "5. That in Case it be pretended on either Side, "that the Cessation is violated, no Act of Hostility "is immediately to follow; but first, the Party "complaining is to acquaint the Lord General on "the other Side, and to allow three Days after no- "tice given for Satisfaction. And in Case Satisfacti- "on be not given, or accepted, then five Days no- "tice to be given before Hostility begin: And the "like to be observed in the remoter Armies by the "Commanders in chief.

"6. Lastly, That all the other Forces in the "Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, and "not before-mentioned, shall remain in the same "Quarters and Places, as they are at the time of "the publishing of this Cessation, and under the "same Conditions as are mentioned in the Articles "before, and that this Cessation shall not extend to "restrain the setting forth, or employing of any "Ships for the Defense of his Majesty's Dominions."

The King's Answer to these Propositions. Rush. V. p. 172.

The King replied to these Propositions by a Message to both Houses, wherein he complained that their Answer had been almost a Month in coming, from the 3d to the 28th of *February*. He conceived that the Articles of the Cessation now presented to him, were so strict, that such of his good Subjects who were not of his Army would receive no Benefit by the Suspension, which he would ever insist upon: And therefore he had returned the Articles with such Alterations as he doubted not but both Houses would consent to, since they sufficiently manifested how sollicitous he was for the Good of his People, and how desirous to prevent any more Effusion of his Subjects Blood. He desired the Cessation might begin the 12th of *March* or sooner, if the Conditions should be sooner agreed on, and was willing the same should continue for Twenty-days, in which time he hoped by the Treaty a full Peace might be established throughout the Kingdom.

It

1643.

It muſt be obſerved, that the King in this Negotiation, propoſed to himſelf three Advantages, as will evidently appear hereafter. 1. To gain time to go on with his Preparations. 2. To ſet on Foot, by Means of a Ceſſation of Arms, a free Commerce and Correſpondence between the Quarters of both Armies, and particularly, between *London* and *Oxford*, which would help him to provide himſelf of many Things which he ſtood in need of for the enſuing Campaign; by ſending for them from *London* or elſewhere. 3. To have an Opportunity of bringing ſafely from *York* the Forces and Ammunition that were come from *Holland*. All this was concealed under the Pretenſe of procuring the Eaſe of his People by a free Commerce throughout the Kingdom. Theſe are the Articles which he ſent back to both Houſes, with the Alterations he mentioned:

Propoſals made by the King for a Ceſſation of Arms. Ruſh. V. p. 172.

" I. That all Manner of Arms, Ammunition, " Money, Bullion, and Victuals paſſing for the uſe " of either Army, without a Paſs or Safe-Conduct, " from the Generals of each Army, may be ſtaied " and ſeized on, as if no Ceſſation were agreed on " at all.

The King omitted here the Words [and other Commodities.]

" II. That all Officers and Soldiers of either Army paſſing without Licence or Safe-Conduct as " aforeſaid, may be apprehended and detained, as if " no ſuch Ceſſation were agreed upon at all: And " that all manner of Perſons, his Majeſty's Subjects, " of what Quality or Condition ſoever (except Officers and Soldiers of either Army) ſhall paſs to " and from the Cities of *Oxford* and *London* and " back again at their Pleaſure during this Ceſſation, " as likewiſe to and from any other Parts of his Majeſty's Dominions, without any Search, Stay, or " Impriſonment of their Perſons, or Seizure and Detention of their Goods or Eſtates: And that all " manner of Trade, Traffick, and Commerce, be

1642. " free and open between his Majesty's Subjects, ex-
" cepting as aforesaid, between the Officers and Sol-
" diers of either Army, or for Arms, Ammuniti-
" on, Money, Bullion, or Victuals, for the use of
" either Army, without a Pass or Safe-Conduct, as
" aforesaid, which may be a good Beginning to re-
" new the Trade and Correspondence of the King-
" dom, and whereby his good Subjects may be re-
" stored to that Liberty and Freedom they were
" born to, and have so happily enjoyed, till these
" miserable Destructions, and which even during
" this War, his Majesty hath to his utmost laboured to
" preserve, opening the way by most strict Proclamati-
" ons, to the Passage of all Commodities, even to
" the City of *London* itself.

III. The beginning of this Article is the same as in the Parliament's, but the End is different, *viz.*

" And that the Forces of neither Army shall ad-
" vance the Quarters nearer to each other than they
" shall be upon the Day agreed on for the Cessation
" to begin; otherwise than in Passage and Commu-
" nication between their several Quarters respective-
" ly, without any Acts of Hostility each to other,
" but may enlarge themselves within their own
" Quarters respectively, as they shall find convenient.

Hereby the King was at Liberty to send for his Forces from York *to* Oxford, *without the Parliament's Army being able to oppose it.*

" IV. That the Forces of either Army in *Glou-*
" *cestershire*, *Wiltshire*, and *Wales*, as likewise in the
" Cities of *Gloucester*, *Bristol*, and the Castle and
" Town of *Berkley*, shall be guided by the Rule ex-
" pressed in the latter-part of the precedent Ar-
" ticle.

V. This Article is exactly the same with the Parliament's.

" VI. That all other Forces in the Kingdom of
" *England* and Dominions of *Wales*, not before
" mentioned, shall remain in the same Quarters and
" Places, as they are at the Time of publishing this

" Cessation,

" Ceſſation, otherwiſe than in Paſſage and Commu- 1643.
" nication between their ſeveral Quarters, as is men-
" tioned in the latter-part of the ſaid Article; And
" that this Ceſſation ſhall not extend to reſtrain the
" ſetting forth, or employing any Ships for the De-
" fence of his Majeſty's Dominions, *provided that his*
" *Majeſty be firſt acquainted with the Particulars, and*
" *that ſuch Ships as ſhall be ſet forth be commanded by*
" *ſuch Perſons as his Majeſty ſhall approve of.*

" VII. Laſtly, That during the Ceſſation, none
" of his Majeſty's Subjects be impriſoned, otherwiſe
" than according to the known Laws of the Land;
" and that there ſhall be no Plundering or Violence
" offered to any of his Majeſty's Subjects. And his
" Majeſty is very willing, if there be any Scruples
" made concerning theſe Propoſitions and Circum-
" ſtances of the Ceſſation, that the Committee for
" the Treaty nevertheleſs may immediately come hi-
" ther, and ſo all Matters concerning the Ceſſation
" may be ſettled by them."

Though both Houſes were by no means pleaſed with theſe Alterations of the King's in their Articles, yet as he offered to treat upon that Subject, they deſired a Safe-Conduct for ſix Commiſſioners, namely, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Say*, and four Commoners *. The King granted it out of Hand, excepting for the Lord *Say*, becauſe he was proclaimed Traitor *1. When he ſent the Safe-Conduct, he ſignified to them by a Meſſage, that he was content *his* Propoſition concerning the Magazines, *&c.* and *theirs* for disbanding the Armies, ſhould be firſt treated of and agreed, and then the ſecond of his Ma-

* Mr. *Pierrepoint*, Sir *William Ermyn*, Sir *John Holland*, and Mr. *Whitlock*. Whit. p. 64.

*1 But he told them, in Caſe they thought fit to ſend any other in his room not liable to the ſame Exception, he ſhould enjoy the Benefit of the Safe-Conduct, as well as if particularly named. But they did not ſend any in his ſtead, ſo only Five went. Ruſh. V. P. 173.

1643. jesty's, and the second of theirs, and so in order: And after that the time of the Treaty might not exceed Twenty-Days.

The Parliament's last Articles for Cessation.

The Parliament's five Commissioners being come to *Oxford*, presented to the King fresh Articles concerning the Cessation of Arms. But they were so little different from the first, that the King was not satisfied with them. And therefore he delivered to the Commissioners the following Objections against the last Articles.

The King's Objections to them. Rush. V. p. 177. March 23.

1. They are in effect the same his Majesty formerly excepted to, and there is not the least mention of Freedom of Commerce between his Subjects, and consequently they have no Ease or Benefit by this Cessation, though that is his Majesty's chief Aim.

2. The putting the Ships that may be employed under the Command of Persons approved of by his Majesty, is not consented to by these Articles, and by that means the conveying of any Number of Forces from one Place to another (which is an Act of Hostility) remains free to both Houses.

3. The Army raised by the Parliament is spoken of as if his Majesty were no Part of the Parliament, or himself to have raised that Army. Now in order to prevent any Inconveniencies that might arise upon real Differences or Mistakes, upon the Latitude of Expressions, and to avoid Delays, his Majesty desired that the Committee might have Liberty to debate any such Differences and Expressions, and yet no such Power is given in these Articles, and the Committee confessed to his Majesty they have no Liberty, but are strictly bound to the very Words of the Articles now sent.

4. His Majesty's Desire that during the Cessation none of his Subjects might be imprisoned otherwise than according to the Laws of the Land, is in no degree consented to.

" 5. His

5. His Majesty's Desire against Violence is not at all taken notice of, nor is his Desire against Plundering any way satisfied; his Majesty not only meaning thereby the robbing of the Subject by the Unrulineſs of the uncommanded Soldiers, but particularly the Violence and Plundering uſed to his Subjects for not ſubmitting to Impoſitions required from them by *Ordinances* of one or both Houſes, which are contrary to the known Laws of the Land. 1643.

6. Beſides, as there is no Conſent given to thoſe Alterations offered by his Majeſty, ſo where an abſolute Conſent may be ſuppoſed, becauſe the very Words of his Majeſty's Articles are wholly preſerved, yet by Reaſon of the relation of ſomewhat going before that is varied by them, the Senſe of thoſe Words is wholly varied too. So that upon the Matter, all the Propoſitions made by his Majeſty (which did not in Terms agree with thoſe preſented to him) are utterly rejected. For theſe Reaſons his Majeſty deſires that the Committee now ſent may ſpeedily have Liberty to debate and agree upon the Articles of Ceſſation."

Both Houſes perceiving the King concealed under the *little* Alterations he had made in their Articles, greater Matters than appeared at firſt Sight, thought proper to let him ſee that they were not wholly ignorant what Advantages he intended to draw from ſuch a Ceſſation of Arms as he propoſed. To that End, they ſent him their Reaſons in Writing why they were obliged to reject the Additions made by him to their Articles. The Subſtance of their Reaſons was to this Effect:

The Parliament's Reaſons why they cannot agree to the Articles of the Ceſſation. Ruſh. V. p. 182. March 27.

"1. That if they ſhould grant ſuch a free Trade "as your Majeſty deſireth to *Oxford* and other Pla- "ces, where your Forces remain, it would be very "difficult, if not impoſſible, to keep Arms, Ammu- "nition,

1643. "nition, Money and Bullion, from passing into "your Majesty's Army, without very strict and fre- "quent Searches, which would make it so trouble- "some, chargeable, and dangerous to the Subjects, "That the Question being but for Twenty-days "for so few Places, the Mischiefs and Inconveniences "to the whole Kingdom would be far greater than "any Advantage which that small Number of your "Subjects (whom it concerns) can have by it.

"The Case then is much otherwise than is ex- "pressed by your Majesty's Answer; for whereas "they are charged not to give the least Permission "of this Liberty and Freedom of Trade during the "Cessation, the Truth is, That they do grant it as "fully to the Benefit of the Subjects, even in Time "of War; and that your Majesty, in pressing this "for the People's Good, doth therein desire that "which will be very little beneficial to the Subject, "but exceeding advantageous to your Majesty, in "supplying your Army with many Necessaries, and "making your Quarters a Staple for such Commo- "dities as may be vented in the adjacent Counties, "and so draw Money thither, whereby the Inhabi- "tants will be better enabled by Loans and Contri- "butions to support your Majesty's Army. And "as your Majesty's Army may receive much Ad- "vantage, and the other Army much Danger, if "such Freedom should be granted to those Places; "so there is no Probability that the Army raised "by the Lords and Commons shall have any re- "turn of Commodities and other Supplies from "thence, which may be useful for them: And they "conceive, that in a Treaty for a Cessation, those "Demands cannot be thought reasonable which are "not indifferent, that is, equally advantageous to "both Parties.

"As they have given no Interruption to the Trade "of the Kingdom, but in relation to the Supply of "the contrary Army, which the Reason of War re- "quires; so they beseech your Majesty to consider,

"whether

" whether your Soldiers have not robbed the Car- 1643.
" riers in ſeveral Parts, where there hath been ſuch
" Reaſon; and your Ships taken many Ships, to the
" great Damage, not only of particular Merchants,
" but of the whole Kingdom. And whether your
" Majeſty have not declared your own Purpoſe, and
" endeavoured by your Miniſters of State, to em-
" bark the Merchants Goods in foreign Parts, which
" hath been in ſome Meaſure executed upon the
" *Eaſtland* Merchants in *Denmark*, and is a Courſe
" which will much diminiſh the Wealth of the King-
" dom, violate the Law of Nations, make other
" Princes Arbiters of the Difference betwixt your
" Majeſty and your People, break off the Intercourſe
" between this and other States, and like to bring
" us into Quarrels and Diſſention with all the neigh-
" bouring Nations.

" 2. To demand the approving of the Comman-
" ders of the Ships, is to deſire the Strength of one
" Party to the other, before the Difference be end-
" ed, and againſt all Rules of Treaty; to make a
" Ceſſation at Sea, would leave the Kingdom naked
" to thoſe foreign Forces, which they have great
" Cauſe to believe have been ſollicited againſt them,
" and the Ports open for ſuch Supplies of Arms and
" Ammunition as ſhall be brought from beyond the
" Seas: But for conveying any Number of Forces
" by thoſe means from one Port to another, they
" ſhall obſerve the Articles of the Ceſſation by which
" that is reſtrained.

" 3. As for the Expreſſions of the Army raiſed
" by the Parliament, they are contented it ſhould
" be altered thus (*raiſed by both Houſes of Parliament*,)
" as not deſiring to differ upon Words; but to give
" any concluſive Power in this Caſe to the Commit-
" tee upon ſuch Differences as may ariſe, wherein
" the Houſes have given no expreſs Direction, is
" neither ſafe for the Committee to undertake, nor
" fit for the two Houſes to grant; yet to debate,
" and to preſs the Reaſon of their Deſires, whereby

1643. " an Agreement from your Majesty may be pro-
" cured, is granted to them; and although the two
" Houses did think it most proper the Cessation
" should be first agreed on, and that it was unfit
" to treat in Blood, yet to satisfy the World of their
" earnest longing after Peace, they have given Power
" to the Committee to enter into the Treaty upon
" the two first Propositions, notwithstanding the
" Cessation be not yet assented to; and those being
" agreed, they hope the Foundation will be laid not
" only of a Suspension, but a total Abolition of all
" Hostility in the Kingdom.

" 4. If the Nature of War be duly considered, it
" must needs be acknowledged, That it is incompa-
" tible with the ordinary Rules of a peaceable Go-
" Government: Your Majesty would have them
" commit none, but according to the known Laws
" of the Land, whereby they conceive your Majes-
" ty understands, that it must be by the ordinary
" Process of Law; which being granted, it will fol-
" low, that no Man must be committed by them
" for supplying your Majesty with Arms, Powder,
" Ammunition: For by the Law of the Land, the
" Subject may carry such Goods from *London* or any
" other Place to *Oxford*, the Soldiers must not be
" committed if they run from their Colours, and re-
" fuse any Duty in the Army, *No Man shall be com-*
" *mitted for not submitting to necessary Supplies of Mo-*
" *ney*: So that if this be yielded in your Majesty's
" Sense, they shall be disabled to restrain Supplies
" from their Enemies, and to govern or maintain
" their own Soldiers: It cannot be thought reason-
" able, that under the Disguise of a Cessation, they
" should admit that which will necessarily produce
" the dissolving of the Army, and the Destruction
" of the Cause.

" It seems not probable, that your Majesty doth
" intend, that if any be taken with Supplies for this
" Army, or mutinying in your own, such Persons
" shall not be committed, but according to the
" known

" known Laws of the Land, that is, by Proceſs of 1643.
" Law: But rather that your Majeſty will ſo inter-
" pret this Limitation of known Laws, that though
" it lays ſtreight Bonds upon both Houſes, yet it
" leaves your Generals as much Liberty as before:
" For it hath been denied by your Majeſty, that
" theſe known Laws give any Power to the two
" Houſes of Parliament to raiſe Arms, and ſo con-
" ſequently their General cannot exerciſe any mar-
" tial Law in thoſe Caſes; and it is not unlike, but
" that it will be affirmed, that the Generals conſti-
" tuted by your Majeſty's Commiſſion, have that
" Power by the ſame known Laws; ſo that this
" Article, under the ſpecious ſhew of Liberty and
" Law, would altogether diſable them to defend
" their Liberties and Laws, and would produce to
" your Majeſty an abſolute Victory and Submiſſion
" under pretence of a Ceſſation and Treaty.

" 5. Being by Neceſſity inevitable on their Part
" enforced to a defenſive War in this unhappy
" Breach betweeen your Majeſty and them, and that
" they are therein warranted both by the Laws of
" God and Man, it muſt needs follow, that by the
" ſame Laws they are enabled to raiſe Means to ſup-
" port that War; and therefore till it ſhall pleaſe
" God to incline your Majeſty to afford them ſuch
" a Peace as may ſecure them, they cannot relin-
" quiſh the Power of laying Taxes upon thoſe who
" ought to join with them in that Defence, and the
" neceſſary ways of levying thoſe Taxes upon them,
" in Caſe of refuſal, for otherwiſe their Army muſt
" needs be diſſolved. But if your Majeſty ſhall
" conſent to disband the Armies, the Cauſe of the
" War being taken away, the Conſequences will
" likewiſe be removed, and the Subject reſtored to
" the Benefit of thoſe Laws which the Neceſſity of
" Arms hath in ſuch Caſes ſuſpended.

" 6. They deny any Pretenſe of conſenting to
" thoſe Alterations and Additions offered by your
" Majeſty; only in the Preamble they ſay they have

" conſidered

1643. " conſidered of thoſe Articles, with ſuch Alterations " and Additions, unto which Articles they profeſs " they were ready to agree, not as they were ac- " companied with thoſe Alterations and Additions, " but in ſuch manner as they expreſſed. As for the " Clauſe left out in the third Article it implied a " Freedom of Paſſage and Communication of Quar- " ters, which is contrary to the nature of the Ceſſa- " tion, whereby Matters ſhould be preſerved in the " State they are, and neither Party have Liberty ſo " much to advantage himſelf, as it is evident your " Majeſty might do, if your Forces in the North " and Weſt might join with thoſe at *Oxford*, and " bring thoſe Supplies of Treaſure or Arms thither, " which were brought out of *Holland*; or at leaſt it " ſhould be ſo indifferent, as to give a proportion- " able Advantage to the other Side, which this doth " not: For the Forces under the Power of both " Houſes are ſo diſpoſed, that they have an eaſy " Paſſage from one to the other: But your Majeſ- " ty's Forces are ſevered the one from the other by " many large Counties, ſtrong Paſſes, and compe- " tent Armies; and if they had admitted this Clauſe, " they had bereaved themſelves of one of the greateſt " Advantages, and freed your Majeſty's Party of " one of the greateſt Inconveniences which your " Majeſty or they have in this War.

" For the Reaſons already alledged, they cannot " agree to the Alterations and Enlargements of the " Ceſſation propounded, or to transfer any ſuch " Power to the Committees of treating, debating, " and agreeing upon thoſe Articles in any other man- " ner than the Houſes have directed. But that a " fair and ſpeedy Paſſage may be opened to a ſecure " and happy Peace, they have enabled their Com- " mittees to treat and debate upon the two Propo- " ſitions concerning his Majeſty's own Revenue, the " delivery of his Towns, Caſtles, Magazines, and " Ships, and the disbanding of the Armies, which " being agreed upon, a preſent Peace and Security

" will

" will follow, and the Treaty upon the other Pro- 1643.
" poſition be facilitated without fear of Interrup-
" tion, by the Confuſion of War, or Exaſperation
" of either Party by the bloody Effects thereof."

The King failed not to reply to this Paper. But as his Anſwer was very long, I ſhall content my ſelf with inſerting here the moſt material Part of each Article. *The King's Anſwer.* April 4. Ruſh. V. p. 186.

1. *Concerning the Freedom of Trade:*

His Majeſty denies that he has any private Benefit by it, and aſſures, that the Good of the People is the only Advantage he has in view. He ſlightly paſſes over the Objection, that the Ceſſation of Arms not being to laſt but Twenty-days, the Freedom of Commerce could not be, for ſo ſhort a ſpace, of any great Benefit to the Nation.

His Majeſty affirms, that no Complaint concerning the robbing of Carriers by his Soldiers has been made to him which he has not received to the Relief and Reparation of the Sufferers.

He owns, he is reſolved not to grant his Protection to ſuch Perſons abroad who aſſiſt or conſent to Actions of Diſloyalty to him at Home.

2. *Concerning the Ships:*

He ſays, as the ſetting out of the preſent Fleet is pretended to be for the Defenſe of his Dominions, it is moſt neceſſary for his Majeſty to know both the Deſigns, and to approve of the Commanders. He cannot ſee how a Ceſſation at Sea ſhould leave the Kingdom naked to foreign Forces: and is willing to concur in the Reſiſtance of all ſuch, of what kind ſoever, and expects that during the Ceſſation, the conveying of all Forces from one Part to another by Sea, for the Aſſiſtance of the Earl of *Eſſex*, be reſtrained, which both Houſes ſeem now to conſent to,

1643. to, though it be not at all expreſſed in their former Articles.

2. *Concerning the Power of the Committee :*

His Majeſty had and hath great Reaſon to deſire that the Committee may have Liberty to debate and conclude any Differences and Expreſſions in the Articles, in order to prevent loſs of Time. Of this there is a clear Evidence in the Conſent which his Majeſty now underſtands to be given by both Houſes, that no Forces ſhall, during the Ceſſation, be ſent by Sea for the Relief of any Places held by them; which Clauſe might in much leſs Time have been agreed here, if there had been that Liberty. And much Time muſt ſtill be loſt, as the Committee have not Power to explain the Meaning of both Houſes concerning Communication of Quarters.

4. *Concerning Impriſonments.*

It was no part of his Majeſty's Intention that his Article againſt Impriſonment of his Subjects, otherwiſe than according to the known Laws of the Land, ſhould extend to the Deſtruction of the Military Diſcipline of either Army. This is an Inſtance of the Neceſſity of enabling ſome Perſons to conclude upon theſe Articles, ſince a Limitation of half a dozen Words would have ſaved moſt of this fourth Reaſon.

5. *Concerning Taxes :*

His Majeſty inſiſts very much upon the two Houſes not having a legal Power to impoſe Taxes without his Conſent. And adds, he is very well pleaſed to find they have need of Force and Rapine to raiſe them. He ſays, he has reaſon to inſiſt that no ſuch Violence be uſed towards his Subjects for not ſubmitting to illegal Impoſitions, being willing to be obliged from the like Courſe and to rely wholly upon

on the Juſtice of his Cauſe and the Affection of his People. 1643.

6. Concerning Communication of Quarters:

The King's Anſwer upon this Article was very general and obſcure. He ſays, it highly concerns him that this and every other Clauſe be ſo clear, that no After-differences may ariſe upon any diſputable Point, ſince they, whoſe Induſtry and Malice could perſuade any of his People, that in the Buſineſs of *Brentford* he had broken a Ceſſation before any was made or offered, would have a much eaſier Work to lay the Breach of a made Ceſſation to his Charge, if the Ground of Breach would bear the leaſt Diſpute. He agrees, that in a Ceſſation the Advantages ſhould be equal, but from this Principle draws the Inference, that therefore Sir *Ralph Hopton* and the Earl of *Newcaſtle* ought to have the ſame Liberty to come to him, as the Earl of *Stamford* and the Lord *Fairfax* had to come to the Earl of *Eſſex*. (1)

He concluded his Anſwer with ſaying, Notwithſtanding all this, his Majeſty, to ſhew his abundant Deſire of Peace, is contented to admit a Ceſſation upon the Matter of their own Articles, ſo that his Majeſty may not be underſtood to conſent to any impoſing upon his Subjects, or impriſoning them to force them to contribute; ſo that there may not be a Liberty for any Rapine, plundering or ſeizing upon his Subjects by the Parliament's Soldiers, for not ſubmitting to ſuch illegal Impoſitions; for otherwiſe both Houſes may, during the Ceſſation, impoſe new Taxes, not only to the Nineteenth Part, but if they pleaſe, to the Half of, or all their Eſtates, and their

REMARK (1). *This Advantage not accruing to both Houſes by the Ceſſation of Arms, ſince they had it before, the King could not pretend to the ſame by virtue of the Suſpenſion.*

1643. Army would then be at leiſure to be employed as Collectors as well of the old as the new Impoſitions, and vaſt Sums would and might by this means be raiſed to their own extraordinary Advantage, and great Diſadvantage of his Majeſty, who can neither obtain his own Conſent to take the like Courſes, nor, in caſe he could, is he ſo quartered as to have within the Power of his Army, any ſuch City as *London*, or ſo many and rich Counties as they have to retire to on ſuch an Occaſion.

The Parliament refuſes to treat any longer about the Ceſſation.

Both Houſes having examined the King's Anſwer, ſent their Committee new Inſtructions, wherein they ſaid, His Majeſty's Expreſſions in his Anſwer were ſo doubtful, that they did not think good to conſume any more Time in Debates upon the Ceſſation, and the rather, as the Remainder of the whole Time for the Treaty was but Seven Days, and if the Ceſſation were preſently agreed, it would not yield any conſiderable Advantage to the Kingdom. Wherefore they ſhould deſire his Majeſty to give a ſpeedy and poſitive Anſwer to their firſt Propoſition concerning the diſbanding, that ſo the People might not have the Shadow but the Subſtance of Peace.

Theſe Inſtructions being communicated to the King, he made a Reply, wherein he endeavoured to ſhow it was not his Fault that a Ceſſation of Arms was not concluded. He preſſed again that whatever was thought doubtful in the Articles might be expounded, whatever was excepted at, might be debated, a Ceſſation concluded, and Power given to the Committee to that End.

This is all that paſſed with regard to the Suſpenſion of Arms propoſed by the King, by which, it is probable, he had been in hopes to reap great Benefit, had the two Houſes been leſs upon their Guard. As the Conferences about the Peace were not to begin till the 25th of *March*, whatever was done before that Day concerning the Ceſſation, is to be conſidered rather as a Preparative than part of the Conferences about

bout the Peace, though the Negotiation concerning the Suſpenſion was continued till the 7th of *April*. 1643.

I muſt now ſpeak of the material Part of the Treaty, relating to the Terms offered on both Sides for a Peace. As it was agreed to begin with the Debate of the two firſt reſpective Propoſitions, his Majeſty's Firſt was immediately entered upon. The Propoſition was, That his Revenue, Magazines, Towns, Ships and Forts ſhould be reſtored. I ſhall relate the principal Things that were urged upon each of theſe Heads. *Negotiation upon the other Propoſitions.*

Concerning the Revenue.

March the 26th the Commiſſioners preſented to the King a Memorial containing,

" That the two Houſes of Parliament had not " made uſe of his Majeſty's own Revenue, but in a " very ſmall Proportion, which for a good Part had " been employed in the Maintenance of his Majeſty's " Children, according to the Allowance eſtabliſhed " by himſelf: That they would ſatisfy what ſhould " remain due to his Majeſty of thoſe Sums received " out of his own Revenue; and would leave the " ſame to his Majeſty for the Time to come. But " they likewiſe propoſed, That he would reſtore what " had been taken for his Uſe, upon any of the Bills " aſſigned to other Purpoſes, by ſeveral Acts of Par- " liament, or out of the Proviſion made for the War " of *Ireland*." Ruſh. V. p. 196.

The King's Anſwer.

" That he was well contented to allow whatſoever " had been employed in the Maintenance of his " Children, and to receive the Arrears due to him- " ſelf, and to be ſure of his own for the future.

1643. "That he was willing to reſtore all Moneys taken "for his Uſe by any Authority from him, upon any "Bills aſſigned to other Purpoſes, being aſſured he "had received very little or nothing that way.

"But he expected Satisfaction for all thoſe ſeveral "Sums received and diverted to other Purpoſes, by "Orders of one or both Houſes, which ought to "have been paid upon the Act of Pacification with "*Scotland*, or employed for the Diſcharge of the "Debts of the Kingdom, and by other Acts of Par-"liament for the Relief of his Proteſtant Subjects "of *Ireland*."

The next Day the Commiſſioners deſired to know of his Majeſty, if he would not account his own Revenue to be ſure for the future, if both Houſes of Parliament did leave it in the ſame way as it was before the Troubles begun.

The King anſwered, "That by thoſe Words (*of* "*being ſure of his own for the future*) he meant that "no Reſtraints or Interruption ſhould be made by "one or both Houſes in and upon his Majeſty's "Revenue, but that it ſhould be left in the ſame way "it was before the Troubles begun."

It is eaſy to ſee there were no Difficulties upon this Point capable of preventing a Peace.

Concerning the Magazines.

The Parliament's Commiſſioners offered in writing, "That all the Arms and Ammunition taken out of "his Majeſty's Magazines, ſhould be delivered into "his Stores, and whatſoever ſhould be wanting they "would in convenient time ſupply in kind. But "they likewiſe propoſed, That the Perſons to whoſe "Charge thoſe publick Magazines ſhould be com-"mitted, being nominated by his Majeſty, might "be ſuch as the two Houſes of Parliament could "confide in. And that he would reſtore all ſuch

"Arms

" Arms and Ammunition as had been taken for his " Uſe from the ſeveral Counties, Cities and Towns. 1643.

The King's Anſwer.

" The Magazines ſhall be committed to and continued in the Cuſtody of the ſworn Officers, to whoſe Places the ſame belong. And if any the ſaid Officers ſhall forfeit that Truſt by any Miſdemeanours, his Majeſty will by no means defend them from the Juſtice of the Law.

" His Majeſty will reſtore again, and recompence out of his own Stores, ſuch Arms and Ammunition as have been taken for his uſe out of the ſeveral Counties, *&c.*

" He expects that the Arms and Ammunition which have been taken from the ſeveral Counties and Cities, for the Uſe of the Armies under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, be likewiſe reſtored to them."

Without entering into a particular Diſcuſſion of this Article, it ſuffices to ſay in two Words, that the whole Difficulty lay in both Houſes reſerving to themſelves the Power of approving ſuch as ſhould be intruſted with the Cuſtody of the Magazines, and in the King's pretending that the Oath of ſuch Perſons was a ſufficient Security. And this rendered the Concluſion of this Point impracticable.

Concerning the Reſtitution of the Towns and Forts.

The ſame Difficulty occurred upon this Article. The two Houſes offered to reſtore the Towns and Forts. But they inſiſted that they ſhould be delivered into the Hands of ſuch Perſons as both Houſes ſhould confide in, which the King would not agree to. As the Commiſſioners urged the Neceſſity of giving Satisfaction to the People, with reſpect to their Fears and Jealouſies, the King anſwered, That he rather expected their Reaſons ſhould have had

1643. ſome Foundation in the Law of the Land, than that they ſhould only have inſiſted upon Fears and Jealouſies, of which as he did not know the Ground, ſo was he ignorant of the Cure.

Concerning the Ships.

It was the ſame with this as with the two foregoing Articles. Both Houſes required that the Lord High-Admiral and all Commanders of Ships ſhould take a particular Oath, to uſe their utmoſt Power to preſerve the true Proteſtant Religion and the Peace of the Kingdom, againſt all foreign Forces and all other Forces raiſed without his Majeſty's Authority and Conſent of the two Houſes of Parliament. But the King would not conſent to it, alledging, the Oaths which all thoſe Officers were by Law already obliged to take were very ſufficient. Only he ſaid, if any thing ſhould be made appear to him neceſſary to be added, when there ſhould be a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament, he would readily conſent to an Act for ſuch an Addition.

If it is conſidered what was the Occaſion of the War, it will eaſily be perceived, that the Execution and not the Injunctions of the Laws was the Point in Queſtion. Wherefore the King, in pretending that every thing ſhould be ſettled by the Laws, did not meddle in the leaſt with the Point to be decided in his Diſpute with the Parliament.

The King's firſt Propoſition having been thus debated in vain, they proceeded to the firſt of the Parliament's, which contained two Articles; namely, that both Armies ſhould be disbanded, and his Majeſty return to his Parliament.

The King's Anſwer to the firſt was, "That he "was willing all Armies ſhould be disbanded, and "conceived the beſt way to it to be a ſpeedy Con-"cluſion of the Treaty, and for that purpoſe he "deſired

" desired that the Time given to the Committee of 1643.
" both Houses to treat might be enlarged."

As to the second, " He would repair to his Par-
" liament as soon as he could possibly do it with his
" Honour and Safety."

As the King's Answer was too general and doubtful, the Commissioners in writing desired to know, " If by the Words (*a speedy Conclusion of the Treaty*) " he intended a Conclusion of the Treaty on his " first Proposition, and their Proposition for dis-
" banding the Armies, or a Conclusion of the Treaty " on all the Propositions of both Parts.

The King answered, " That by *the Conclusion of* " *the Treaty*, he intended such a Conclusion of the " Treaty, as there might be a clear Evidence to " himself and his Subjects of a future Peace, and no " Ground left for the Continuance and Growth of " the present bloody Dissentions; which, he doubted " not, might be obtained, if both Houses should " consent that the Treaty might proceed without " further Interruption or Limitation of Days."

This Answer being no less ambiguous than the former, the Commissioners insisted upon an Explication of what they had already desired, as also that he would be pleased to let them know what he intended should be a clear Evidence to him and his Subjects of a future Peace.

The King answered, " That if the Conclusion of " the Treaty on his first Proposition, and the Pro-
" position of both Houses, should be so full and " perfectly made, that the Law of the Land might " have a full, free, and uninterrupted Course, for " the Defence and Preservation of the Rights of his " Majesty, both Houses, and his Subjects, there " would be thence a clear Evidence of a future Peace: " And this would be such a Conclusion as he intend-
" ed. He never meant that both Armies should " remain undisbanded until all the Propositions of " both Sides were fully concluded. But he was very " sorry that in that Point of the Proposition of both

1643. "Houſes, *viz.* his return to the Parliament, they "had yet no manner of Power or Inſtructions ſo "much as to treat with him."

The King uſed ſuch general Expreſſions, that it was eaſy to ſee he ſought only to ſpin out the Conferences, or to make ſome Advantage of the Commiſſioners Anſwers. In all appearance, he would alſo have found a freſh Occaſion of Delay in the Debate of that Part of the Propoſition relating to his Return to the Parliament.

April the 10th, the Commiſſioners preſented another Paper to his Majeſty, wherein they ſaid, "That "by new Inſtructions they were commanded to inſiſt "upon the disbanding of the two Armies, and that "both Houſes conceived his Anſwer to be in effect "a Denial, unleſs they departed from all thoſe "Cautions and Limitations contained in their Reply "to his firſt Propoſition: That if they had not in-"ſerted their Deſire of his Majeſty's Return in their "Committee's Inſtructions, it was becauſe they con-"ceived the disbanding the Armies would facilitate "his Reſolution therein."

A remarkable Circumſtance. Whitlock, p. 65.

During the Courſe of this Negotiation, the King had frequent Conferences in private with the Commiſſioners. *Whitlock*, who was one, relates in his *Memoirs*, that in one of theſe Conferences, the Commiſſioners, having been with the King till Midnight, and preſſed him with their Reaſons upon a very material Point, his Majeſty was prevailed with to give a ſatisfactory Anſwer, which would have much conduced to a happy Iſſue and Succeſs of the Treaty, and told them, *He was fully ſatisfied, and promiſed to let them have his Anſwer in writing according to their Deſire*; but becauſe it was then too late to draw it up, he would have them wait on him the next Morning at ſuch an Hour. Accordingly they came, but inſtead of that Anſwer, which they expected, the King gave them a Paper quite contrary to what was concluded the Night before, and very much tending to

to the Breach of the Treaty. *Whitlock* ſays, he was informed by ſome of the King's own Friends, that after they were gone from his Majeſty, and his Council alſo withdrawn, ſome of his Bed-chamber (and they went *higher*) hearing from himſelf what Anſwer he had promiſed, and doubting it would tend to ſuch an Iſſue as they did not wiſh, they being rather for the Continuance of the War, never left perſuading the King, till they prevailed with him to change his former Reſolutions, and give Order for his Anſwer to be drawn directly contrary to what he had promiſed, it being that Prince's Misfortune to prefer always the Opinions of others to his own. Which is an Obſervation confirmed alſo by the Lord *Clarendon* in his Character of King *Charles* I.* Indeed *Whitlock* does not ſay, that the King's Anſwer he mentions, was the ſame with the following Meſſage; but in all likelihood it was ſo, ſince it was the Cauſe of breaking off the Conferences. However this be, on the 12th of *April* the King ſent this Meſſage to both Houſes, notwithſtanding the Endeavours of the Commiſſioners to diſſuade him from it. 1643.

Subſtance

* The Story is here told as related by *Whitlock*, which deviates a little from the Original. *Whitlock* obſerves farther upon this Treaty, that their Inſtructions were very ſtrict, and tied them up to treat with none but the King himſelf, who, he ſays, manifeſted on this Occaſion his great Parts and Abilities, Strength of Reaſon, and Quickneſs of Apprehenſion, with much Patience in hearing what was objected againſt him, wherein he allowed all Freedom, and would himſelf ſum up the Arguments, and give a moſt clear Judgment upon them. He ſays alſo concerning the Commiſſioners, the Earl of *Northumberland* demeaned himſelf with much Courage and Wiſdom. Mr. *Pierpoint* acted his Part with deep Foreſight and Prudence. Sir *William Ermyn* was a Gentleman of good Underſtanding and Converſation, and would give his Opinion upon good Reaſon. Sir *John Holland*, a Gentleman of excellent Parts as well as Perſon, ſhewed a very good Judgment and Teſtimony of his Abilities. Mr. *Whitlock* (that is himſelf) was put upon very much Labour, being employed in drawing up all the Papers to the King, which were tranſcribed afterwards by the Secretaries. *Whitlock*, p. 65.

1643.

Substance of the King's Message to both Houses, April 12. 1643.

Rush. V. p. 259.

" AS soon as his Majesty is satisfied concerning " his own Revenue, Magazines, Ships and " Ports, to which he desires nothing but that the " just, known, legal Rights of his Majesty, (de- " volved to him from his Progenitors) and of the " Persons trusted by him, which have violently been " taken from Both, be restored unto him, and unto " them.

" As soon as all the Members of both Houses " shall be restored to the same Capacity of sitting " and voting in Parliament as they had upon the " 1st of *January* 1641, the same of Right belonging " unto them by their Birth-rights, and the free E- " lections of those that sent them, and having been " voted from them, for adhering to his Majesty in " these Distractions; his Majesty not intending that " this should extend either to the Bishops, whose " Votes have been taken away by Bill; or to such, " in whose Places upon new Writs, new Elections " have been made.

" As soon as his Majesty and both Houses may be " secured from such tumultuous Assemblies, as to " the great Breach of the Privileges, and the high " Dishonour of Parliaments having formerly assem- " bled about both Houses, and awed the Members " of the same, and occasioned two several Com- " plaints from the House of Lords, and two seve- " ral Desires of that House to the House of Com- " mons, to join in a Declaration against them; the " complying with which Desire might have prevented " all these miserable Distractions which have ensued. " Which Security his Majesty conceives can be only " settled by adjourning the Parliament to some other " Place, at the least Twenty Miles from *London*,

" the

" the Choice of which his Majeſty leaves to both 1643.
" Houſes.

" His Majeſty will then moſt chearfully and readily Conſent, that both Armies be immediately disbanded, and give a preſent Meeting to both his Houſes of Parliament at the ſame Time and Place, at, and to which, the Parliament ſhall agree to be adjourned.

" His Majeſty being confident that the Law will then recover the due Credit and Eſtimation, and that upon a free debate, in a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament, ſuch Proviſions will be made againſt ſeditious Preachings and Printing againſt his Majeſty, and the eſtabliſhed Laws, which hath been one of the chief Cauſes of the preſent Diſtractions; and ſuch Care will be taken concerning the legal and known Rights of his Majeſty, and the Property and Liberty of his Subjects, that whatſoever hath been publiſhed or done, in or by Colour of any illegal Declarations, Ordinances, or Order of one or both Houſes, or any Committee of either of them, and particularly the Power to raiſe Arms without his Majeſty's Conſent, will be in ſuch manner recalled, diſclaimed, and provided againſt, that no Seed will remain for the like to ſpring out of for the future, to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and to endanger the very being of it."

There was no need of any great Penetration, to perceive by this Meſſage, that not only the King intended to break off the Conferences, but that alſo he was not much inclined to Peace. The Truth is, it was very needleſs to enter into Treaty, ſince neither King nor Parliament would abate any Thing of their reſpective Claims. The ſhorteſt way would have been to debate the general Queſtion, whether there was juſt Reaſon to confide in the King, and reſtore him to his Rights, for every one of the Propoſitions offered by both Parties neceſſarily led to this Point,

1643. ſo that none could be decided without this being previouſly determined. If they had proceeded to the Diſcuſſion of the reſt of the Propoſitions, the Difficulties would have been ſtill greater, ſince the two Parties went upon quite oppoſite Principles. But in all appearance, the King and the Parliament had foreſeen what came to paſs, and agreed to this Negotiation with no other view than to make the People believe they were diſpoſed to a Peace. This was equally neceſſary for them, becauſe in the People conſiſted the Strength of both Sides.

The Conferences are broken off.

As ſoon as both Houſes received this Meſſage, they ſent their Commiſſioners poſitive Orders to return, and the Conferences ceaſed.

The King's view in propoſing a Ceſſation of Arms.

It was not without Reaſon that the King was deſirous of a Ceſſation of Arms, on the Terms by him propoſed, though for never ſo ſhort a ſpace, and that he inſiſted upon Communication of Quarters. He found himſelf at *Oxford* unprovided of Ammunition, and the Queen, who was at *York*, had brought him a good Quantity; but the difficulty was to convey them to *Oxford* with a ſtrong Guard. If therefore the Ceſſation of Arms had been concluded with the Clauſe of Communication of Quarters, nothing would have hindered the King from ſending for his Ammunition from *York*, without the Parliament's being able to complain. For though in the firſt Article of the propoſed Ceſſation, it was allowed to ſtop all Perſons carrying Ammunition, it was not ſaid however that ſuch a conveying was an Infringement of the Suſpenſion. Since then by the Article of Communication of Quarters, the King would have been at Liberty to draw as many of his Troops as he pleaſed from *York* to *Oxford*, he might likewiſe, if this ſame Article had been granted, have ſent for his Ammunition with a Guard, which the Parliament's Forces could not have attacked without breaking the Ceſſation, when the Guard ſhould have paſſed into their Quarters.

It

1643.

It evidently appears the King intended to reap this Benefit by the Ceſſation of Arms, which according to him, was to be only for the Eaſe of the People, ſince from the beginning of the Month of *April*, when the Treaty was on foot at *Oxford*, he detached Prince *Rupert* with twelve Hundred Horſe, and ſeven or eight Hundred Foot, to go and eſtabliſh a Communication between *York* and *Oxford*, by ſecuring certain Places lying betwixt theſe two Cities. The Prince marched by way of *Bromicham*, a Town of the Parliaments, garriſoned with a Company of Foot *, and taking it by Storm, made the Inhabitants pay a large Fine, as a Puniſhment for aſſiſting the Garriſon to beat him off *1.

The King detaches Prince Rupert *to eſtabliſh a Communication between* York *and* Oxford.

The Prince takes Bromicham,

After this little Conqueſt, the Prince marched directly to *Lichfield*, where he entered without difficulty, the Town being open in ſeveral Places. But the Cathedral with the *Cloſe* was a ſort of Fortreſs which he was obliged to beſiege in form, it being ſtrongly garriſoned. At laſt he drained the Moat and ſprung two Mines, one whereof taking Effect, he furiouſly ſtormed the Place, which was bravely defended by the Garriſon: But the Dread of not being able to ſtand the ſecond Aſſault, cauſed them to deſire to capitulate. The Prince granted them an honourable capitulation, being very glad to be freed from the Trouble he ſhould have been in, had he been obliged to continue the Siege, which had held ten Days. He intended to puſh his Conqueſts farther towards the North, in order to make a Line of Communication between *York* and *Oxford*: But the King recalled him from *Lichfield*, having need of him to raiſe the Siege of *Reading*.

and Litchfield.

He is recalled by the King.

The

* The Lord *Clarendon* ſays, the Town had in it a Troop of Horſe belonging to the Garriſon of *Lichfield*. Vol. III. p. 232.

*1 In the too eager Purſuit of the Troop of Horſe, the Earl of *Denbigh*, who from the beginning of the War had been a Volunteer in Prince *Rupert*'s Troop, was wounded ſo that he died within two or three Days. Ibid.

1643. *Siege and taking of* Reading *by* Essex. Rush. V. p. 265.

The Treaty for Peace at *Oxford* being broken off on the 15th of *April*, the Earl of *Essex* marched from *Windsor*, and the next Day sat down before *Reading*. His Army consisted of sixteen Thousand Foot, and three Thousand Horse. The King was so possessed with the Notion that the Parliament's Soldiers served them against their Wills, and by Constraint, that he issued out a Proclamation, offering Pardon to such as were in the Earl of *Essex*'s Army, a Precaution entirely fruitless. In the beginning of the Siege, the Governour, Sir *Arthur Aston*, being wounded in the Head, and forced to keep his Chamber, the Command was devolved to Colonel *Richard Fielding*, who was the eldest Colonel in the Garrison.

The King no sooner heard of the Siege of *Reading*, but he sent away a Detachment of Horse, under the Command of Commissary *Wilmot*, who found means to throw in three Hundred Men and some Powder. But this Supply not appearing sufficient to Colonel *Fielding*, he demanded to capitulate, and a Truce was agreed on, during which the Besiegers and the Besieged mutually gave one another Hostages.

The King tries in vain to relieve the Town.

At the same Time the King coming with his Army within a few Miles of *Reading*, detached *Ruthen* his General, lately made Earl of *Forth*, who with a Body of a Thousand Musqueteers, vigorously attacked a Post *, by which the King was necessarily to pass, in order to relieve *Reading*. The Earl of *Forth* was in hopes that whilst he attacked this Post, the Garrison would sally out upon the Besiegers. But as, without knowing it, he had made his Attack just as the Truce was agreed upon, no Body stirred from the Town. So not being able to force the Pass, he retreated back to the King.

Fielding *capitulates.*

Mean while, *Fielding* having negotiated a Capitulation with the Earl of *Essex*, found means, before it was quite concluded, to get in the Night to the King, and

* *Caversham*-Bridge, defended by the Lord *Robert's* and *Berkley's* Regiments.

and told him, he hoped to have Liberty to march away with all their Arms and Baggage. The King approved of the Capitulation, which was ſigned next Day, and the Town delivered up to the Beſiegers. But by one of the Articles, which probably *Fielding* did not acquaint the King with, and which perhaps was not yet agreed on, the Earl of *Eſſex* excepted the Deſerters, who could not obtain Liberty to march out with the reſt of the Garriſon. When the King's Troops came out of the Town, and were paſſing through the Enemies Guards, the Soldiers were inſulted, and ſome Waggons plundered, contrary to the Articles of Capitulation. 1643. *Breach of the Capitulation.*

The King was very well pleaſed with ſaving the Body of Troops that had been at *Reading*, and indeed that was his principal view in giving *Fielding* leave to capitulate. But when the Garriſon came to *Oxford*, ſeveral Officers complained that *Fielding* was too haſty in ſurrendering a Place which could have held out longer. Nay, ſome accuſed him openly of betraying the King. Whereupon he deſired to be tried by a Council of War, which was granted him. The King, who perhaps had too readily conſented to the Capitulation, and was incenſed at him, after he underſtood that the Place was capable of making a longer Defenſe, could not however find fault with his capitulating, as he had done it with his Approbation. But his admitting the Article whereby the Deſerters were excepted, was charged to him as a Crime, and the King publiſhed a Declaration, proteſting he was not conſenting to that Exception, being very far from refuſing Protection to any who ſhould leave the Enemy, and betake themſelves to his Service. *Fielding* was likewiſe accuſed of not paying punctual Obedience to ſome of the King's Orders: But what theſe Orders were I have no where been able to find *. However that be, *Fielding* was ſentenced by the Council

* For ſome ſuch, in this Agitation, ſays the Lord *Clarendon*, it had received, which he had not preciſely obſerved.

1643. *Siege and taking of* Reading *by* Essex. Rush. V. p. 265.

The Treaty for Peace at *Oxford* being broken off on the 15th of *April*, the Earl of *Essex* marched from *Windsor*, and the next Day sat down before *Reading*. His Army consisted of sixteen Thousand Foot, and three Thousand Horse. The King was so possessed with the Notion that the Parliament's Soldiers served them against their Wills, and by Constraint, that he issued out a Proclamation, offering Pardon to such as were in the Earl of *Essex*'s Army, a Precaution entirely fruitless. In the beginning of the Siege, the Governour, Sir *Arthur Aston*, being wounded in the Head, and forced to keep his Chamber, the Command was devolved to Colonel *Richard Fielding*, who was the eldest Colonel in the Garrison.

The King no sooner heard of the Siege of *Reading*, but he sent away a Detachment of Horse, under the Command of Commissary *Wilmot*, who found means to throw in three Hundred Men and some Powder. But this Supply not appearing sufficient to Colonel *Fielding*, he demanded to capitulate, and a Truce was agreed on, during which the Besiegers and the Besieged mutually gave one another Hostages.

The King tries in vain to relieve the Town.

At the same Time the King coming with his Army within a few Miles of *Reading*, detached *Ruthen* his General, lately made Earl of *Forth*, who with a Body of a Thousand Musqueteers, vigorously attacked a Post *, by which the King was necessarily to pass, in order to relieve *Reading*. The Earl of *Forth* was in hopes that whilst he attacked this Post, the Garrison would sally out upon the Besiegers. But as, without knowing it, he had made his Attack just as the Truce was agreed upon, no Body stirred from the Town. So not being able to force the Pass, he retreated back to the King.

Fielding *capitulates.*

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1643. cil of War to lose his Head: Which Sentence, after long Intercession, was remitted by the King; but his Regiment given to another. Very likely he was too hasty to conclude this Capitulation, and had not set forth to the King the true State of the Place. But as he could not be condemned for that, seeing he had the King's Consent to capitulate, other Pretenses were sought after. This Judgment occasioned a great deal of Dissention in the King's Army, some striving to vindicate the Sentence, whilst others passionately represented it as the most unjust that was ever given in the like Case.

The King upon a false Alarm is going to quit Oxford.

Sickness in the Parliament's Army. Rush. V. p. 290.

The Earl of *Clarendon* says, that the King having received wrong Intelligence, that the Earl of *Essex*, after the taking of *Reading* was marching towards *Oxford*, resolved to retire into the North to join with the Earl of *Newcastle*. But it was only a false Alarm. The Earl of *Essex* was so little able to go and besiege *Oxford*, that he was forced on the contrary to stay above six Weeks at *Reading* without being able to act, by reason of the Sickness which infested his Army.

Waller *takes* Hereford. Ibid. p. 263.

Whilst the Treaty for Peace was negotiating at *Oxford*, Sir *William Waller* continued his Conquests along the *Severn*, where having defeated Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland*, Son to the Marquis of *Worcester*, he became Master of *Hereford*. But in assaulting *Worcester* he was repulsed, after which he went and joined the Earl of *Essex* before *Reading*.

The Order of the Matters for the Campaign of the Year 1643.

As the War was carrying on in all Parts of the Kingdom, it is hardly possible to speak of the Military Actions of this second Campaign, according to the Order of Time, without Confusion. And therefore I chuse rather to follow the Order of the Places, and speak first of what passed in the Middle of the Kingdom where the two main Armies lay. I shall relate next the principal Events that happened in the *West*; and lastly, shall proceed to what passed in the North, and on the Borders of the eastern Counties. These last were associated by the Parliament, and being

ing well provided with Troops, the King had not much occaſion to carry the War thither. As for the ſouthern Counties, nothing conſiderable was acted there this Campaign. After this, I ſhall reſume what paſſed of any Moment with regard to Civil Affairs, during the Courſe of the Year 1643. This Method is not without its Inconveniences too: But I ſhall endeavour to avoid them in part, by ſetting down the exact Time of every Event, that the Cauſes and Motives as well of the Civil as Military Actions may be the more eaſily known. 1643.

The Parliament thinks of beſieging Oxford.

The taking of *Reading* ſeemed to be a good Omen to the Parliament, for the reſt of the Campaign. But, as I ſaid, the great Mortality amongſt the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Soldiers, ſuffered him not to improve this Advantage. After the ſurrender of *Reading*, both Houſes thought of no leſs than beſieging *Oxford*, where the King was in great Diſtreſs for want of warlike Stores. In all Appearance, the Intelligence he had received that the Earl of *Eſſex* was going to march thither, came from *London* from ſome one of his Friends, who knowing it was the Parliament's Deſign, did not queſtion but it would be put in Execution. Mean while the King received ſome Ammunition in the Month of *May*, and as his Enemies were not in a Condition to make any Attempt, he remained in quiet at *Oxford*.

The Earl of Eſſex *marches towards* Oxford, *and advances as far as* Thame.

At length, after a Six-Weeks-ſtay at *Reading*, the Earl of *Eſſex* marched towards *Oxford*, rather out of Condeſcenſion to the two Houſes, than in Expectation of making any Progreſs, by reaſon of the ill State of his Army. He advanced however as far as *Thame*, within ten Miles of *Oxford*, where he ſtopped.

Colonel Hurry *deſerts and informs Prince* Rupert *of the Diſpoſition of the Parliament's Army.*

There was in his Army a *Scotch* Colonel called *Hurry*, who had ſerved in *Germany* with the Earl of *Forth*, the King's General, with whom he kept a ſecret Correſpondence. As ſoon as the Earl of *Eſſex* came near *Oxford*, *Hurry* quitted the Parliament's Service, and went over to the King, who received him very graciouſly. After that he informed Prince *Rupert* of

1643. *The Prince beats up two of the Enemy's Quarters, and retires.* the Situation of the Quarters of the Parliament's Army, perſwaded him to make an Attempt upon the Enemy. So the Prince ſetting out from *Oxford* in the Evening with a Body of Horſe, took a long Compaſs about, and at break of Day came to *Wickham*, where beating up the Quartets of two Regiments, one of Horſe, the other of Foot, he cut them in Pieces. Then he fell upon another Quarter with the ſame Succeſs, after which he reſolved to retire by a Bridge, where he had left a Guard. But as the Alarm had been brought to the Earl of *Eſſex*, he had detached ſome Troops to ſtop the Prince who was to croſs *Chaldgrave*-Field, and then to enter a Lane which led to the Bridge. The Earl of *Eſſex*'s Horſe not having given the Prince Time to reach the Bridge, he choſe rather to expect them in the open Field, than to intangle himſelf in the Lane, with his Enemy at his Heels. He charged therefore theſe Horſe with ſuch Bravery, that he put them to Flight towards a Body of Foot which the Earl of *Eſſex* was leading on himſelf. Whilſt the Horſe were flying, the Prince paſſed the Lane and Bridge, and entered *Oxford* in Triumph. Upon the firſt Alarm brought to the Head-Quarters, Mr. *Hambden* Colonel of Foot mounted his Horſe, and rode as a Volunteer in the Regiment of Horſe, that was ordered out to ſtop the Prince. He was ſhot in the Shoulder in this Action, and a few Days after died of the Wound. He was a Perſon very eminent in his Party, both for his Courage as an Officer in the Army, and for his Wiſdom and Parts as a Member of Parliament. He had given a good Proof of his Firmneſs and Reſolution when he went through the Suit entered againſt him for refuſing to pay *Ship-Money*.

Chaldgrave *Field*,

where Hambden *is ſlain.*

After this Loſs the Earl of *Eſſex*, whoſe Army was in a very ill State, thought not proper to remain longer at *Thame*. He put his Troops into Quarters of Refreſhment at St. *Albans*, *Uxbridge*, and the adjacent Parts, till they ſhould be recruited and furniſhed with many Things that were wanted, which the Parliament

Parliament did not ſeem to take much notice of, whether from Inability, or for ſome other Reaſon. 1643.

The Queen brings the King a great ſupply.

From that Time, the King's Military Affairs began to flouriſh, and the Parliament was in great Perplexity. The Queen joined the King the 13th of *July*, and brought him two Thouſand Foot, a Thouſand Horſe, a Hundred Waggons laden with Ammunition of all ſorts, ſix Pieces of Cannon, and two Mortars. On the other Side, Sir *William Waller* who was ſent into the *Weſt* by the Parliament, had the ill Fortune to be defeated, and his Army was ſo diſperſed that it was no longer ſerviceable *. In this Juncture it was that the King reſolved to beſiege *Briſtol* by Prince *Rupert*, with whom was joined the *Corniſh* Army that had beaten Sir *William Waller*.

Prince Rupert beſieges Briſtol.

The 22d of *July* Prince *Rupert* ſat down before *Briſtol*, and the ſame Day, with the Aſſiſtance of ſome Seamen who were prepared before, he ſeized the Ships that were in *King road*, laden with Goods of great Value, which the Inhabitants of *Briſtol* had put on board believing it ſafeſt.

He ſtorms the Town. Ruſh. V. p. 284.

On the Morrow, the Prince having held a Council of War, it was reſolved to proceed by Aſſault, and not by Approach. It muſt needs be that the Walls were very weak, or that there were ſome Breaches, otherwiſe, it is hard to conceive that the Beſiegers ſhould reſolve upon that Courſe, two Days after their Arrival, eſpecially as there was a numerous Garriſon in the Place. However this be, the next Day both Armies attacked the City, each at three ſeveral Places, ſo that the Garriſon were forced to part themſelves into ſix Bodies to defend the Walls. The *Corniſh* Army was driven back with great Slaughter in their three Aſſaults. Two Diviſions of Prince *Rupert*'s were likewiſe repulſed: But the third commanded by Colonel *Waſhington* had better Succeſs, the

* He loſt two Battles. The Battle of *Lanſdown*, (*July* 5) wherein Sir *Beril Greenvil* was ſlain, and the Battle of *Roundway-down*, *July* 13th, as will be ſeen hereafter.

1643. Colonel having found means to make a Breach in the Wall large enough for the Prince to enter with his Horſe. But this Advantage only put him in Poſſeſſion of the Suburbs, beyond which was the City Wall, much ſtronger than what they had paſſed. However he marched up the Street to *Frome-gate*, where he was forced to halt, and where he loſt many of his Men, who were ſhot by the Inhabitants from the Walls and Windows *.

The Governour capitulates.

What the Prince had gained was ſo inconſiderable, that in all likelihood the Siege would ſtill have coſt much Time and many Lives, if the Governour had not been at his Wit's End, and ordered a Parley to be beaten. The Governour was Colonel *Nathaniel Fiennes*, who in the beginning of this Parliament, had made in the Houſe of *Commons* ſeveral fine Speeches againſt the King; but who in all appearance was not very skillful in the Art of War. The Prince immediately granted the Capitulation deſired, thinking himſelf happy in gaining a Place of that Importance in ſo ſhort a Time. This Capitulation was ill obſerved by the King's Soldiers, who ſtripped thoſe of the Garriſon, and made themſelves more than amends for the Breach of the Capitulation at *Reading*, whether it was done with or without the Connivance of the Generals. *Fiennes* was impriſoned for his cowardly ſurrender of *Briſtol*, and ſome Months after condemned to dye by a Council of War. But he was reprieved by the Earl of *Eſſex*, and went and paſſed the reſidue of his Days Beyond-ſea.

Breach of the Capitulation.

Fiennes *the Governour condemned to dye.*

The King reſolves to beſiege Glouceſter

The taking of *Briſtol* infuſing freſh Hopes into the King, he was willing to improve the preſent good Opportunity, whilſt the Parliament had no Army fit to oppoſe his Progreſs. He reſolved therefore to beſiege *Glouceſter*, the Poſſeſſion whereof would have been of very great Moment to him. By it he would have become Maſter of all the *Severn*, from *Briſtol* to

* Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, Colonel *Trevannion*, Major *Kendal* were ſlain.

to *Shrewsbury*, and of the whole Country lying between this River and *Wales*, where there would have been only *Hereford*, which, it is likely, would not have held out long. By this means, he would not only have extended his Quarters into a very good Country, but alſo ſecured a Communication from *Cornwal* to the northern Counties. For as the Parliament had now no Army in the *Weſt*, ſince *Waller*'s Defeat, the Communication of the *Weſtern*-Counties with *Briſtol* could not be interrupted. The taking of *Glouceſter* would have opened a Communication from *Briſtol* to *Shrewsbury*, and from thence to the *North*, by means of *Lancaſhire*, which was more for him than for the Parliament. Beſides this, the taking of *Glouceſter* would have ſecured to him the Poſſeſſion of *Wales*, where the Parliament would not have had any Entrance but by Sea. If therefore ſome of his Friends themſelves have blamed him for undertaking this Siege, one may be ſure the ill Succeſs was the beſt Foundation of their Opinion. For my Part, I verily believe, he had all the Reaſon in the World to undertake it, at a Time when there was no likelihood that the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army could be ready ſoon enough to hinder this Conqueſt. The Lord *Clarendon* pretends to diſcover a Secret which confirmed the King in his Reſolution. He ſays, the King having ſent a Meſſenger to Colonel *Maſſy* Governour of *Glouceſter*, to perſwade him to deliver up the Place, *Maſſy* in publick anſwered in a very high Strain, but in private bid the Meſſenger tell the King, that if he came himſelf to beſiege the Town, he would not hold it againſt him, it not ſtanding with his Conſcience to fight againſt the Perſon of the King *. But the Sequel ſhowed either 1643.

* The Lord *Clarendon* does not ſay the King ſent a Meſſenger, but that Colonel *Leg*, under whom *Maſſy* had ſerved in the King's Army, ſent him a Letter of Kindneſs and Overture, as was proper in ſuch a Caſe from one Friend to another. To which Letter *Maſſy* returned an Anſwer in a high Style, but told the Meſſenger in private as above.

1643. that *Massy* had altered his mind, or the King had taken a mere Compliment for a positive Promise, since in the Defence of this Place *Massy* was very far from expressing the least Inclination to favour the King. This Prince was all along possessed with the Notion that those who bore Arms against him acted against the Dictates of their Conscience, and readily believed they only wanted an Opportunity to serve him, wherein he was frequently mistaken.

The Parliament it alarmed.

The Earl of Essex's *Army is recruited.*

Nothing is a clearer Evidence how advantageous to the King the taking of *Glouceſter* would have been, than the Parliament's Alarm when they heard the first News of his marching to form this Siege. Whereas before, the Earl of *Essex*'s Army was suffered to decay, no Stone was left unturned to recruit it, the Moment the King's Design was known. Care was taken to complete the Regiments by fresh Levies of Soldiers which were raised in *London* with all possible Expedition. And to facilitate these Levies, the Parliament ordered the Shops to be shut up till *Glouceſter* should be relieved, and moreover, the Earl of *Essex*'s Army was strengthned with a strong Body of the City Train'd-bands. These Things were done with that Diligence, that in Fifteen Days space the Earl of *Essex* was in Condition to march to the Relief of the Besieged.

The King besieges Glouceſter. Aug. 10. Rush. V. p. 286.

The King came before *Glouceſter* the 10th of *August*, and immediately ordered the Approaches to be set about, which however were not carried on so vigorously as was expected, by reason of the frequent Sallies of the besieged. Besides, the King was obliged to go to *Oxford*, which made him lose some Days. The Earl of *Essex* having begun his *March* the 28th of *August*, arrived in a few Days near *Glouceſter*, and advancing to *Presbury*-Hills, drew up his whole Army in view of the City, expecting the King would come and give him Battle. But the King not thinking fit to run any hazard, raised the Siege, which could not be done without great Disorder.

He raises the Siege upon Essex's *Approach.* Sept. 5.

der *. The Earl of *Eſſex* marching into *Glouceſter*, found the Beſieged reduced to one ſingle Barrel of Powder, and no better provided with other Stores. Having ſtayed there Three Days *1, he departed from thence to return towards *London*, paſſing through *Tewkesbury* in his way. He marched Two Days before the King knew he was gone, and ſurprized the Town of *Cirenceſter*, where lay Two Regiments *2. After that he croſſed North *Wiltſhire*, a deep and incloſed Country, which obliged him to make ſhort Marches. 1643. Eſſex returns.

As ſoon as the King had notice of the Enemies March and the Rout they were taken, ſat out in order to be cloſe at their Heels, ſending Prince *Rupert* before with all his Cavalry, conſiſting of Five Thouſand Horſe. It is likely his Intention was that the Prince ſhould poſt himſelf between *London* and the Parliament's Army, whilſt he himſelf ſhould follow, and put the ſame Army between him and his Cavalry. Be that as it will, for it is no eaſy Matter to gueſs the King's Deſign, Prince *Rupert* came up with the Earl of *Eſſex*, as he was marching over *Auborn-Chace*, intending to have reach- *The King follows him.*

* *Whitlock* has a Particular not mentioned by the Lord *Clarendon*, *viz.* his Majeſty underſtanding that *Eſſex* advanced apace to the Relief of *Glouceſter*, ſent a Trumpet to him, with ſome Propoſitions to be treated on. But *Eſſex* much acquainted with ſuch ſmall Deſigns to hinder his March, returned a ſpeedy Anſwer, *That he had no Commiſſion to treat, but to relieve* Glouceſter, *which he was reſolved to do or to loſe his Life there*, And his Soldiers hearing of a Trumpeter come with Propoſitions to treat, cried out for a long time together, with loud Acclamations, *No Propoſitions, No Propoſitions*. So their Trumpeter was diſmiſſed. *Whitlock's Mem.* p. 69.

*1 And in that time, ſays the Lord *Clarendon*, which was as wonderful as any part of the Story, cauſed all neceſſary Proviſions to be brought in to them, out of thoſe very Quarters in which the King's Army had been ſuſtained, and which they conceived to be entirely ſpent: *So ſollicitous were the People to conceal what they had and to reſerve it for them.* Vol. III. p. 344.

*2 And took Forty Loads of Proviſions, Six Standards, Three Hundred Common Soldiers, and Four Hundred Horſes, the ſaid Forces being deſigned for *Kent*, to raiſe an Army there for the King, and Sir *Nicholas Criſpe* to command them. *Ruſh.* V. p. 292. *Rapin* ſays, *Chicheſter* inſtead of *Cirenceſter*.

1643. ed *Newbury* that Night. There enſued in this Place a ſharp Conflict, Prince *Rupert* having charged the Earl's Rear, who were put into ſome Diſorder. The Marquiſs of *La Vieuville* a *Frenchman* *, who ſerved the King as a Volunteer, was killed in this Action. This Conflict obliged the Earl of *Eſſex* to quarter at *Hungerford*. The next Day he continued his March towards *Newbury*. But he found that the King had got before him two Hours, and had poſted himſelf near the Town. Prince *Rupert*, after the Action of the foregoing Day, went and joined the King.

The King gets to Newbury *before* Eſſex.

The Battle of Newbury. Sept. 20. Ruſh. V. p. 293.

The two Armies, being too near each other to part without Blows, prepared for Battle, and the Fight begun *1. Prince *Rupert*, as uſual, performed Wonders with his Horſe. He quickly made the Parliament's Cavalry give way: but took care not to commit the ſame Fault he had done at *Edge-hill*, by purſuing the Runaways too far. After he had routed the Enemies Horſe, he charged their Infantry, who, though deſtitute of the Aſſiſtance of the Cavalry, received him with ſuch Intrepidity, that he could make no Impreſſion on their Stand of Pikes, but was forced to wheel about. It was fought all the reſt of the Day with pretty equal Succeſs. But in the Night the King retired with his Army, and left the Way open to the Earl of *Eſſex* to go to *Newbury*, where he intended to lodge the Night before. Next Day, the Earl of *Eſſex* ſeeing the Coaſt clear, purſued his March, and took the Way by *Newbury* that leads to *Reading*, where he arrived as he had before reſolved. Prince *Rupert*, who followed him, ſeeing him entered into the narrow Lanes, attacked his Rear, put them in Diſorder, and took ſome Priſoners: but prevented not the Earl from continuing his March. He remained two Days at *Reading* to refreſh his Troops, and without leaving a Garriſon in the Place, which was poſſeſſed by the King's Forces after his Departure, went

* He had attended the Queen out of *Holland*.

*1 *Eſſex* had been forced to lodge in the Field all Night.

went on to his old Quarters. The King loſt in this Battle above Twenty Officers of Note, and among others the Earls of *Sunderland* and *Carnarvan*, and the Lord *Falkland* Secretary of State, who would be in the Fight, though he had no Call to it, as being no Military Officer. * 1643.

Remark on the Lord Clarendon's Deſcription of the Battle.

I have taken the Deſcription of this Battle from the Lord *Clarendon*, which by a great many Omiſſions is rendered obſcure. Among others, we do not ſee what the King did with his Infantry. This gives Occaſion to preſume, that his Foot were put to Flight when Prince *Rupert* charged the Parliament's. For otherwiſe, I cannot conceive how theſe laſt could have ſtood their Ground, if they had been to deal with the King's Infantry and Cavalry at once. Neither do we ſee in this Deſcription the Reaſon why the King left the Field of Battle in the Night, ſince it does not appear that he received any conſiderable Loſs. Nevertheleſs, the Lord *Clarendon* endeavours to prove, though by weak Arguments, that Victory was on the King's Side. I believe it would be very eaſy to confute his Reaſons, were there any occaſion. I ſhall content my ſelf with ſaying in general, that the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Deſign, when he went from *Glouceſter*, was to return to his old Quarters about *London*, and that the Battle of *Newbury* hindered him not from executing it, whereas the King's Intent was probably to intercept the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Paſſage, which he could not effect. *1

After

* Being diſſuaded by his Friends to go into the Fight, he ſaid, *He was weary of the Times, and foreſaw much Miſery to his Country, and did believe he ſhould be out of it ere Night.* His Death, ſays *Whitlock*, was lamented by all that knew or heard of him; being a Gentleman of great Parts, Ingenuity and Honour, courteous and juſt to all, and a paſſionate Promoter of all Endeavours of Peace betwixt the King and Parliament. He was ſlain in the 34th Year of his Age. *Whitlock's Mem.* p. 70.

*1 *Whitlock*'s Account of *Newbury*-Fight is briefly this: *Eſſex* finding his Soldiers full of Mettle, and reſolved to force their way, he

1643. After the Battle, the King retiring to *Oxford*, and the Earl of *Essex* to *Windsor*, neither of them had much share in the Actions of the rest of the Campaign. I shall proceed therefore to other Parts of the Kingdom, where the War was carrying on, and particularly in the *West*, where it was very sharp.

The War in the West.

I have already said in speaking of the Affairs of those Parts, that the Parliament did not think proper to consent to the Neutrality entered into by the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal*. On the contrary, they resolved to carry the War into the Latter, which had declared for the King. To that end, about the Beginning of *May*, whilst the King's Troops were at *Lanceston*, few in Number, and very short of Provisions, the Earl of *Stamford* *, the Parliament's General in the *West*, entered *Cornwal* with an Army of Seven Thousand Men. He posted himself on the Top of a Hill near *Stratton*, from whence he sent a Party of Twelve Hundred Horse, under the Command of Sir *George Chudleigh*, to *Bodmin* a Town lying in the middle of the County, in order to keep it in awe and hinder the Militia from joining with the King's Forces as they had done once before. Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who commanded for the King at *Lanceston*, and had not above Three Thousand Men, easily saw he should be driven out of the County, unless he could find means to avoid it by some notable Action.

The Earl of Stamford General for the Parliament enters Cornwal.

he led them in Person, and first charged the Enemy with his own Regiment and the Lord *Roberts*'s Brigade of Horse; the Fight began about Six a-Clock in the Morning, *Sept.* 20. and held with very hot Service till Ten or Eleven at Night.

The Parliament's Forces beat the Enemy from all their Advantages, got the Hill from them on which they were posted, pursued them to *Newbury*, and out of the Town again, but the Night coming on, they could pursue them no further; and though the King's Forces (especially the Horse consisting most of Gentlemen) made a gallant Resistance, yet this Place not being proper for their Fight, *their Foot were thus beaten*, and in the Night marched away, leaving *Essex* Master of the Field, whose Soldiers had the Pillage of the dead Bodies. *Whitlock's Mem.* p. 70.

* *Henry Grey* created *Earl of Stamford*, 3 Car. 1.

Action. This made him reſolve to march to the Enemies, though they were much ſuperior in Number, and advantageouſly poſted. The Earl of *Stamford* thought himſelf ſo ſecure from any Attack, that though he had frequent notice of the Enemies Approach he could not believe it. The Truth is, it would have been a raſh Thing in Sir *Ralph Hopton* to attack him with ſo much Diſadvantage, had there been any other way to ſave the County for the King. However that be, the 16th of *May*, approaching the Hill on which the Earl of *Stamford* was incamped, he ordered him to be attacked at Four ſeveral Places. * As the Aſſailants were reſolved to conquer or die, they gained, though with great Difficulty, the Top of the Hill, which their Enemies were at length forced to relinquiſh, after having ſtood the Charge many Hours. In this Action the Earl of *Stamford* had but Three Hundred Men killed, but he left Seventeen Hundred in the Hands of the Enemy. In the Number of the laſt was Major-General *Chudleigh*, who being carried to *Oxford*, went over to the King. The Earl of *Stamford*, whether to excuſe his Defeat, or whether he had Cauſe, openly complained that *Chudleigh* had betrayed him, and in the Heat of the Battle turned againſt him, and charged him with the Body under his Command. The Earl of *Clarendon* pretends, it was all a Scandal: but I imagine few are concerned now to know the Truth *1.

1643.

Battle of Stratton. Stamford *defeated by* Hopton. Ruſh. V. p. 211.

After

* The Four Diviſions of the little Army were led on, the 1ſt by the Lord *Mohun* and Sir *Ralph Hopton*; the 2d by Sir *John Berkley* and Sir *Bevil Greenvil*; the 3d by Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, and Colonel *Trevannion*; the 4th by Colonel *Baſſet* and Colonel *William Godolphin*. In Memory of this Battle Sir *Ralph Hopton* was afterwards created Lord *Hopton* of *Stratford*. As for the Twelve Hundred Horſe ſent to *Bodmin* under the Command of Sir *George Chudleigh*, Father to the Major-General, upon the News of the Defeat, Sir *George*, with as many as he could keep together, got into *Plymouth*. Clarend. III. p. 271.

*1 *Ruſhworth* ſays, that by Letters afterwards intercepted to his Father Sir *George*, it appeared to have been a deſigned Thing; whereupon

1643. *The King sends the Marquiſs of* Hertford *into the Weſt.*

After this Battle, the Earl of *Stamford* throwing himſelf into *Exeter*, his Army being diſperſed, and the Party of Horſe he had ſent to *Bodmin* thinking proper to retire to *Plymouth*, *Hopton* remained Maſter of *Cornwal*. Shortly after, he was informed by a Meſſenger from *Oxford*, that the Parliament had reſolved to ſend Sir *William Waller* into the *Weſt*, with ſome Troops which were to join the Remains of the Earl of *Stamford*'s Army and ſome Levies that were to be raiſed in that Country, and that the King on his part was ſending thither the Marquiſs of *Hertford* and Prince *Maurice* with a Body of Troops, who were now upon their March. This made him think, it would be very proper his little *Corniſh* Army, for ſo it was now called, ſhould join with the Marquiſs's Forces. He marched therefore into *Devonſhire*, leaving ſuch a Party at *Saltaſh* as might defend *Cornwal* from any Incurſions of *Plymouth*, and advanced to *Tiverton*, where he ſtayed to expect Orders from the Marquiſs. Preſently after, hearing the Marquiſs of *Hertford* was come to *Chard*, a Town in *Somerſetſhire*, neareſt the Edge of *Devonſhire*, with Seventeen Hundred Horſe and one Thouſand Foot, he went and joined him, and the two Bodies together formed an Army of Seven Thouſand Men. *Taunton*, a large Town in *Somerſetſhire*, was the firſt the Marquiſs of *Hertford* reſolved to attack. But the Garriſon ſaved him the labour, by retiring to *Bridgwater*, on account of a Commotion raiſed by the Inhabitants. On the Morrow, the Parliament's Troops quitted alſo *Bridgwater*, and in a few Days *Dunſtar*-Caſtle was delivered up to the King *.

Hopton *joins him.*

The Marquiſs takes Bridgwater *and* Taunton.

The

whereupon his Father to prevent any Suſpicion on himſelf, ſurrendered his Commiſſion: And ſhortly after publiſhed a ſort of Declaration which is to be ſeen in *Ruſhworth* V. p. 272.

* By Mr. *Lutterel* the Owner, who thereupon was made Governour of it by the Marquiſs. Sir *John Stawel* was made Governour of *Taunton*, and *Edmund Windham* of *Bridgwater*.

1643. *He marches against* Waller.

The Marquiſs of *Hertford* having ſtayed about *Taunton* ſome Days, heard at laſt that Sir *William Waller* was within two Days March of him, drawing Troops together with the utmoſt Diligence, and expecting more from *London* and *Briſtol*. Whereupon he reſolved to go and attack him, without giving him time to ſtrengthen his Army any more. Whilſt he was preparing to execute this Deſign, the Committee of the Militia, who were levying Forces * in thoſe Parts to join them with *Waller*'s, perceiving a fair Opportunity, beat up one of the Marquiſs's Quarters, who was now advanced to *Somerton*, and gave ſo briſk an Alarm to the King's Troops, that the Marquiſs was forced to draw out the whole Army. Then the Parliament's Forces retired to *Wells*: but ſeeing they were purſued, they quitted *Wells*, and went and poſted themſelves on the Top of *Mendip*-Hill, which overlooks the City. The Marquiſs of *Hertford* being come to *Wells* ſtayed there, the Day being far ſpent. But Prince *Maurice*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and the Earl of *Carnarvan*, taking the Enemies Retreat for a Flight, went out with two Regiments of Horſe to purſue them, and marched directly to them. Whereupon the Parliament's Forces being moſtly Foot and few in Number, retired in order to join with a Detachment of Horſe ſent out by *Waller* to ſupport them. But the Earl of *Carnarvan*, who was advanced the fartheſt, gave them not time to retreat in good Order. As they were obliged to paſs through a Lane, he enter'd after them, and purſued them beyond, till he met with *Waller*'s Horſe, who ſtopped his Career, and compelled him to retire in his turn with great Precipitation. Prince *Maurice* being come to his Relief, a warm Action enſued, wherein the Prince received two Cuts in his Head, and was beaten off his Horſe, but he was fortunately relieved. Night

An Action wherein Prince Maurice *is wounded.*

* Theſe Forces conſiſted not only of new-raiſed Men, but alſo the Remains of thoſe Horſe and Dragoons that eſcaped out of *Cornwal*, after the Battle of *Stratton*, and the Soldiers that fled from *Taunton*, &c.

1643. Night obliged both Parties to retire, the King's to *Wells*, and the Parliament's to *Bath*.

The Marquiſs of Hertford *tries to engage* Waller *to fight.*

Some Days after, the Marquiſs of *Hertford*, knowing *Waller*'s Army daily grew ſtronger, marched towards *Bath* to try to draw him to an Engagement. But *Waller* having his Reaſons to defer it, becauſe he expected freſh Supplies, the Marquiſs advanced to *Marsfield*, five Miles beyond *Bath* [towards *Oxford*.] Whereupon *Waller* [whoſe chief Buſineſs was to hinder him from joining with the King] marched out of *Bath*, and drew up his Army in order of Battle on *Lanſdown*, expecting the Enemies, who failed not to move towards him. As the Marquiſs of *Hertford* was in a Country ſo diſaffected to the King, that only Force could procure him any Supply or Relief, and as beſides, he was advanced beyond *Bath* on purpoſe to engage them to fight, he was not willing to loſe the Opportunity. In this Action, which was called *the Battle of Lanſdown*, of his Two Thouſand Horſe the Marquiſs of *Hertford* loſt above Fifteen Hundred. But on the other Hand, he drove *Waller* from his Poſt, and compelled him to give way about Demiculvering Shot. Next Day, *Waller* retired to *Bath*, and the Marquiſs remained entire Maſter of the Field. *

Battle of Lanſdown, *wherein the Marquiſs loſt moſt of his Horſe.* July 5. Ruſh. V. p. 284.

The Marquiſs leaves his Infantry at the Devizes, *and marched to* Oxford *with the Remains of his Horſe.*

But this inconſiderable Advantage which he had gained, with the Loſs of almoſt all his Horſe, threw him into a very ill Situation. He had been ſent into the *Weſt* to chace Sir *William Waller* from thence, and yet, after the Battle, *Waller* was between the King's Army and the weſtern Counties, where the Marquiſs could not penetrate but by a ſecond Battle, which he was not in Condition to hazard, as being without Horſe.

* In this Battle, as was before obſerved, fell Sir *Bevil Greenvil*. This was the firſt Time the King's Horſe had turned from an Enemy, occaſioned it ſeems by a Regiment of Cuiraſſiers commanded by Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, which were ſo compleatly armed, that they were called the *Regiment of Lobſters*. Juſt after the Battle, Sir *Ralph Hopton* was miſerably hurt by the accidently blowing up of ſome Powder.

Horſe. This made him reſolve to march on to the *Devizes*, leave there his Infantry under the Command of Sir *Ralph Hopton* *, and break through to *Oxford*, with the Prince and the Remainder of the Horſe, in Expectation of returning from thence with a Body of Cavalry ſtrong enough to bring off the Foot he ſhould leave at the *Devizes*, which was not above Thirty Miles from *Oxford*. This Reſolution was purſued. But as ſoon as he had quitted his Infantry at the *Devizes*, *Waller* came before the Town with his whole Army and inveſted them, who were in a very ill State by reaſon of the Scarcity of Proviſions. As he was ſenſible the Beſieged could not remain long in ſo great ſtreights, he made them an Overture of capitulating with him, which *Hopton* gladly embraced, as he was uncertain whether any Supplies would come from *Oxford*, or whether they would arrive ſoon enough. He entered therefore into Treaty with *Waller*: but with Intention to ſpin it out as long as he could, and not to yield till the laſt Extremity, as hoping every Moment to be relieved from *Oxford*. *Waller* was ſo confident that they were at his Mercy, that he had ſent the Parliament word, "That their "Buſineſs was done, and by the next Poſt he would "ſend the Number and Quality of his Priſo-"ners." 1643.

Mean while, the Marquiſs of *Hertford* and Prince *Maurice* being come to *Oxford*, and having repreſented to the King the Diſtreſs of his Troops at the *Devizes*, his Majeſty immediately ſent away the Lord *Wilmot* with Fifteen Hundred Horſe, who came within two Miles of the *Devizes* before the Capitulation between *Hopton* and *Waller* was ſigned.

Waller

* Who was now paſt Danger, and could hear and ſpeak, though he could not ſee or ſtir, with him were left the Earl of *Marlborough*, General of the Artillery, and the Lord *Mohun*. Clarend. III, p. 287.

1643. *Battle of Roundway-Down, where Waller is entirely routed.* Rush. V. p. 285.

Waller was no sooner informed of the Enemies Approach, but he drew off his Forces, and put his whole Army in Battalia on the Top of a Hill called *Roundway-Down*, over which the King's Troops were necessarily to pass in order to join with those in the Town. *Wilmot*, finding he could not pursue his Design without fighting, drew up within Musquet-Shot of *Waller*'s Army. But perhaps he would have considered of it more than once, before he attacked with Fifteen Hundred Horse an Army so superior in Number, had not *Waller* begun the Fight, with charging the Enemy with a Regiment of Cuirassiers lately sent from *London*, and which till now had been deemed invincible *. This Regiment was vigorously repulsed, and flying away in Confusion, infused such a Terror into *Waller*'s Troops, that they made but a very faint Resistance. Mean while *Hopton* seeing from the Town the Disorder the Enemies were in, came up with his Foot, and bravely seconding *Wilmot*, who for his part did not give the Enemies time to recover themselves, they quickly put the whole Army to rout, killed Five or Six Thousand Men, and took Nine Hundred Prisoners. *Waller*, after his Defeat, escaped to *Bristol*. He complained very much of the Earl of *Essex*, who, lying then at *Thame*, had suffered *Wilmot* to pass without sending a Party after him, or making the least Motion to alarm *Oxford*, which would have caused *Wilmot* to be recalled. The Earl of *Essex* on the other Hand, who was no Friend to *Waller*, could not help forbear saying some reproachful Things on his Defeat. This bred such Enmity betwixt them, that it might have been very prejudicial to their Party, had not the Parliament taken care to reconcile them.

Quarrel between Essex *and* Waller.

After

* This was the Regiment of *Lobsters* before mentioned, which according to *Rushworth*, rashly led on by Sir *Arthur Hasterig*, leaving the Foot, charged the King's Forces very disadvantageously, and so were presently routed. *Whitlock* says, *Waller*'s Horse upon a panick Fear fled, and left the Foot to the Mercy of the Enemy. *Rush.* V. p. 285. *Whitlock's Mem.* p. 67.

After ſo complete a Victory, the Lord *Wilmot* returned in Triumph to *Oxford*, and the Marquiſs of *Hertford* being come back to take the Command of the Army, appeared before the City of *Bath*, the Gates whereof were opened upon the firſt Summons. Within a few Days after, the King, having reſolved to beſiege *Briſtol*, as was before related, ordered the *Corniſh* Army to join with Prince *Rupert* at this Siege. As ſoon as he was Maſter of *Briſtol*, he reſolved to ſend an Army into the *Weſt*, under the Command of Prince *Maurice*, and to keep the Marquiſs of *Hertford* near his Perſon. To that end, he gave Orders to *Robert Dormer* Earl of *Carnarvon*, who was to ſerve under Prince *Maurice*, to advance towards the *Weſt* with a Party of Horſe, whilſt the Prince ſhould follow with the Infantry, of which the *Corniſh* Army made the beſt Part. The Earl of *Carnarvon* marched firſt into *Dorſetſhire*, which ſided with the Parliament, and took *Weymouth*, *Dorcheſter* and *Portland*-Caſtle. Here Prince *Maurice* came and joined his Cavalry. When he was at the Head of the Army, he ſuffered his Troops to uſe ſuch Licence, and ſo ill obſerved the Articles which had been made upon the Surrender of the Towns, that the Earl of *Carnarvon*, out of Indignation [being a Perſon full of Honour and Juſtice upon all Contracts] quitted the Command he had in this Army, and returned to the King before *Glouceſter*. Mean while Prince *Maurice*, after ſtaying ſome time in *Dorſetſhire*, entered *Devonſhire*, and laid Siege to *Exeter*, which was ſurrendered by Capitulation by the Earl of *Stamford*.

After the taking of *Exeter*, the Prince was intent chiefly upon increaſing the Number of his Forces by freſh Levies, whilſt the Parliament had no Army in that Country able to withſtand him. In a ſhort ſpace, he drew together a Body of Seven Thouſand Foot, with Horſe in Proportion, beſides Three Thouſand Men under the Command of Colonel *John Digby* before *Plymouth*, the Blockade of which Place he had

1643.

The King ſends Prince Maurice *to command in the Weſt.*

Exeter *taken by Prince* Maurice. Sept. 25. Ruſh. V. p. 273.

He increaſes his Army.

Progreſs of the Prince.

1643. formed, till the Prince ſhould come and beſiege it.

A Plot diſcovered at Plymouth. There had lately been diſcovered at *Plymouth* a Plot framed by Sir *Alexander Carew*, Knight of the Shire for *Cornwal*, and Governour of the Fort and Iſland of St. *Nicholas*, on which depended the Security of the Town, to deliver up the Iſland and Fort to the King. *Carew* was apprehended and ſent to *London*, where ſome time after he was condemned to die by a Court-Martial. *

Prince Maurice *takes* Dartmouth *and beſieges* Plymouth. When Prince *Maurice* had compleated his Levies, inſtead of going to *Plymouth*, he went and laid Siege to *Dartmouth*, which took him up above a Month. During that time, the Inhabitants of *Plymouth*, whom the Diſcovery of *Carew*'s Plot had thrown into a great Conſternation, came to themſelves again, and reſolved upon an obſtinate Defence. This Reſolution was confirmed by a Supply of Five Hundred Men ſent by the Parliament by Sea, with a *Scotch* Governour an experienced Warriour. So, Prince *Maurice*, when he came before the Place, found the Conqueſt of it a much harder Task than he had imagined. He ſtuck to the Siege however in ſpite of the Winter, which was now begun. Here I ſhall leave the Affairs of the *Weſt*, till I have further Occaſion to ſpeak of them, and proceed to the Recital of what paſſed in the *North* during this Campaign.

Military Actions in the North. State of the North. After the Earl of *Newcaſtle* was come to *York* with his Army levied in the *North*, the Lord *Fairfax* was obliged to keep a little at a Diſtance from that City, to avoid being attacked by an Army much more numerous than his own. All the northern Parts from *York* to the Borders of *Scotland* were for the King. The ſouthern Part of *Yorkſhire* was for the Parliament, and the War was carrying on in the middle Parts of this County to the Right and Left. But little elſe was done beſides the taking of ſome ſmall Towns, which ſerved only to enlarge the Quarters of one or other Army.

In

* He was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, Dec. 23. 1644.

1643. *The Lord* Fairfax *beats* 3000 *of the K's Party at* Wakefield. Rush V. p 268. Fairfax's *Letter.* May 21.

In the Month of *May* 1643, the Earl of *Newcaſtle* took two or three of theſe Places. In the ſame Month, the Lord *Fairfax* having detached Fifteen Hundred Men under the Command of his Son Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, ordered *Wakefield* to be attacked, where lay Three Thouſand Men of the King's Party. This Aſſault was made about four in the Morning with ſuch Vigour and Conduct, that the King's Troops were chaced out of the Town, leaving behind them many taken and ſlain. Amongſt the Priſoners was General *Goring* who conmanded.

He is defeated by the Earl of Newcaſtle June 30. Rush. V. p. 279.

Preſently after, the Earl of *Newcaſtle* was fully revenged. Having taken *Howley*-Houſe*, he marched from thence towards *Bradford*, and in the way was met on *Atherton-moor* by the Lord *Fairfax*, whom he entirely routed. *Fairfax* with the Remains of his Army, went and threw himſelf into *Hull*, where Sir *John Hotham* had been apprehended lately by order of the Parliament, and the Lord *Fairfax* was made Governour of that important Place.

The Earl of Kingſton *is taken in* Gainsborough, *and killed by accident.*

In the Month of *June*, *Gainsborough*, a Town in *Lincolnſhire*, was taken by the Lord *Willoughby*, Commander for the Parliament in thoſe Parts, who there made the Earl of *Kingſton* Priſoner. But being informed that the Earl of *Newcaſtle* was preparing to recover *Gainsborough*, he ſent away his Priſoner in a Pinnace to *Hull*. The Earl was unfortunatly ſhot by ſome of his own Party, who would have ſtopped the Pinnace. Mean while the Earl of *Newcaſtle* began his March to beſiege *Gainsborough*, and at his Approach, he detached a Party of Horſe to inveſt the Town. *Oliver Cromwel* arriving at the ſame time, with deſign to ſupply the Town with Proviſions, defeated this Detachment, purſuing them even in ſight of their main Body, which he did not think to be ſo near. As he was not in condition to face this Army, he retreated in good Order, and after having thrown

Cromwel *throws Supplies into* Gainſborough. Rush. V. p. 270.

* And therein Sir *John Savil* the Owner.

1643. Newcastle *besieges* Hull. Sept 2. Rush. V. p. 286.

some Supplies into the Town, he retired at a greater Distance. Shortly after the Earl of *Newcastle* retook *Gainsborough*, and possessed himself of *Lincoln*, where he put a strong Garrison; after which he went and besieged *Hull*, whilst the King was before *Glouceſter*.

A Sally that raises the Siege.

The Lord *Fairfax*, assisted by Sir *John Meldrum* a *Scotchman*, defended the Town of *Hull* with a great deal of Bravery and Conduct for five Weeks, though he was vigorously attacked. At last, *October* the 11th, the Besieged made a grand Sally, and after a very obstinate Fight, which was several times renewed, they drove the Besiegers from their Trenches, and seized their Cannon. This obliged the Earl of *Newcastle*, now created Marquiss, to raise the Siege.

The Earl of Manchester *beats the Lord* Widrington *at* Horn-*Castle.* Oct. 11. Rush. V. p. 281.

The same Day that this famous Sally was at *Hull*, a gross Body of Horse, part of the Earl of *Newcastle*'s Army, commanded by the Lord *Widrington*, were routed at *Horn*-Castle by the Earl of *Manchester*, who had with him Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and *Cromwel*.

The rest of the military Actions during the Winter after this Campaign, having a necessary Connection with the Affairs of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, I am indispensably obliged to speak of what passed in these two Kingdoms in the Course of this same Year. I shall begin with *Scotland*.

Affairs of Scotland.

The Parliament of *England*, when they replied to the *Scots* Proposition of uniting the two National Churches, made of an Answer, which was no less ambiguous than the Demand, a *Touch-Stone*, which they might make use of or not, as occasion required. It is certain there was a strict Correspondence between some of the Leading-Members and the *Scots*. These Members easily foresaw that in order to establish *Presbyterianism* in *England*, they should in the end stand in need of the *Scots*, who, on their Side, were ready to assist them as soon as a favourable Opportunity should offer. After the King, in his last Journey to *Scotland*, had been forced to grant the *Scots* whatever

they desired, the Leaders of the contrary Party to the King had taken such just Measures, that all the Offices of the Kingdom were in the Hands of their Friends, whilst those that were suspected of having an Inclination for the King, were removed from all sorts of Employments. By this means the Friends to the Parliament of *England* were in a Capacity to second them when it should be proper, in establishing the *Presbyterian* Government in the Church of *England*. The Managers of the Affairs of *Scotland* were not desirous only out of pure Zeal for Religion, that the *English* would admit this Government: Policy was almost as much concerned in the Matter. They verily believed they could never promise themselves a perfect Tranquillity, if it should happen to be in the King's Power to be revenged of them, and that he would be incessantly prompted thereto, if the Bishops came to be restored in *England*. Whether this Belief was well-grounded, or only a Prejudice, it is certain they looked upon *Episcopacy* in *England*, as the first Step to their Ruin. And therefore they kept up all along a very strict Correspondence with both Houses, by means of their Commissioners residing in *London*, to the end they might go Hand in Hand with them, to lessen the King's Power, and destroy *Episcopacy*. This plainly appeared in the Course of this Year 1643. 1643.

The Estates of Scotland are convened notwithstanding Hamilton's Opposition. Rush. V. p. 463.

The Affairs of the Parliament not being in a Situation that might afford a Prospect of any great Advantages upon the King this Campaign, the *Scots* began to stir and prepare for their Assistance, in Case there should be occasion. To that Purpose, about the beginning of *May*, it was moved by some of the leading-Men, that there might be a joint Meeting of the *Council*, the *Conservators of the Peace*, and the *Commissioners for publick Burthens*. In the Hands of all these was lodged the Authority of the Kingdom, when there was no Parliament. This Motion was readily complied with, all the publick Offices and Posts being, as I said, filled with Men of that Party.

1643. In this Aſſembly it was propoſed, that conſidering the Danger the Kingdom was in, by reaſon of Armies now levying in the North of *England*, *Scotland* ſhould be put in a Poſture of Defenſe. As this could not be done without a Parliament, or a Convention of Eſtates, it was urged that there was an abſolute Neceſſity of ſummoning ſuch a Convention out of Hand. The Marquiſs of *Hamilton* and ſeveral others ſtrongly oppoſed it, alledging, that for them to appoint a Convention without the King's Order was an Encroachment upon the Royal Prerogative in the higheſt Degree: That his Majeſty had promiſed to call a Parliament in the Year 1644, and therefore to cauſe a Convention of Eſtates to be holden before that time without his Privity, was directly contrary to the Laws of the Land. But their Arguments were in vain, it was carried by the Majority, that the Lord-Chancellor ſhould ſummon a Convention of Eſtates, againſt the 22d of *June*. They make a Diſtinction in *Scotland* between a Convention of Eſtates, and a Parliament. The Convention of Eſtates is a Court made up of all the Members of Parliament; but as they are called, and ſit without the State or Formalities uſed in Parliament, ſo their Power is to raiſe Money or Forces, but cannot make or repeal Laws.

The King having notice of what was projecting in *Scotland*, immediately ſent thither the Earl of *Roxborough*, *Kinnoul*, and *Lanerick*, with Inſtructions concerning what they were to do for his Service. Theſe three Lords arrived at *Edinburgh* the 15th of *May*, and brought the Marquiſs of *Hamilton* a Patent, whereby he was created a *Duke*. Beſides this, they preſented to the Council a Declaration from the King, wherein he endeavoured to diſplay fully the Juſtice of his Cauſe againſt the Parliament of *England*. He vindicated his Innocencc with regard to all the Aſperſions caſt upon him, particularly with reſpect to Religion, and repreſented in a very pathetick manner the Wrongs and Injuſtices done him. As we have

Hamilton *is made a Duke.* May.

ſeen more than once what the King alledged in his Vindication, I do not think it neceſſary to deſcend to the Particulars of this Declaration. I ſhall only obſerve, that he concluded with ſaying, "God ſo deal "with us, and our Poſterity, as we ſhall inviolably obſerve the Laws and Statutes of that our native Kingdom, and the Proteſtant Religion, the "Laws of the Land, the juſt Privileges and Freedom of Parliament." 1643.

The King conſents to a Convention of Eſtates with certain Limitations. Ruſh. V. p. 466.

Shortly after, the King hearing that a Convention of Eſtates was ſummoned without his Order or Privity, eaſily perceived this Step was not taken without an Intention to ſtand by it. He choſe therefore to permit them to meet, but with expreſs order to limit their Conſultations to the beſt Ways and Means of ſupplying the *Scotiſh* Army in *Ireland*, and to the relieving of publick Burthens by preſſing a ſpeedy Payment of the *Brotherly Aſſiſtance* due from *England*. But the Convention was by no means inclined to be thus put out of their way. When the *Eſtates* met, the firſt thing in debate was the Limitation in the King's Letter of Licenſe. The Duke of *Hamilton*, with the King's other Friends *, voted it *no Convention but as regulated by his Majeſty's Letter*; but all the reſt voted it *a free Convention* *1. The King pretended afterwards, that the Duke of *Hamilton* and his Brother the Earl of *Lanerick* had not ſerved him with Sincerity, and that if they had been pleaſed, they might have hindered the Convention from meeting. Some time after theſe two Lords repairing to *Oxford*, he ordered them to be apprehended; but the Earl of *Lanerick* found means to eſcape, and his Brother the Duke was ſent down to be impriſoned in the Caſtle of St. *Michael's Mount* in *Cornwal*. The Earl of *Clarendon* in his Hiſtory ſupports, to the

They are rejected by the Eſtates.

Hamilton *and his Brother are apprehended at* Oxford.

* Eighteen Lords and one *Knight*. Ruſh V. p. 466.

*1 Whereupon *Hamilton* and his Party withdrew, and would ſit in the Convention no more.

1643. utmoſt of his Power, the King's Suſpicions againſt theſe two Brothers, whilſt on the other Hand, we find, in *the Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, a large Vindication upon that Head.

The Parliament of England *cauſes an Eccleſiaſtical Aſſembly to be held at* Weſtminſter. Ruſh. V. p. 337.

The Convention of the Eſtates met on the 22d of *June*, and the General-Aſſembly of the *Kirk*, on the 2d of *Auguſt*. It is obſerveable, that it was in *June* that an Ordinance of the Parliament of *England* was publiſhed for the calling of an Aſſembly of *Divines* and others to be conſulted with by both Houſes, for the ſettling of the Government and Liturgy of the Church of *England*, and that this Aſſembly held that firſt Seſſion on the 1ſt of *July*, a few Days after the meeting of the Convocation of Eſtates in *Scotland*. The Sequel ſhowed with what Deſign this Aſſembly was appointed.

The Precaution taken by the *Scots* was not in vain. They ſeem to have foreſeen what happened ſoon after. For in the Interval between the propoſing a Convention of Eſtates, and the Time of their meeting, the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army was ſeized with Sickneſs after the taking of *Reading*; the City of *Briſtol* fell into the King's Hands; and Sir *William Waller*'s Forces were routed at *Roundway-down*. If the King's proſperous Succeſs had not received a Check, by the raiſing of the Siege of *Glouceſter*, and the Battle of *Newbury*, it is very viſible that the Parliament's Affairs were in a very ill Poſture about the End of *July* and the Beginning of *Auguſt*; that is to ſay, at the Time the Convention of Eſtates, and the General-Aſſembly met in *Scotland*. Accordingly, both Houſes failed not to make the beſt of the Precaution the *Scots* had taken, and which in all appearance had been ſuggeſted to them. As they ſaw their Affairs were in a bad way, they applied, without farther Conſideration, to the Convention of *Scotland* for Aſſiſtance, and ſent Commiſſioners, with full Powers to treat. Theſe Commiſſioners, who came to *Edinburgh* whilſt the King was approaching *Glouceſter*, found the

The Parliament ſend for Aid to the Eſtates of Scotland. Ruſh. V. p 467.

Eſtates

Eſtates of *Scotland* as well diſpoſed as they could wiſh *. 1643.

Both Houſes had foreſeen that the Eſtates of *Scotland* would demand in return for their Aſſiſtance, a poſitive Engagement to eſtabliſh in the Church of *England* a Presbyterian Government, like that in the *Kirk* of *Scotland*. It is ſcarce to be doubted but ſome of the Managers of the Parliament's Affairs had made ſuch a private Agreement with them, though it cannot be made appear by any *Publick Acts*. Nay, it is very likely that the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army had been ſuffered to decay on purpoſe to bring Things to ſuch a Paſs, that the Aſſiſtance of the *Scots* ſhould be abſolutely neceſſary. At leaſt, it is hard to diſcover any other Reaſon that could have induced the Parliament to let that Army remain unſerviceable from the taking of *Reading*, to the Siege of *Glouceſter*. It appeared that this proceeded not from Inability altogether, ſince, when the Danger grew more eminent, they found means to enable the Earl of *Eſſex* to march to the Relief of *Glouceſter*. Now it was preciſely whilſt the Earl of *Eſſex* was thus neglected, that the Parliament came to a Reſolution to deſire the Aſſiſtance of *Scotland*. Be this as it will, both Houſes ſent with their Commiſſioners, two Declarations, one directed to the Convention, the other, to the General-Aſſembly. The firſt was only to deſire the ſpeedy Aſſiſtance of the Eſtates, and to inform them that their Commiſſioners had Inſtructions to treat with them, not only concerning the Satisfaction to be made for the Aid deſired, but moreover about ſettling the Accounts between the two Kingdoms. In the ſecond, both Houſes acknowledged the

Ruſh. V. p. 467. *They offer to endeavour after an Union of both Churches.* Ruſh. V. p. 469.

* The Commiſſioners appointed were, the Earl of *Rutland* and the Lord *Grey* of *Wark*, (who refuſing to go on account of his Inability to bear ſo long a Journey, was ſent to the Tower, but ſoon after releaſed) for the Lords; and for the Commons, Sir *William Armyne*, Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, Mr. *Hatcher*, and Mr. *Darley*, with two Divines, *Marſhal* and *Nye*, to attend them. *Ruſh.* V. p. 466.

1643. the great Zeal and Love, manifested by the General-Assembly of the Churches of *Scotland*, in their Endeavours for the Preservation of the true Protestant Religion, from the Attempts of the *Popish* and *Prelatical* Party, to the necessary Reformation of Church Government in *England*, and the more near Union of both Churches. And therefore they exhorted the Assembly to send into *England* some of their Body, for the furtherance of that Work in Conjunction with the Assembly of Divines now sitting at *Westminster*. They declared also, that besides their Instructions in the Civil Matters of both Kingdoms, the Commissioners had received Directions to resort to and consult with the General Assembly of the *Kirk* of *Scotland*, in every Thing relating to the Reformation of the Church of *England*; and to that end, Mr. *Marshal* and Mr. *Nye*, Ministers of God's Word, were appointed to assist the Commissioners with their Advice.

With these Declarations the Commissioners found no Difficulty at all in their Negotiation. On the contrary, the General-Assembly addressed to the *Estates* a Declaration, containing the Reasons which should induce them to assist the Parliament of *England*. The Reasons were to this Effect:

The Reasons of the General-Assembly in Scotland, *for assisting the Parliament.* Rush. V. p. 472.

" 1. The Controversy now in *England* being betwixt the Lord *Jesus* and *Antichrist* with his Followers, if we would not come under the Curse of *Meroz*, we should come out, and help the Lord against the Mighty.

" 2. There was an Act passed by the Convention of Estates, *Anno* 1585, wherein the Estates found it necessary to enter in a League and Christian Confederation, with all Protestant Princes and Estates, against the bloody League at *Trent*. Conformed to which there followed a League betwixt the two Crowns of *Scotland* and *England*, subscribed at *Berwick* 1586, against whatsoever Foreign and Intestine Powers of *Papists* should arrive or rise.

" And

" And therefore the Cauſe being the ſame, as 1643.
" well as the Parties, and the Danger we are bound
" to perform now, what we promiſed then.

" 3. We ſtand obliged to *England* for old Kindneſs
" to us, being in the ſame Poſture then, that they
" are in now; for in the Year 1556 and 1557, the
" Eſtates of this Land, finding the Reformation of
" Religion oppoſed by their own Princes with Arms
" and Violence, and themſelves oppreſſed by the
" *Popiſh* Army, ſought and obtained the Aſſiſtance
" of an Army from *England*, whereby they expelled
" the *French* Army, made the Pacification at *Leith*,
" held the Parliament of 1560, eſtabliſhed the Re-
" ligion. Therefore they got new Aſſiſtance from
" *England*, to ſuppreſs the general *Popiſh* Faction,
" whereby they took in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* from
" the Laird of *Grange*; and in that publick printed
" Prayer, prefixed to the *Pſalm*-Book, we ſolemnly
" promiſed never to forget their Kindneſs againſt the
" *French*; and if we call to mind the Manifeſtation
" of the lawfulneſs of the Expedition into *England*,
" we ſtand obliged to them for their late Kindneſs;
" for they not only refuſed to levy Arms againſt us
" in the laſt Troubles in 1639, but alſo did medi-
" ate for a Treaty, did welcome and kindly enter-
" tain our Army for a Year, did freely beſtow upon
" us their brotherly Aſſiſtance of thirty Thouſand
" Pound, whereupon we acknowledged our Thank-
" fulneſs, not to conſiſt in Affection and Words at
" that Time, but in the mutual Kindneſs and real
" Declaration to be expected from the whole King-
" dom of *Scotland*, in all Time to come; beſides
" ſolemn Promiſes and Vows repeated in our late
" Declaration and Information publiſhed to the
" World, wherein we aſſure them of our help in their
" need, as in *the Remonſtrance of the States of* Scot-
" land, 1639, pag. 28. *Remonſtrance of the Parlia-*
" *ment of* England, 1640, pag. 15, 16. *Intentions of*
" *the Army of* Scotland, near the end.

" 4. The

1643. " 4. The common Danger imminent to both Kirks " and Kingdoms do invite us to help them; for we " and they ſail in one Bottom, dwell in one Houſe, are " Members of one Body, that according to their own " Principles, if either of the two Nations or Kirks " be ruinated, the other cannot long ſubſiſt. We " have the ſame Friends and Foes, and many Years " Experience hath taught us, what influence Pope- " ry and Prelacy in *England* may have upon *Scotland*; " for from thence came the Prelates, the Ceremo- " nies, the Book of Common-Prayers, Service-Book, " and upon our refuſal the bloody Sword came from " thence; therefore we are to take *England*'s Condi- " tion to Heart, as a common Cauſe, to put forth " our helping Hand, if we tender Religion, Laws, " and Liberties.

" 5. The common Advantage redounding to both " Kirk and Kingdoms, do perſwade help; for here- " by we have a fair Opportunity to advance Uni- " formity in Diſcipline and Worſhip, which will " prove the ſureſt Bond of Union and Bulwark to " both.

" 6. If we forſake *England*, we forſake our deareſt " Friends, who can beſt help us in Caſe we be re- " duced to the like Straits hereafter by the com- " mon Adverſary.

" 7. If we ſuffer the Parliament of *England* to be " cut off, we have loſt our Peace with *England*. If " the Popiſh and Prelatical Faction do over-rule " the Parliament, we may expect War both from " King and Parliament, whereunto they will not " want Pretences. And we have reaſon to fear that, " ſeeing ſome of the Malignants at home are report- " ed to have vented, that the King was not tied to " keep what he had granted to us, becauſe by cal- " ling and keeping of our Convention, we have firſt " broken to him.

" 8. If we ſhould deſert them at this time, yet as " *Mordecai* ſaid to *Eſther*, Deliverance ſhall ariſe to " them from elſewhere, but we and our Father's " Houſe

" Houſe may look for Deſtruction; and who know- 1643.
" eth but we are reſtored to our Religion and Liber-
" ties, to a free Convention at this time, and made
" a Mirror of God's Mercy to all Nations and Kirks,
" that we may help our Brethren of *England*?

" 9. That the only means for the procuring of a
" happy Agreement betwixt the King and the Parli-
" ament, is by putting up of the Sword, and ſav-
" ing Chriſtian Blood from being ſhed, ſuppreſſing
" of Papiſts, and eſtabliſhing Religion in his Domi-
" nions; for humble Supplications and Remonſtran-
" ces reached out with naked Hands will not pre-
" vail with our Adverſaries, who have invironed our
" King, and cloſed his Ears to the Cry of his Sub-
" jects.

" But it will be objected, ſeeing our Religion and
" Liberties are eſtabliſhed according to our own De-
" ſires; and ſeeing his Majeſty's Declaration to the
" whole Kingdom, and Letter to every Nobleman
" and Burrough to give Aſſurance for Preſervation
" of the ſame without altering, we have no Intereſt
" nor Hazard, however Buſineſs go in *England*; but
" ſhould keep ourſelves in Peace and Quiet.

" 1. *Anſwer.* In all the Proceedings of this Buſi-
" neſs we have from Time to Time declared, That
" neither verbal Promiſes, nor fair Declarations for
" maintaining Religion and Liberty could ſecure us,
" becauſe we have ſo often found *facta verbis contra-*
" *ria.* As for Example, the Treaty at *Dunce*, when
" we confided to verbal gracious Expreſſions of his
" Majeſty's; yet afterwards they were denied, and
" burnt by the Hands of the Hangman, and an Ar-
" my levied againſt us. It was the Counſel of *Mon-*
" *ſieur de Thou* to the Queen-Regent of *Scotland* at
" St. *Andrews*, for reverſing our firſt Reformation,
" to grant our Predeceſſors in fair Promiſes and De-
" clarations all that they craved, and when thereby
" they ſhould be divided, to interpret theſe by her-
" ſelf,

1643. " ſelf, and to take order with the Heads of the Op-
" poners; and this Policy was uſed by *Charles* IX
" King of *France*, for the ſubverting of the Prote-
" ſtant Religion in *France*, as witneſſeth *Monſieur de*
" *Thou*, L. 71. p. 463.

" 2. As we have found by former Experience,
" that the Eſtabliſhment of our firſt Reformation by
" an Act of Aſſembly and Parliament, could not ſe-
" cure us from the violent preſſing of Innovations
" againſt both; and in the new Remonſtrance of
" 1640, *pag.* 16. we have fully expreſt, that no As-
" ſembly or Parliament, whereunto we had faſtened
" our Hopes, can be any Safety for us, ſo long as
" our Enemies ſit at the Helm, and govern the
" King's Council, and make his Majeſty interpret
" Laws contrary to the Advice of Judicators of Kirk
" and State. And of late our Mediation betwixt
" him and his Parliament was rejected, and our
" Commiſſioners ſtopt from going to *London*, con-
" trary to his own Safe-Conduct.

" 3. If the Parliament of *England* that now is, be
" deſtroyed, who ſhall undertake for our Safety?
" As the King's Declarations cannot exceed his Per-
" ſon, or ſecure us at the Hands of his Succeſſors,
" ſo we may perceive in the late Diſcovery of the
" Plots of the *Scots*, *Engliſh*, and *Iriſh Papiſts*, that theſe
" Declarations can be no ſufficient Security againſt
" the ſurprizing of Papiſts and Malignants, if they be
" permitted to carry Arms within any of the King-
" doms.

" *Secondly*, It is objected, that we are a poor People,
" not fit for ſuch an Undertaking. To which we
" anſwer,

" 1. The Repreſentative Body of the King-
" dom now convened, can beſt ſatisfy this Ob-
" jection.

" 2. When God calls his People, and makes them
" willing, he gives them alſo Strength, that through
" him they may do valiantly.

" 3. God

1643.

" 3. God hath helped us in all Enterprizes for " his Cauſe, and he will yet provide for us: We " hope the wiſe Convention of States will ſee to the " Conditions, that the Kingdom receive as little De- " triment as may be.

" *Thirdly*, It is objected, they will not embrace a " Presbyterian Government in the Kirk, and ſo no " hope of Uniformity.

" *Anſwer*, 1. They have already put out Epiſco- " pal Government, Root and Branch, neither will " they, nor do the Proteſtant Kirks know of any o- " ther but Presbyterial.

" 2. If any zealous Man amongſt them have their " Scruples againſt Presbyterial Government, we " truſt the Lord will reveal the Truth unto them.

" 3. They have in many Declarations expreſſed " their Reſolutions and Deſires for Uniformity.

Covenant *between the two Nations approved in* Scotland *and* England. Ruſh. V. p. 475.

The Aſſembly and Convention having reſpectively appointed Committees to treat with the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, it was agreed in the firſt Conferences that the beſt and ſpeedieſt means for accompliſhing the Union and Aſſiſtance deſired, was that both Nations ſhould enter into a mutual *Covenant* or League. This *Covenant* was got ready in a very little Time, ſo that *Auguſt* the 17th, it was preſented to the Eſtates and the General-Aſſembly, and approved by both the ſame Day. On the Morrow, being the 18th, it was ſent to *England* by the Lord *Maitland*, afterwards Duke *Lauderdale*. He was accompanied with Mr. *Alexander Henderſon*, Moderator of the General-Aſſembly, and Mr. *Gilleſpy*, both Miniſters, as Commiſſioners from the Aſſembly to treat with the Aſſembly of *Divines* at *Weſtminſter*, about the Union of the two Churches.

If the *Scots* were ready to enter into a League with the *Engliſh*, theſe laſt were no leſs deſirous to accompliſh the ſame. *Auguſt* the 28th, ten Days after the Departure

1643 Departure of the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, the Parliament of *England* conſented to the *Covenant*. Immediately after the Aſſembly of *Divines* were ordered by both Houſes to frame an Exhortation to the taking of the *Covenant*, to be read publickly in all the Churches. That done, the *Covenant* was ordered to be printed and publiſhed, and on the 22d of *September* it was appointed to be taken by all the Members of Parliament, and the Aſſembly of *Divines*, which was done with great Solemnity *. The *Covenant* ran as follows.

A ſolemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happineſs of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.

" WE Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeſſes, Miniſters of the " Goſpel, and Commons of all ſorts in the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, by the Providence of God living under one King, and being of one Reformed Religion, having before our " Eyes the Glory of God, and the Advancement of " the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, " the Honour and Happineſs of the King's Majeſty " and his Poſterity, and the true Publick Liberty, " Safety, and Peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every " ones private Condition is included, and calling to " Mind

* The manner of taking it was thus: The *Covenant* was read, and then notice was given that each Perſon ſhould immediately by ſwearing thereunto, worſhip the great Name of God, and teſtify ſo much outwardly, by lifting up their Hands; and then they went up into the Chancel [of St. *Margaret's Weſtminſter*,] and there ſubſcribed their Names in a Roll of Parchment, in which this *Covenant* was fairly written. It was taken that Day by 222 Members of Parliament, whoſe Names ſee *Ruſh.* V. p. 480.

" Mind the treacherous and bloody Plots, Conſpi- 1643.
" racies, Attempts, and Practices of the Enemies of
" God againſt the true Religion and Profeſſors there-
" of in all Places, eſpecially in theſe three King-
" doms, ever ſince the Reformation of Religion,
" and how much their Rage, Power and Preſumpti-
" on are of late, and at this Time encreaſed and ex-
" erciſed; whereof the deplorable Eſtate of the
" Church and Kingdom of *Ireland*, the diſtreſſed E-
" ſtate of the Church and Kingdom of *England*, and
" the dangerous Eſtate of the Church and Kingdom
" of *Scotland*, are preſent and publick Teſtimonies,
" we have (now at laſt) after other means of Sup-
" plication, Remonſtrance, Proteſtations and Suf-
" ferings, for the Preſervation of our ſelves and our
" Religion from utter Ruin and Deſtruction, ac-
" cording to the commendable Practices of theſe
" Kingdoms in former Times, and the Example of
" God's People in other Nations, after mature De-
" liberation, reſolved and determined to enter into
" a mutual and ſolemn League and Covenant, where-
" in we all ſubſcribe, and each one of us for himſelf,
" with our Hands lifted up to the moſt High God,
" do ſwear:

" I. That we ſhall ſincerely, really, and conſtant-
" ly, through the Grace of God, endeavour in our
" ſeveral Places and Callings, the Preſervation of
" the Reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland*,
" in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Govern-
" ment, againſt our common Enemies, the Refor-
" mation of Religion in the Kingdoms of *England*,
" and *Ireland*, in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and
" Government, according to the Word of God, and
" the Example of the beſt Reformed Churches; and
" we ſhall endeavour to bring the Churches of God
" in the three Kingdoms to the neareſt Conjunction
" and Uniformity in Religion, Confeſſing of Faith,
" Form of Church-Government, Directory for
" Worſhip and Catechiſing, that we, and our Poſte-
" rity after us, may, as Brethren, live in Faith and

1643. " Love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the " midſt of us.

" II. That we ſhall in like manner, without re- " ſpect of Perſons, endeavour the Extirpation of " Popery, Prelacy, (that is, Church-Government " by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors and " Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch- " deacons, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Officers de- " pending on that Hierarchy) Superſtition, Hereſy, " Schiſm, Profaneneſs, and whatſoever ſhall be found " to be contrary to ſound Doctrine and the Power of " Godlineſs, leſt we partake in other Mens Sins, and " thereby be in Danger to receive of their Plagues, " and that the Lord may be one, and his Name one " in the Three Kingdoms.

" III. We ſhall with the ſame Sincerity, Reality " and Conſtancy, in our ſeveral Vocations, endea- " vour with our Eſtates and Lives mutually to pre- " ſerve the Rights and Privileges of the Parliaments, " and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and to preſerve " and defend the King's Majeſty's Perſon and Autho- " rity, in the Preſervation and Defence of the true " Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms, that the " World may bear witneſs with our Conſciences of " our Loyalty, and that we have no Thoughts or " Intentions to diminiſh his Majeſty's juſt Power and " Greatneſs.

" IV. We ſhall alſo with all Faithfulneſs endea- " vour the Diſcovery of all ſuch as have been or ſhall " be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Inſtruments, " by hindering the Reformation of Religion, di- " viding the King from his People, or one of the " Kingdoms from another, or making any Faction " or Parties amongſt the People, contrary to the " League and Covenant, that they may be brought " to publick Tryal; and receive condign Puniſh- " ment, as the Degree of their Offences ſhall require " or deſerve, or the ſupreme Judicatories of both " Kingdoms reſpectively, or others having Power " from them for that effect, ſhall judge convenient.

" V. And

" V. And whereas the Happineſs of a bleſſed 1643.
" Peace between theſe Kingdoms, denied in former
" Times to our Progenitors, is by the good Provi-
" dence of God granted unto us, and hath been
" lately concluded and ſettled by both Parliaments,
" we ſhall each one of us, according to our Places
" and Intereſt, endeavour that they may remain
" conjoined in a firm Peace and Union to all Poſteri-
" ty, and that Juſtice may be done upon the wilful
" Oppoſers thereof in manner expreſſed in the pre-
" cedent Articles.

" VI. We ſhall alſo according to our Places and
" Callings, in this common Cauſe of Religion and
" Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdom, aſſiſt and
" defend all thoſe that enter into this League and
" Covenant, in the maintaining and purſuing thereof,
" and ſhall not ſuffer our ſelves directly or indirectly,
" by whatſoever Combination, Perſuaſion, or Ter-
" ror, to be divided and withdrawn from this bleſſed
" Union and Conjunction, whether to make Defec-
" tion to the contrary Part, or give our ſelves to a
" deteſtable Indifferency or Neutrality in this Cauſe,
" which ſo much concerneth the Glory of God, the
" Good of the Kingdoms, and the Honour of the
" King, but ſhall all the Days of our Lives zea-
" louſly and conſtantly continue therein againſt all
" Oppoſition, and promote the ſame according to our
" Power againſt all Letts and Impediments whatſoe-
" ver; and what we are not able our ſelves to ſup-
" preſs or overcome, we ſhall reveal and make
" known, that it may be timely prevented or re-
" moved; all which we ſhall do as in the Sight of
" God.

" And becauſe theſe Kingdoms are guilty of
" many Sins and Provocations againſt God, and his
" Son Jeſus Chriſt, as is too manifeſt by our preſent
" Diſtreſſes and Dangers, the Fruits thereof: We
" profeſs and declare before God and the World,
" our unfeigned Deſire to be humbled for our Sins,
" and for the Sins of theſe Kingdoms, eſpecially that

1643 " we have not, as we ought, valued the ineſtimable " Benefit of the Goſpel; that we have not laboured " for the Purity and Power thereof; and that we " have not endeavoured to receive Chriſt in our " Hearts, to walk worthy of him in our Lives, " which are the Cauſes of other Sins and Tranſgreſ- " ſions ſo much abounding amongſt us. And our " true and unfeigned Purpoſe, Deſire and Endea- " vour for our ſelves, and all others under our " Power and Charge, both in publick and in pri- " vate, in all Duties we owe to God and Man, to " amend our Lives, and each one to go before ano- " ther in the Example of a real Reformation; That " the Lord may turn away his Wrath and heavy In- " dignation, and eſtabliſh theſe Churches and King- " doms in Peace. And this Covenant we make in " the Preſence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all " Hearts, with a true Intention to perform the ſame, " as we ſhall anſwer at that great Day, when the Se- " crets of all Hearts ſhall be diſcloſed; moſt hum- " bly beſeeching the Lord to ſtrengthen us by his " Holy Spirit for this End, and to bleſs our Deſires " and Proceedings with ſuch Succeſs, as may be De- " liverance and Safety to his People, and Encourage- " ment to the Chriſtian Churches, groaning under, " or in Danger of the Yoke of Antichriſtian Ty- " ranny, to join in the ſame, or like Aſſociation " and Covenant, To the Glory of God, the En- " largement of the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, and " the Peace and Tranquillity of Chriſtian Kingdoms " and Commonwealths."

Reaſon why the Covenant was ſo readily taken in England.

I have often ſaid, that the *Presbyterian* Party were prevalent in the Parliament of *England*. This Party impatiently waited for an Opportunity to eſtabliſh *Presbyterian* Government in the Church, and the preſent one ſeemed to them ſo favourable, that they reſolved not to loſe it. The Affairs of the Parliament were in an ill way. The King was become Maſter of *Briſtol*. The Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army was unſerviceable, and

and *Waller*'s was entirely diſperſed by the Loſs of the Battle of *Roundway-Down*. Prince *Maurice* was with a good Army in the *Weſt*, where he met with no Oppoſition. The Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle* was Maſter of all the *North*, and ſuperior in Number of Troops to the Lord *Fairfax* in the County of *York*. In ſhort, the King was actually beſieging *Glouceſter*, when the Parliament's Commiſſioners came to *Edinburgh*. Had he taken that Place, the Parliament would have had cauſe to dread a general Defection, conſidering the Advantages that would thereby have accrued to the King. The two Houſes, if I may ſo ſay, had therefore no other Refuge but the Aſſiſtance of the *Scots*, an Aſſiſtance not to be procured but by yielding them the Article of Uniformity ſo paſſionately deſired by them, as being, in their Opinion, the ſole Means of ſecuring to them the Enjoyment of their Liberties. Wherefore thoſe of the Parliament's Party that were moſt attached to the Church of *England*, clearly perceived they muſt conſent to a Change of Church-Government, or be expoſed to the Hazard of loſing the Fruit of all their Labours, in caſe the King ſhould come to be reſtored by force of Arms. Things ſtanding thus, they could not think it ſtrange that the Parliament ſhould conſent to an Uniformity in order to ſatisfy the *Scots* for the Aid they could not be without. For this Reaſon the *Covenant* was taken without murmuring, and it was not perceived that this Step would increaſe the Number of the King's Friends (which was the Thing the Parliament all along dreaded) becauſe it was done at a Juncture when the Neceſſity of it ſeemed unavoidable. 1643.

The King in vain forbids taking the Covenant. Ruſh. V. p. 482.

Shortly after the King iſſued out a Proclamation to forbid the taking of the *Covenant*; but it had no great Effect. On the contrary, the Committee of Eſtates did by their printed Act of the 22d of *October*, ordain it to be ſworn and ſubſcribed by all the Subjects under pain of having their Goods and Rents confiſcated. After that, they ſummoned all the Lords of the Council to come and ſign it before them.

It is ordered to be taken in Scotland *under ſtrict Penalties.*

1643. The Duke of *Hamilton* and ſome others refuſing to ſign it, the Committee by another Act ordered all their Lands to be ſeized, and their Perſons to be apprehended, with Permiſſion to kill ſuch as made Reſiſtance. Notwithſtanding all this, the King, at the Duke's coming to *Oxford*, cauſed him to be arreſted, as I ſaid before.

After both Kingdoms had agreed upon the *Covenant*, the Eſtates of *Scotland* appointed Commiſſioners to treat with the *Engliſh*, concerning the Aid deſired. The Subſtance of the Treaty, which was ſigned *November* the 25th, is as follows:

Treaty between England and Scotland. Ruſh. V. p. 485.

" 1. That the Covenant be ſworn and ſubſcribed " by both Kingdoms.

" 2. That an Army ſhall be forthwith levied in " *Scotland*, conſiſting of Eighteen Thouſand Foot " effective, and Two Thouſand Horſe, and One " Thouſand Dragoons effective, with a ſuitable " Train of Artillery, to be ready at ſome general " Rendezvous near the Borders of *England*, to march " into *England* with all convenient Speed, the ſaid " Foot and Horſe to be well and compleatly armed, " and provided with Victuals and Pay for Forty " Days,

" 3. That the Army be commanded by a Gene- " ral appointed by the Eſtates of *Scotland*, and ſubject " to ſuch Reſolutions and Directions as ſhall be agreed " and concluded on mutually between the two King- " doms, or by Committees appointed by them in that " behalf.

" 4. That the Charge of levying, arming and " bringing the ſaid Forces together, as alſo the fit- " ting the Train of Artillery, be computed and ſet " down according to the ſame Rates as if the King- " dom of *Scotland* were to raiſe the ſaid Army for " themſelves; all which for the preſent is to be done " by the Kingdom of *Scotland* upon Accompt, and " the Accompt to be delivered to the Commiſſioners " of the Kingdom of *England*, and when the Peace

" of the two Kingdoms is ſettled, the ſame to be 1643.
" repaid or ſatisfied to the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

" 5. That this Army be likewiſe paid as if the " Kingdom of *Scotland* were to employ the ſame for " their own Occaſion; and towards the defraying " thereof, ſhall be monthly allowed and paid the " Sum of 30000 *l.* Sterling by the Parliament of " *England* out of the Eſtates and Revenues of the " Papiſts, Prelates, Malignants, and their Adhe- " rents or otherwiſe; and in caſe the ſaid 30000 *l.* " monthly, or any part thereof, be not paid at the " time when it ſhall become due, the Kingdom of " *England* ſhall give the publick Faith for the pay- " ing of the Remainder unpaid with all poſſible " Speed, allowing the Rate of 8 *l. per Cent.* for the " time of the Performance thereof; and in caſe " that notwithſtanding the ſaid monthly Sum of " 30000 *l.* paid as aforeſaid, the States and Kingdom " of *Scotland* ſhall have juſt Cauſe to demand farther " Satisfaction of their Brethren of *England*, when " the Peace of both Kingdoms is ſettled, for the " Pains, Hazard, and Charges they have undergone " in the ſame, they ſhall by way of brotherly Aſ- " ſiſtance have due Recompence made to them by " the Kingdom of *England*, and that out of ſuch " Lands and Eſtates of the Papiſts, Prelates, Ma- " lignants, and their Adherents; and for the Aſſu- " rance thereof the publick Faith of the Kingdom of " *England* ſhall be given them.

" 6. And to the end the ſaid Army may be ena- " bled and prepared to march, the Kingdom of *Eng-* " *land* is to pay in ready Money to their Brethren of " *Scotland* the Sum of 100,000 *l.* Sterling at *Leith* or " *Edinburgh*, by way of Advance beforehand, which " is to be diſcounted back again to the Kingdom of " *England* by the Kingdom of *Scotland*, upon the " firſt monthly Allowance which ſhall grow due to " the *Scotiſh* Army, from the time they ſhall make " their firſt Entrance into the Kingdom of *England*.

1643. "7. That the publick Faith of the Kingdom of "*Scotland* will be given, to be jointly made uſe of "with the publick Faith of the Kingdom of *Eng-*"*land*, for the preſent taking up 200,000 *l.* Sterling "in the Kingdom of *England*, or elſewhere, for the "ſpeedy procuring of the ſaid 100,000 *l.* Sterling as "aforeſaid, as alſo a conſiderable Sum for the ſatiſ-"fying in good Proportion the Arrears of the *Sco-*"*tiſh* Army in *Ireland*.

"8. That no Ceſſation, nor any Pacification or "Agreement of Peace whatſoever, ſhall be made "without the mutual Advice and Conſent of both "Kingdoms.

"9. That the publick Faith of the Kingdom of "*Scotland* ſhall be given to their Brethren of *Eng-*"*land*, that neither their Entrance into, nor their "Continuance in the Kingdom of *England*, ſhall be "made uſe of to any other Ends than are expreſſed "in the Covenant, and in the Articles of this Treaty; "and that all Matters of difference that ſhall happen "to ariſe between the Subjects of the two Nations, "ſhall be reſolved and determined by the mutual "Advice and Conſent of both Kingdoms, or by "ſuch Committees as for this purpoſe ſhall be by "them appointed.

"10. That the Kingdom of *England* do oblige "themſelves to aid and aſſiſt the Kingdom of *Scot-*"*land*, in the ſame or like Caſes of Streights and "Extremities.

"11. That during the time that the *Scotiſh* Army "ſhall be employed as aforeſaid for the Defence of the "Kingdom of *Scotland*, there ſhall be fitted out as Men "of War Eight Ships, whereof Six ſhall be of Burthen "betwixt 120 and 200 Tun, the other between 3 "and 400 Tun; all which ſhall be maintained at the "Charge of the Kingdom of *England*, to be em-"ployed for the Defence of the Coaſt of *Scotland*, "under ſuch Commanders as the Earl of *Warwick* "for the time of his being Admiral ſhall nominate, "with the Approbation of the Committees of both "Kingdoms;

"Kingdoms; which Commanders ſhall receive from "the ſaid Earl general Inſtructions, that they do "from time to time obſerve the Directions of the "Committees of both Kingdoms." 1643.

An Army is got ready in Scotland.

Though this Treaty was not ſigned till the 29th of *November*, the Eſtates of *Scotland* were ſo ſure there would be no Objections to the Terms, that the Troops of the moſt diſtant Counties were now upon their March to the general Rendezvous whilſt the Treaty was in hand. The very Day the *Covenant* was ſent to *England*, namely, the 18th of *Auguſt*, they iſſued out a Proclamation in the King's Name, according to the uſual Stile, commanding all the Subjects of *Scotland* from Sixteen to Sixty Years old, to provide themſelves with Ammunition, Arms, and Forty Days Proviſions, and to be in readineſs to march for the Defence of the Kingdom. The King could not bear that an Order ſhould be publiſhed in his Name to his Subjects of *Scotland*, to arm themſelves againſt himſelf. He writ a vehement Letter to the Council, commanding them expreſsly to call in the Proclamation; but it was all labour loſt. The King ſeems not to have known that in *Scotland* as well as in *England*, in all State-Affairs, the King is never conſidered as ſeparated from the People, and that it is the uſual Practice to publiſh all publick Orders in the King's Name, though they are prejudicial to his private Intereſts. Hiſtory furniſhes us with numberleſs Inſtances, and the King found by too frequent Experience for ſome time in *England*, that when War was making upon him, it was pretended to be for his Honour and true Intereſt. He himſelf urged, that he waged War with both Hoth Houſes in Defence of the Liberties of Parliament. This is an Effect of the Conſtitution of the Government, whereby the King as the Head, and the People as the Body, are deemed inſeparable. And if they happen to be divided, it is not ſtrange that Each pretends to act for Ruſh. V. p. 482.

1643. for the Good of the Whole, since it is this Pretension that is solely made use of to cloke their Division.

Manifesto of the Scots. Rush. V. p. 487.

Upon this Foundation it was that the Estates of *Scotland* published a *Manifesto*, wherein, supposing the King to have been, and still to be, guided by pernicious Counsels, they pretended not only that they might justly assist the two Houses against him, but that they were bound in Conscience to make War upon him. They maintained that they had no other View, but to rescue him from the Dangers he wilfully exposed himself to, and by that means labour for his Happiness and Glory. After all, this Maxim is not altogether peculiar to *England* and *Scotland*. It has been often followed in other States during Civil Wars. All that can be said is, that oftentimes the Welfare of the King and the State is made use of only for a Cloke to Ambition, Revenge, and other criminal Passions. But it is not impossible that what is frequently a Pretence only, may be sometimes a very solid Reason. It is the part of the Wise and Unbyassed, who seek only the naked Truth, to distinguish the real Motives that engage Subjects to take up Arms against their Sovereigns, in States where an absolute and unlimited Power cannot with reason be ascribed to the Prince, as in *England* and *Scotland*.

The King's Answer. Rush. V. p. 494.

The King made a long Answer to this *Manifesto*; but it was upon quite contrary Suppositions. He urged that both Houses of Parliament had forced him to take up Arms in his own Defence: That his Consent to the Acts of the Parliament of *Scotland* was more than sufficient to secure their Religion and Liberties: That his Subjects of *Scotland* could not, without incurring the Guilt of Treason, make War upon him on any Pretence whatever. Upon these and the like Suppositions he proceeded, which the *Scots* allowed not, no more than he did theirs alledged in support of their pretended Right. There is one which frequently occurs in the Authors who have writ on this Subject, and which is admitted or rejected,

ed, according as they lean to either Party. And this obliges me juſt to touch upon it, in order to caution the Reader againſt the Prejudices of both. 1643.

In the Treaty of Peace concluded at *London* 1641, there was this Clauſe: *That the Kingdom of* Scotland *ſhall not denounce or make War againſt the Kingdom of* England, *without Conſent of the Parliament of* Scotland; *nor, on the other Hand, the Kingdom of* England *make War againſt* Scotland, *without Conſent of the Parliament of* England. *And in caſe any of the Subjects of any of the Kingdoms ſhall riſe in Arms or make War againſt any other of the Kingdoms and Subjects thereof, without Conſent of the Parliament of that Kingdom whereof they are Subjects, or upon which they do depend, that they ſhall be held as Traitors to the States whereof they are Subjects. And that both the Kingdoms in the Caſes aforeſaid, be bound to concur in the repreſſing of thoſe that ſhall happen to ariſe in Arms, or make War without Conſent of their own Parliament.* Ruſh. IV. p. 137.

The King, ſuppoſing that the *Scots*, in aiding the Parliament againſt him, intended to make War upon *England*, inferred from this Clauſe, that they were guilty of Treaſon. This Inference was grounded, not only upon the Suppoſition juſt mentioned, but alſo upon the Convention of Eſtates not being a true Parliament, and moreover upon his not having given them leave to meet, but with ſuch Limitations as had not been obſerved. The *Scots* ſuppoſed on the contrary, that, far from intending to war againſt *England*, their deſign was to aid and defend that Kingdom againſt the Popiſh and Prelatical Party, and reſcue the King out of their Hands. Thus, what the King called *invading England*, the oppoſite Party termed *aiding it*. This muſt be always remembred when we read the Hiſtory of thoſe Days.

The *Scotch* Army entered *England* in the Month of *January* 1643-4. But it is not yet time to relate what they did there. It will be neceſſary to ſpeak firſt of what paſſed with regard to *Ireland*, and ſome other important Occurrences of the Year 1643. As to *Ireland*,

The

1643. *Affairs of* Ireland.

The Succeſs of the firſt Campaign had been ſo equal on both Sides, that neither could boaſt of having gained any great Advantage. The Buſineſs in Hand was to continue the War, each Perſon rightly judging there would be no Proſpect of Peace as long as Things remained in a State of Equality. And therefore the King and the Parliament conſidered of ſtrengthening themſelves againſt the enſuing Campaign. The Treaty of *Oxford* coming to nothing, as was eaſy to foreſee, the King thought of Means to employ at Home the *Engliſh* Troops that ſerved in *Ireland*, and to that purpoſe of making a Truce with the Rebels. As this notable Project could not but be odious to the *Engliſh*, and render ſuſpicious all the King's Proteſtations with reſpect to the *Iriſh* Rebellion, he found he muſt proceed very warily in procuring a Pretenſe to conclude this ſame Truce. This he did by engaging the Lords-Juſtices of *Ireland*, and the Council of *Dublin* to countenance his Project. But as I may be accuſed of aſcribing to the King Motives he never had, I think it incumbent on me to alledge here the unqueſtionable Teſtimony of the Lord *Clarendon*. The Reader will find it in Vol. II. Part I. p. 414.

The King forms the Project of making a Truce with the Iriſh *Rebels.*

The King was not all this while without a due Senſe of the Dangers that threatened him in the growth and improvement of the Power and Strength of the Enemy, and how impoſſible it would be for him, without ſome more extraordinary Aſſiſtance to reſiſt that Torrent, which he foreſaw by the next Spring would be ready to overwhelm him, if he made not Proviſion accordingly. And finding by degrees that it was not in his Power to compoſe the Diſturbances of England, *or to prevent thoſe of* Scotland, *and abhorring the thought of introducing a Foreign Nation to ſubdue his own Subjects, he begun to think of Expedients which might allay the Diſtempers in* Ireland; *that ſo, having one of his Kingdoms in Peace, he might apply the Power of that towards the procuring it in his other Dominions. He was not ignorant, how tender an Argument that Buſineſs of* Ireland *was, and*

and how prepared Men were to pervert whatſoever he ſaid, or did in it; and therefore he reſolved to proceed with that Caution, that whatſoever was done in it, ſhould be by the Council of that State, who were underſtood to be moſt skillful in thoſe Affairs. 1643.

Hence it is evident, that the King's Deſign in making a Truce with the *Iriſh* Rebels, was to employ the *Engliſh* Forces which were in the Service of that Kingdom, to ſubdue the Parliament; and that to avoid the Reproaches which might be caſt on him for ſo doing, he reſolved to manage ſo that it ſhould appear to be done by the Council of *Ireland*, that is, by the Lords-Juſtices, and the reſt of the Council. In the Paſſage I have juſt quoted, the Lord *Clarendon* inſinuates, that the King came not to this Reſolution till about the cloſe of the Year 1643, that is to ſay, when he was ſure the *Scots* were to ſend an Army into *England*. For after relating what had paſſed during the Campaign of 1643, the Parliament's Negotiations in *Scotland*, the *Covenant* of both Kingdoms, the Reſolution taken in *Scotland* to aid the two Houſes, the Calling of the *Oxford*-Parliament, which was not done till the Month of *December* the ſame Year; he comes at laſt to ſpeak of the Reſolution the King took to make uſe of the *Engliſh* Troops that were in *Ireland*. *The King*, (ſays he,) *was not all this while without a due Senſe of the Dangers that threatened him, and how impoſſible it would be for him to reſiſt that Torrent which he foreſaw by the next Spring would be ready to overwhelm him.——He began therefore to think of Expedients which might allay the Diſtempers of* Ireland. It is however certain that the King reſolved to make a Truce in *Ireland* long before the Parliament's Negotiation with *Scotland*, and before the *Scots* Reſolution to levy an Army. And what invincibly proves that the King did not ſtay to be reſolved, till after the Engagements of the *Scots*, is, that the *Iriſh* Truce was ſigned the 15th of *September* 1643, after a long Negotiation. Thus what the Lord *Clarendon* inſinuates, that the King did not reſolve to employ the

1643. the *English* Forces of *Ireland*, but only to secure himself against the Torrent that was ready to overwhelm him, being very ill-grounded, confirms what will be seen hereafter, that he was not induced out of pure Necessity to make a Truce with the *Irish* Rebels, but by the Hopes of subduing the Parliament with these additional Forces.

The King's Pretense to conclude this Truce.

To come at a Pretense to conclude this Truce, the King believed the best way was to perswade the World, it would be extremely advantageous or rather that it was absolutely necessary to the *English* in *Ireland*, and was the only Refuge left to preserve what they still had there. He had complained several Times that the Parliament neglected the *Irish* War, and would have had an numerous Army sent thither. But as I said before, the Parliament suspecting the King's Aim was only to weaken them by that Diversion, were contented with sending from Time to Time a few Supplies to keep up the War, besides the *Scotch* Troops which made a pretty great Diversion in the North. These Supplies, though inconsiderable, had however produced this good Effect, that the Rebels, instead of making greater Progress, had on the contrary lost much Ground, having received several Defeats. They were nevertheless still superior to the *English*, and though the *English* and *Scotch* Forces were able to curb them a little, they were not strong enough to hope to reduce them to Obedience. Nay, it was to be feared, they would in the End be overwhelmed with Numbers, especially, as the Parliament engaged in a War with the King, could not send a powerful Aid to *Ireland*, for fear of leaving *England* unprovided. This was the Pretense made use of by the King to conclude a Truce with the Rebels.

Perplexity of the Lords-Justices of Ireland.

As Matters stood after War was declared between the King and the Parliament, the Lords-Justices who governed *Ireland* were under great Perplexity. They had been commissioned by the King, and consequently from him they were to look for their

their Orders. But on the other Hand, the Parliament having taken upon them to defray the Charges of the *Iriſh* War, they could not openly declare for the King, without forfeiting the Aſſiſtance of the Parliament, the King not being in Condition to afford them any. A perfect Neutrality was not poſſible, becauſe the King's and the Parliament's Intereſts being oppoſite, they could not implicitly obey the one, without being ſuſpected by the other. They choſe therefore to try to content both, as far as in them lay; and the rather as the King and the Parliament expreſſed an equal Deſire to put an end to the War in *Ireland*. But they could not remain long in this Situation. Such was their Caſe at laſt, that it was not poſſible for them to pleaſe both Parties. The Parliament having ſent a Committee to *Dublin* to aſſiſt the Council, and ſettle together with the Lords-Juſtices what relates to the Continuance of the War, theſe Commiſſioners were at firſt received with Reſpect; but in the Month of *February* 1643, by the King's expreſs Order, were ſent back to *England*. The King was well enough pleaſed that the Parliament ſhould ſupply what was neceſſary for carrying on the War, but did not care they ſhould have any ſhare in the Government of *Ireland*, or their Commiſſioners a Place in the Council of State. Shortly after, he removed ſome of the Lords-Juſtices and Counſellors (*a*). In all appearance, he was then forming the Project of a Truce with the Rebels, and wanted for that purpoſe that the Lords-Juſtices and all the Counſellors ſhould be diſpoſed to act only by his Orders. Beſides, on this Suppoſition, the Parliament's Commiſſioners could not but be a great Impediment, had they continued to aſſiſt at the Council of State. From that Time likewiſe the Inſtances of the Lords-Juſtices to the King and Parliament for Aid became more preſſing and frequent. They repreſented the State

1643.

The Parliament ſends a Committee to Dublin. October 1642; *who are well received, and aſſiſt the Council.* Ruſh. V. p. 530.

They are ſent back by the King's Order. ibid.

Some of the Lords Juſtices and Counſellors removed by the King.

(*a*) See the Declaration hereafter of both Houſes concerning the Affairs of *Ireland*.

1643. State of the *Engliſh* in *Ireland*, as entirely deſperate, without a ſpeedy Supply of Men, Money and Ammunition. They ſaid that the Officers were very importunate for leave to return to *England*. In a Word, they omitted nothing that was apt to make it believed there was no Remedy. On the other Hand, ſome Officers of the *Engliſh* Army preſented a Remonſtrance to the Lords-Juſtices, *April* the 4th 1643, ſetting forth, that they were reduced to Deſpair for want of Money to ſubſiſt, and that it ought not to be thought ſtrange if in their Caſe they ſhould have recourſe to the firſt and primary Law of Nature, which God hath endowed Men with, namely, the Law of Self-Preſervation. If to theſe ſo earneſt Complaints be added what the Lord *Clarendon* ſays, that the King reſolved to proceed ſo as that every Thing ſhould appear to be done by the Council of *Ireland*, the ſending back of the Parliament's Commiſſioners, and the Changes made among the Lords-Juſtices and Members of the Council, one can ſcarce help ſuſpecting theſe Complaints to be all a Contrivance on purpoſe to ſerve for Cloke to the Ceſſation. This Suſpicion ſeems the more probable, as at that time the Affairs of the *Engliſh* in *Ireland* were upon a tolerable good Foot, and as the Marquiſs of *Ormond* had juſt gained at *Roſs* a ſignal Victory over the Rebels. Accordingly the Lords-Juſtices, as well as the Officers, took Care not to make the Progreſs of the Rebels the Ground of their Complaints, but only the want of Money, Proviſions and Ammunition.

Ruſh. V. p. 537.

Clarend. III. p. 414.

The King impowers the Marquiſs of Ormond *to treat with the Rebels.*

April 23. 1643.

However this be, The Remonſtrance of the Officers being ſent to the King, he took Occaſion from thence to ſend to the Marquiſs of *Ormond* a Commiſſion, impowering him to treat with the Rebels, and agree with them upon a Ceſſation of Arms [for one Year.] He gave notice of it to the Lords-Juſtices in a Letter of *April* the 23d 1643, commanding them to aſſiſt the Marquiſs in the Execution of his Commiſſion to the utmoſt of their Power. The Date of this Commiſſion is remarkable, for it evidently

Ruſh. V. P. 537.

ſhows

ſhows that the *Scots* Reſolution to Aid the Parliament, which was not taken till the *Auguſt* following, was not the Cauſe of the *Iriſh* Truce. 1643.

May the 3d, the King renewed his Orders to the Marquiſs of *Ormond* concerning the Truce. But before the Marquiſs had received theſe freſh Orders, the Lords-Juſtices had writ to the King, the 11th of the ſame Month, a very expreſſive Letter, repreſenting the miſerable Condition of *Ireland* in ſuch Terms as ſhowed that every Body was in a deſpairing Condition for want of Money and Proviſions, though till then the *Engliſh* Forces had been crowned with Succeſs againſt the Rebels. *The Lords-Juſtices are very urgent for Aid.* May 11. Ruſh. V. p. 538.

The King having a mind to make the moſt of this Letter, to ſhow the World the Neceſſity of the Ceſſation he intended to conclude, ſent it to both Houſes *, who immediately took this Affair into Conſideration. A Committee was appointed out of Hand, with Orders to think of ways to raiſe Money for *Ireland*. Upon the Report of the Committee, the Parliament reſolved to raiſe Money by voluntary Contributions, and offered very advantageous Terms to ſuch as ſhould advance the Sums required *1. But notwithſtanding this, the King, *July* the 2d, diſpatched freſh Orders to the Lords-Juſtices and the Marquiſs of *Ormond*, to conclude a Truce for a Year, which they had already begun to ſet about. Ever ſince the 20th of *June*, the General Council of the *Iriſh* aſſembled at *Kilkenny*, had granted a Commiſſion to to treat *3. *The King ſends their Letter to the Parliament.* *The King ſends new Orders about the Truce.* Ibid. p. 544. ibid. p. 545.

* The Houſe refuſed to receive the Letter, becauſe not directed as uſual, but referred it to a Committee to open it and report the Contents. *Whit. p.* 78.

*1 The Adventurers were to have ſuch and ſuch Towns, with ſo many Acres of Land for Security, upon advancing ſuch a Sum upon each Town.

*3 The Commiſſioners appointed by the Catholick Party to treat with the Marquiſs of *Ormond* were, *Donnogh*, Viſcount *Maſkerry*, Sir *Lucas Dillon*, *Nicholas Plunker*, Sir *Robert Talbot*, Sir *Richard Barnwell*, *Torlogh O Neal*, *Geoffery Brown*, *Ever-Mac-Gennis*, and *John Walſh*. Ruſh. V. p. 548.

1643. Ibid. p. 547.

September the 7th, the King repeated his Orders to the Marquiſs of *Ormond* to conclude the Truce as ſoon as poſſible. At the ſame time he ordered him to ſend over into *England* all the *Engliſh* Forces that could be ſpared upon the Concluſion of the Truce. His Reaſon was, and he could juſtly ſay it then, that an Army was preparing in *Scotland* to invade *England*. But there was not a Word of that in the foregoing Orders.

The Truce ſigned. Ibid. p. 543.

At length the Ceſſation was ſigned *September* the 15th, on Condition that each of the two Parties ſhould remain in Poſſeſſion of what he held. The King grounded the Neceſſity thereof, firſt upon a Remonſtrance preſented to him *December* the 1ſt 1642, by four Colonels, as well in their own, as in the Names of many other Officers, who ſerved in the Army of *Ireland*, wherein they told him, it was impoſſible for them to ſubſiſt any longer: Firſt, if means were not found to ſupply their preſſing Wants. Secondly, upon the repeated Letters ſent from the Lords-Juſtices to the King and the Parliament, ſince the Month of *January* 1642-3, wherein they ſaid, that the Army was going to periſh in a few Days, for want of Supplies. Thirdly, upon the Remonſtrance of the Officers *April* the 4th before-mentioned, wherein they pretended a few Hour's Delay to aſſiſt them, would be too long *. Nevertheleſs this ſame Army which was reduced to Extremity, *December* the 1ſt 1642, found means to ſubſiſt till the 15th of *September* 1643, though the Lords-Juſtices complained, they had received no Supplies ſince the Month of *November*. This is a clear Evidence that all theſe Complaints were very much aggravated by the private Direction of the King, who had a mind to make uſe of them for a Pretenſe to the Truce. This is what the Parliament repreſented in a Declaration

Both Houſe complain of it. Ruſh V. p. 556.

* There are no ſuch Words in the Remonſtrance; they ſay indeed, *they are brought to ſo great Exigency, that they are ready to rob and ſpoil one another.* Ruſh. V. p. 537.

ration publiſhed on occaſion of the *Iriſh* Ceſſation, before they had notice of its being concluded: They complained very ſtrongly that they were never acquainted by the State of *Ireland*, with the Treaty of a Ceſſation, much leſs was their Advice demanded, notwithſtanding that by Act of Parliament, and by his Majeſty's Commiſſion under the Great-Seal, both Houſes were *to adviſe, order, and diſpoſe of all Things concerning the Government and Defenſe of that Kingdom.* They ſaid, that in order to pave the way to this diſhonourable Ceſſation, thoſe of the State in *Dublin*, who were ſo honeſt and religious as to diſſwade it, were firſt diſcountenanced and at laſt put out of their Places, and reſtrained to Priſon, as Sir *William Parſons* one of the Lords-Juſtices, Sir *John Temple* Maſter of the *Rolls*, Sir *Adam Loftus* Vice-Treaſurer of *Ireland*, and Sir *Robert Meredith* one alſo of the Council-Table. That it was intended only with a view to diſcourage thoſe who had ſubſcribed to advance Money upon the Parliament's Propoſals, to the end it might be impoſſible to keep up the Army in *Ireland*, and that the Forces might be employed in *England* to the Deſtruction of the Parliament. For theſe and many other Reaſons which I omit to avoid tediouſneſs. Both Houſes declared the intended Ceſſation void, promiſing to ſtand by thoſe who ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to it *. 1643.

Part of the Iriſh Army land in England to ſerve the King. Ruſh. V. p. 299.

Mean while the King, who was ſure of the Concurrence of the Lords-Juſtices, the Council of State, and the Marquiſs of *Ormond* General of the Army, ordered it ſo, that after the Concluſion of the Truce all the *Engliſh* Troops that could be ſpared were ſent over to him. Theſe Forces landed at *Moſtyn* in *Flintſhire*, and their firſt Attempt was upon *Hawarden*-Caſtle, which was ſurrendered to them the 4th of *December*. Then they took ſome other ſmall Places

* *Whitlock* ſays, Twenty Thouſand *Engliſh* and *Scots* in the North of *Ireland*, vowed *to live and dye together in Oppoſition to the Ceſſation.* Whit. Mem. p. 18.

1643. in *Cheshire*, after which the Lord *Byron* *, who commanded for the King in those Parts, laid Siege to *Nantwich*, *January* the 15th 1643-4. Three Days after making a sudden and violent Storm upon Five several Places of the Town at once, he was every where beaten off with the Loss of many of his Men. At last, the 21st of the same Month, the Lord *Fairfax*, who had advanced to relieve the Town, entirely routed the *Irish* Army, consisting of Three Thousand Foot, who were almost all slain or taken Prisoners; and of Eighteen Hundred Horse, most of whom escaped by Flight, but were so dispersed that they could be of no Service to the King. Colonel *George Monk* was taken in this Action, and sent up Prisoner to the *Tower* of *London*, where having remained some time, he took up Arms under the Parliament *1. Thus the King received no Benefit by these Troops, nay, they rather did him a great Prejudice, in that, by all his Proceedings to procure them, he confirmed the Mistrust abundance of People had entertained upon his Account, with respect to the *Irish* Rebellion.

They are entirely routed by the Lord Fairfax.

Monk *is taken Prisoner.*

Several Events of the Year 1643.

Not to break off the Thread of the military Actions, and of what passed in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, I have been forced to pass over several important Occurrences of this Year 1643, which it will be necessary to speak of now, though without undertaking to connect them with one another, they being of a different Nature. The Reader will be able, by observing the Dates, to perceive with ease what Connexion they have with the general Affairs. I shall begin with certain Projects laid at *London*, to compel the Parliament to make Peace whilst the Armies were in the Field.

The

* Sir *John Byron* was made Lord *Byron* of *Rothdale* the 24th of *October*, 19 *Car.* 1. and his Brother *Richard* Lord *Vaughan* of *Emlyn*, the Day following. *Dugdale.*

*1 Among the Prisoners were taken a Hundred and Twenty *Irish Women* with long Knives, wherewith they were said to have done Mischief. This Fight was reported to be as sharp for the Time as any that had happened before in those Wars. *Rush.* V. p. 302.

1643.

A Plot to force the Parliament to a Peace.

The King was all along ſtrongly poſſeſſed with the Notion that the greateſt Part of thoſe who adhered to the Parliament did ſo from the ſole Motive of Fear, and that if he helped them to ſome good Opportunity to hold up their Heads, he ſhould conſtrain both Houſes to make a ſpeedy Peace without ſtaying to demand *Securities*, which was the main Obſtacle. This was his darling Scheme, this was the grand Project of his Miniſters, his Council, his Friends and Adherents in *London* and elſewhere, and this was the Spring of ſeveral Plots to force the Parliament to make Peace. It would indeed be very ſtrange that ſo many able Heads ſhould be of this Opinion without any manner of Foundation. But on the other Hand, one knows not what to think, when it is conſidered that of ſo many Contrivances, built upon this Suppoſition, not one ſucceeded, which ſeems to argue that the Majority of the People were not for the King. However this be, it is certain the King had a good Number of Friends in *London*, and in the very Parliament-Houſe, who ſerved him artfully, by pretending to dread that the War would be deſtructive to the Parliament; and thereby they endeavoured to infuſe a real Terrour into the People, and incline them by degrees to wiſh and ſue for Peace. Theſe Men never ceaſed plotting in order to ſow Diſcord between the Parliament and People. As it was neceſſary for them to hold private Correſpondence with the Court, that they might proceed according to the King's Directions, his Majeſty frequently ſent Meſſengers to *London*, ſometimes ſecretly, ſometimes openly, under colour of bringing Meſſages to the Parliament, that he might convey his Inſtructions to his Friends, and be exactly informed of what paſſed in both Houſes and the City. With this view it was that in the Month of *December* 1642, for the ſake, as was pretended, of the Inhabitants of *London*, he iſſued out a Proclamation for the free and ſafe Paſſage of all Goods, Wares and Merchandizes to the City of *London*. But the *Commons* ſuſpecting ſome hidden Myſtery was concealed under this Con-

The King allows free Commerce between his Quarters and London. Ruſh. V. p. 83.

The Commons forbid it. Ruſh. V. p. 117. Jan. 16.

1643. deſcenſion, paſſed the next Month two Orders, the one, that no Carriers or Waggoners ſhould be permitted to go to *Oxford* or elſewhere without ſpecial Licence from the Parliament: The other, that any Agent or Servant to any Perſon that was in Arms againſt the Parliament, who ſhould preſume to come to *Weſtminſter* or reſide about *London*, ſhould be forthwith apprehended as a Spy. The 10th of *April* following, theſe Orders were renewed, and even extended to all Perſons that ſhould come from the King's Quarters to *London* without a Safe-Conduct, and the ſame was printed and publiſhed.

Ibid. p. 314.

The King ſends a Meſſage to both Houſes without a Safe-Conduct.

In all appearance, the King, who had ſo many Friends in *London*, was not ignorant of this Order. Nevertheleſs, on pretenſe that it was not ſignified to him in Form, he ſent a Meſſage to the Parliament with an Offer of Peace in general Terms, without demanding a Safe-Conduct for the Bearer. But the *Commons*, reſolving to put a ſtop to theſe kinds of Stratagems, which helped the King to carry on a private Correſpondence in *London*, ordered the Meſſenger to be ſent to Priſon for coming withour a Safe-Conduct. Three Days after, to let the People ſee the King vainly amuſed them with hopes of a Peace, they impeached the Queen of High-Treaſon, and ſent up the Impeachment to the Lords by Mr. *Pym*. The King, full of Indignation at this extraordinary Step, publiſhed a Proclamation to forbid Obedience to the Orders of both Houſes, ſaying he acknowledged them no longer for Houſes of Parliament.

Ibid 321.

The Meſſenger is impriſoned

The Queen is accuſed of High-Treaſon.

The King forbids Obedience to both Houſes.

Affairs were in this Poſture, when both Houſes diſcovered a Conſpiracy laid in *London*, even under colour of procuring Peace refuſed by the Parliament. I ſhall give the Particulars of this Conſpiracy, as they were communicated to the Lords by Mr. *Pym* at a Conference between the two Houſes. He told them,

A Plot to force the Parliament to a Peace.

Ruſh. V. p. 322.

Ibid. p. 322.

" I. That the Conſpiracy was formed of a Mixture " and Conjunction of Perſons of ſeveral Qualities, " ſome whereof were of both Houſes of Parliament, " others

" others of the City, and others belonging to the 1643.
" Court, who in their reſpective Places and Em-
" ployments were to form and perfect the Work,
" raiſed out of the Aſhes of the late Petition of *Lon-*
" *don* for Peace.

" II. The chief Actors were Mr. *Waller*, a Mem-
" ber of the Houſe of Commons, who pretended,
" and gave out to the reſt, that many others of that
" Houſe, and of the Lords, were privy to and con-
" cerned therein; Mr. *Tomkins*, a Gentleman living
" in *Holborn*, Brother-in-law to the ſaid Mr. *Waller*,
" and Servant to the Queen, as being Secretary to
" the Commiſſioners for her Majeſty's Revenue; Mr.
" *Challoner* an eminent Citizen; one Mr. *Blinkard*,
" Mr. *Alexander Hampden*, who brought the laſt
" Meſſage from the King; Mr. *Haſſel*, one of his
" Majeſty's Meſſengers, *&c.*

" III. The Method was for ſeveral Perſons in
" the City to diſpoſe of themſelves into a Committee,
" to hold Intelligence with both Armies, the Court,
" and the Parliament; to take a general Survey of
" the Affections of all the Inhabitants within the
" weekly Bills of Mortality, which was to be done
" under theſe Three Ranks, *Right Men*, (or of the
" King's Party) *Averſe Men*, (or the well-affected
" to the Parliament) and *Moderate Men*, (or Neu-
" trals;) to conſider of Arms, Ammunition, and
" all Proviſion of War; to appoint out of them-
" ſelves ſelect Perſons to treat with Mr. *Waller* and
" Mr. *Tompkins* in relation to the City, Court and
" Parliament; as alſo with Sir *Nicholas Criſp*, Sir
" *George Binion*, Captain *Roydon*, and others at *Ox-*
" *ford*.

" IV. Mr. *Waller*'s Part was to engage a conſide-
" rable Part of the Lords and Commons, and to be
" a Means of conveying Counſels, Reſolutions, and
" Intelligence between them and the ſaid City Com-
" mittee. Mr. *Tomkins* was not only an Aſſiſtant to
" Mr. *Waller* therein, but an Inſtrument to convey by
" *Haſſel* and others their Proceedings to the Court,

1648. " principally to the Lord *Falkland*, and to receive " thence Directions, Powers and Commands.

" V. For preventing Diſcovery, Proteſtations of " Secrecy were taken, as they were Chriſtians not " to diſcloſe it, and no Man in the City was to en- " deavour the engaging above two, whereby no one " Man could impeach many.

" VI. From the Court Mr. *Heron* and Mr. *Alexan-* " *der Hampden*, and others employed upon Meſſages " from the King to the Parliament, were to convey " Directions, Encouragements, and Advice to thoſe " in *London*, and Authority was to be given under " the Great-Seal, and Warrants under the King's " Hand, for ſettling a Council of War, naming of " Generals and other Officers, Execution of Mar- " tial Law, raiſing of Money, and providing Arms; " and to facilitate the whole, part of the King's " Forces to be in readineſs to aſſiſt the Party here, " as there ſhould be Occaſion.

" VII. The Particulars of the Deſign itſelf were, " to ſeize the King's Children, to ſecure ſeveral " Members of Parliament, particularly the Lord " *Say*, the Lord *Wharton*, Mr. *Pym*, Sir *Philip* " *Stapleton*, Colonel *Hampden*, and Colonel *Strode*, " as alſo the Lord-Mayor and Committee of the " Militia, under pretence of bringing them to a " legal Trial; to ſeize upon the Out-works, Forts, " Magazines, Gates, and other Places of Importance " in the City and the *Tower*, and let in the King's " Forces, and in the mean time to reſiſt and ob- " ſtruct all Payments impoſed by Authority of the " two Houſes for Support of their Armies.

" VIII. For their Authority they had the follow- " ing Commiſſion brought up by the Lady *Aubigny*, " (who was under Cuſtody) the ſaid Commiſſion " being found hid under-Ground in Mr. *Tompkin's* " Cellar.

" IX. In purſuance of this Commiſſion, they had " often conſulted of a General, and treated with Sir " *Hugh Pollard*, Priſoner in the Compter (once a " Member

" Member of the Houſe of Commons, but expelled, 1643.
" being accuſed of having an hand in the Deſign to
" bring up the northern Army againſt the Parlia-
" ment,) about it. And a Declaration was ready
" drawn, ſetting forth the Cauſe of their taking up
" of Arms to be in purſuance of their late Proteſta-
" tion to maintain the true Reformed Proteſtant Re-
" ligion againſt all Papiſts and Sectaries, to oppoſe
" illegal Aſſeſſments, &c. which was to be diſtribu-
" ted to their Friends, and on the Night of their
" Riſing ſet upon the Poſts round about *London*.
" Concerning which time of their Riſing they had
" alſo conſulted, (of which preciſe Notice was to
" be ſent to *Oxford*, as to the Day and Hour) and
" ſome moved to have it done on *Wedneſday* the laſt
" Day of *May* being the Faſt-Day, and the very
" next Day after the firſt Intimation was given to-
" wards a Diſcovery) but it had been put of, and
" not fully concluded, it being ſaid, *it ſhould be left*
" *to the Lords to determine*, whom *Waller* pretended
" ſhould ſide with them. Mr. *Haſſel*, lay cloſe at
" *Beconsfield*, and had word ſent, *the great Ship was*
" *come in the Downs*, by which he was to underſtand,
" that the Deſign was near ripe; and he acquainted
" the Lord *Falkland* at *Oxford* therewith, and received
" Anſwer, that they ſhould haſten it with all ſpeed:
" and when they were ready, Three Thouſand of the
" King's Forces were to advance from *Oxford* within
" Fifteen Miles of *London*, to be ready upon notice
" to fall into the Works and aſſiſt; and white Rib-
" bons or Tape was agreed to be worn by all con-
" cerned in this Action to diſtinguiſh them."

The Lord *Clarendon*, who is very large upon this Conſpiracy, denies neither the Plot itſelf, nor the King's Commiſſion brought to *London* by the Lady *Aubigney* *; but urges, that the Parliament jumbled two

* This Lady with the Conſent of both Houſes went to *Oxford*, to tranſact her own Affairs with the King upon the Death of her Husband,

1643. two different Projects into one, the firſt formed by *Waller*, *Tompkins*, and *Challoner*, who were at *London*; and the other by Sir *Nicholas Criſp*, who being Recorder of *London** had been impriſoned, but making his Eſcape had retired to *Oxford*. But what does this ſignify? Whether there were two Plots or one, it is no leſs apparent that the King's Deſign was to compel the Parliament to Peace, and that his frequent Meſſages to both Houſes to offer Peace, were often but Artifices to keep up his Correſpondences in *London*.

Oath agreed on by the two Houſes. Ruſh V. P. 325.

This Diſcovery cauſed both Houſes to reſolve to unite themſelves ſtill more ſtrictly together, by a new *Covenant* or *Oath* which was tendered to all the Members, and then to the Army, and ſuch of the People as were willing to take it. *Tompkins*, *Challoner*, and two more Conſpirators were hanged. But *Waller* ſaved his Life, paying a Fine of Ten Thouſand Pound, and was baniſhed the Kingdom. *Hambden* died in Priſon before his Sentence, and *Haſſel* died likewiſe the Night before his Tryal. The ill Succeſs of this Plot prevented not the like from being contrived the Month of *Auguſt* following.

After *Waller*'s Conſpiracy was fallen to the Ground, the King had a Train of Succeſſes which revived the Courage of his Friends at *London*, who begun to be diſheartned. The Lord *Fairfax* was defeated at *Atherſton* in *Yorkſhire*. The Queen was come to his Majeſty with a conſiderable Supply. *Waller* was entirely routed at *Roundway-Down*; and the King, now Maſter of *Briſtol*, was preparing to lay Siege to *Glouceſter*. Thus crowned with Succeſs, he thought

New Plot. Aug.

it

Husband, who was killed at *Edge-hill*, and having done her Buſineſs and being ready to return, ſhe was deſired by the King to carry a ſmall Box (in which was put the Commiſſion) to *London*, and deliver it to one that ſhould come for it with ſuch a Token, which ſhe did accordingly, not knowing what ſhe carried. *Clarend.* III. p. 252.

* This does not appear. He is ſaid only to be a popular Citizen and had been an Officer in the Train'd bands.

it a favourable Opportunity to force the Parliament to a Peace, and all his *London* Friends began to beſtir themſelves. Whether this Project came from the Court, or the King had only approved of it, he believed it requiſite to prepare the Minds of the People by a Declaration which was publiſhed, to this Effect: 1643.

The King's Declaration after his Succeſſes to prepare the People. Clarend III. p. 302.

" As the Grievances and Loſſes of no particular " Perſons could be compared to the Damage he him- " ſelf ſuſtained; ſo a Peace could not be ſo welcome " to any Man as to him. God Almighty knew with " what unwillingneſs and anguiſh of Soul he ſubmit- " ted to the Neceſſity of taking up defenſive Arms. " And, the World knew with what Juſtice and " Bounty he had repaired his Subjects for all the " Preſſures they had born, by ſuch excellent Laws, " as would for ever have prevented the like; and " with what Earneſtneſs he deſired to add any thing " for the Eſtabliſhment of the Religion, Laws and " Liberty of the Kingdom; all which had been " evidently invaded by thoſe who had ſacrificed the " publick Good to their own Ends. He well remem- " bred the Proteſtation made by him at the Head of " his Army, *to defend and maintain the true Re-* " *formed Proteſtant Religion, and if it ſhould pleaſe* " *God to bleſs his Arms with Succeſs, he would* " *maintain the juſt Privileges and Freedom of Parlia-* " *ment, and govern by the known Laws of the Land, for* " *whoſe Defence that Army was only raiſed.* And there " could not be a more ſeaſonable Time to renew " that Proteſtation than now, when God had vouch- " ſafed him ſo many Victories, which would hinder " him from falling under the ſcandalous Imputation " that his Meſſages of Peace proceeded from the " Weakneſs of his Power, not Love of his People. " He declared therefore to all the World, in the Pre- " ſence of God, that he was ſo far from intending " any Alteration of the Religion eſtabliſhed in which " he was born and bred, and would reſolutely die,

" or

1643. " or from the leaſt Thought of invading the Li-
" berty and Property of the Subject, or violating
" the juſt Privileges of Parliament; that the Pre-
" ſervation of the eſtabliſhed Religion, the Laws,
" the Liberties of the People, and the juſt Privi-
" leges of Parliament ſhould be equally his Care, as
" the Maintenance of his own Rights. Whether
" thoſe that were Enemies to the eſtabliſhed Eccle-
" ſiaſtical Government, who perſecuted the learned,
" orthodox Miniſters, and put into their Places ig-
" norant, ſeditious, and ſchiſmatical Preachers, who
" vilified the Book of *Common-Prayer*, and profaned
" God's Worſhip, were like to advance Religion:
" Whether thoſe who, without the leaſt Shadow of
" Law, impoſed exorbitant Taxes upon their Fel-
" low-Subjects, impriſoned, tormented and mur-
" thered them, were like to preſerve the Liberty
" and Property of the Subject: And whether thoſe
" who had invaded the juſt Rights of the Crown,
" denied the King his negative Voice, awed and ter-
" rified the Members of both Houſes, were like to
" vindicate the Privileges of Parliament, all the
" World might judge." In ſhort, after ſeveral In-vectives againſt the two Houſes, he concluded with ſaying: *Whoſoever have been miſled by thoſe whoſe Hearts from the Beginning have deſigned all this Miſchief, and ſhall redeem their paſt Crimes by their preſent Service and Loyalty, in the apprehending or oppoſing ſuch who ſhall continue to bear Arms againſt us, and ſhall uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to reduce thoſe Men to their due Obedience, and to reſtore the Kingdom to its wonted Peace, ſhall have cauſe to magnify our Mercy, and to repent the Treſpaſſes committed againſt ſo juſt and gracious a Sovereign* *.

It

* Adding, " We deſire all our good Subjects who have really
" wiſhed us well, now God has done ſuch wonderful Things for
" us, vigorouſly to endeavour to put an end to all theſe Miſeries, by
" bringing

It is no hard matter to perceive, that by this Declaration, and eſpecially by the laſt Part of it, the King's Aim was to ſtir up and authorize an Inſurrection in *London* againſt both Houſes, and what happened preſently after puts it quite out of doubt. This Declaration then was the Forerunner of a Plot which was framing to compel the Parliament to a Peace. No body can queſtion but the King was really deſirous of a Peace. But it muſt be always remembred, what ſort of Peace it was that he ſo earneſtly wiſhed for. It was a Peace that ſhould reinveſt him with all his Prerogatives, after which, he promiſed to govern according to the known Laws of the Land. But in this Promiſe lay the whole Difficulty of the Peace, the Parliament pretending that his Word could not be relied upon, and the King offering no other Security for the Performance thereof, tacitly ſuppoſing it to be a Crime to doubt his Sincerity. 1643.

The Houſe of Lords propoſe to ſend Offers of Peace to the King.

This Declaration was no ſooner publiſhed but the King's Friends began their old Game again in *London*. They put on an extraordinary Terrour cauſed by the proſperous Succeſs of the King's Arms, and inſinuated that the Conſequences ſhould be prevented by a Peace. But as the Example of *Tompkins* and *Challoner* had effectually terrified the King's moſt devoted Friends, there was not one that dared to expoſe himſelf to the ſame Danger. It was reſolved therefore among them, that the Houſe of Lords ſhould firſt break the Ice, and propoſe a Peace to the *Commons*, which ſhould be ſeconded by the King's Friends in *London*. The Upper-Houſe conſiſted but of few Peers, ſome of whom were either openly or privately for the King. Others were his Enemies, and ſome

" bringing in Men, Money, Plate, Horſes or Arms to our Aid, " that ſo we being not wanting to our ſelves, may with Confidence " expect the Continuance of God's Favour to reſtore us all that " bleſſed Harmony of Affection, which may eſtabliſh a firm " Peace."

1643. ſome were ready to follow the Stream which way ſoever it carried them. Theſe were the Men the King's Party ſtrove to gain by ſundry Methods, that they might have a Majority in the Houſe of Lords; ſome by Promiſes, others by Threats, and ſome again by way of Perſuaſion, ſetting before them the abſolute Neceſſity of a Peace. In ſhort, they got a Plurality of Voices in the Upper-Houſe: not that all thoſe they had prevailed with poſitively engaged to be devoted to the King: that was not the Point in Hand; but only to agree that a Peace ſhould be propoſed by their Houſe, which could not be conſidered but as a very innocent Thing. The Managers of this Contrivance took care not to cauſe a Peace to be propoſed without Terms ſuch as the King deſired. That alone had been enough to make ſome they had gained to turn againſt them. Nothing was wanting but to get the *Commons* to enter into Negotiation, after which, they hoped the Superiority the King then had, ſupported with the Endeavours of his Party, would be capable to remove in his Favour all the Difficulties that might occur in the main Articles. This Reſolution being taken, the Lords ſent and deſired a Conference with the *Commons*, where they declared to them, that they were reſolved to ſend Propoſitions for Peace to the King, and hoped they would concur with them. The Propoſitions were:

Propoſitions for Peace given to the Commons in a Conference by the Lords. Clarend. III. p. 318.

" 1. That both Armies might be preſently diſ-
" banded, and his Majeſty be entreated to return to
" his Parliament, upon ſuch Security as ſhould give
" him Satisfaction.

" 2. That Religion might be ſettled with the Ad-
" vice of a Synod of Divines, in ſuch a maner as his
" Majeſty with the Conſent of both Houſes of Par-
" liament ſhould appoint.

" 3. That the Militia, both by Sea and Land,
" might be ſettled by a Bill; and the Militia, Forts
" and Ships of the Kingdom, put into ſuch Hands
" as the King ſhould appoint, with the Approbation

" of both Houſes of Parliament: and his Majeſty's 1643.
" Revenue to be abſolutely and wholly reſtored
" unto him; only deducting ſuch part, as had been
" of neceſſity expended for the maintenance of his
" Children, and not otherwiſe.

" 4. That all the Members of both Houſes who
" had been expelled only for abſenting themſelves, or
" mere Compliance with his Majeſty, and no other
" Matter of Fact againſt them, might be reſtored to
" their Places.

" 5. That all Delinquents, from before the Tenth
" Day of *January* 1641, ſhould be delivered up to
" the Juſtice of Parliament, and a General Pardon
" for all others on both Sides.

" 6. And laſtly, That there might be an Act of
" Oblivion for all by-gone Deeds, and Acts of Hoſti-
" lity."

It is very likely that they who had Credit enough to get theſe Propoſitions paſſed in the Houſe of Peers, did not believe themſelves that a Peace could be made upon theſe Foundations. The Difficulties which occurred in the three firſt Propoſitions had been debated a Thouſand times both before and after the Beginning of the War, without coming to any Concluſion. There was then no probability that the King, in his Proſperity, would be willing to grant what he had denied when his Affairs were not in ſo good a Situation. But, as I ſaid, the Intent of the Managers of this Stratagem was only to procure a Negotiation, verily believing, that by their Intereſt and Cabals, or by an Inſurrection of the People, they ſhould cauſe theſe Points to be decided in favour of the King. For that reaſon, the main Propoſition, namely, the Third concerning the *Militia*, which the Parliament had ever been very careful to ſet forth plainly and fully, was expreſſed in very general and ambiguous Terms, *That the Militia might be ſettled by a Bill.*

The

1643. *The Commons in a Fright conſent to the Propoſitions.*

The Houſe of *Commons* ſaw perfectly the Drift of the Authors of theſe Propoſitions, and were in a Fright about it. They were apprehenſive that the Contrivers were but too powerfully ſupported, otherwiſe it was not likely they ſhould have taken ſuch a Step, at a time when a Committee was already gone to deſire Aſſiſtance of the *Scots*. For which reaſon, after a long Debate, it was carried by a Plurality of Voices that the Propoſitions ſhould be ſent to the King. It is extremely probable that this Reſolution was taken only to amuſe the King's Friends and gain time, that their Meaſures might be the more eaſily broken. For the next Day the Lord-Mayor of *London*, attended with a Crowd of People, came to the Houſe of *Commons*, of which he was a Member, and delivered, on the Part of the Common-Council, a Petition, wherein the Houſe was beſought to perſiſt in their former Reſolutions, and reject the Propoſitions of the Peers. The Lord-Mayor affirmed alſo, that the People of *London* were ready to exert their utmoſt for the vigorous Proſecution of the War. Whereupon, the *Houſe* took Courage again, and reverſed the Reſolution of the foregoing Day. Thus, the King's Friends were in their Turn very much at a Loſs, and under a Neceſſity to take new Meaſures. The Expedient they deviſed was to get the Women to riſe, in hopes that ſuch an Inſurrection might breed a greater, and occaſion ſome Revolution.

The Petition of the City of London *againſt the Propoſitions.* Ruſh. V. p. 356.

The Propoſitions are rejected.

The Women's Tumult. Ruſh. V. p. 357.

Auguſt the 9th, a Petition for Peace was preſented to the *Commons* by Two or Three Thouſand Women [with *white Silk Ribbons* in their Hats.] The Conditions propoſed by them were exactly the ſame as the King had all along offered. A general Anſwer being ſent out to them, they were not ſatisfied, and their Number by Noon increaſing to Five Thouſand, they came to the Door of the Houſe, crying *Peace, Peace, give us thoſe Traitors that are againſt Peace, that we may tear them in Pieces, give us that Dog* Pym. Part of the Train'd-bands (that uſually ſtood Centinel

nel there) firing upon them with Powder only, to fright them away, they laughed at it, and finding a heap of *Brickbatts* in the Yard, fell to throwing them at the Centinels, and fairly chaſed them away. At laſt, ſome Troopers were forced to be ſent for, who after uſing fair means in vain for a good while, drew their Swords, and cut them over their Hands and Faces. A *Ballad-ſinger* was killed upon the Spot *, and another Woman loſt her Noſe, whereof it was ſaid ſhe afterwards died. At length, with much ado, they were diſperſed. The Lord *Clarendon*, [who ſays many were killed and wounded,] affirms, they were the Wives of ſubſtantial Citizens, which is hardly credible *†. Thus ended the grand Project of forcing the Parliament to a Peace, a Project wherein means was found to ingage ſeveral Lords, and many *Commoners*, under Colour that a Peace was neceſſary to the State. Nothing could be truer; but Care was taken not to diſcover to them, that on pretenſe of labouring for the Publick, the King's Advantage alone was really ſought. 1643. Clarend. III. p. 321.

The Earl of *Eſſex* was one of thoſe who were moſt deſirous of Peace, but not in the ſame manner as the King's Friends. Theſe were for a Peace, and uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to procure it: But it was ſuch a Peace as the King offered, that is to ſay, a Peace founded only upon his Word. The Earl of *Eſſex* did not think it impracticable in concluding a Peace, to find neceſſary Securities for the Nation's Liberties: For ſee his Thoughts of the Matter in his Letter of the 9th of *July* to the *Speaker*, after giving an account of *Chalgrave-Field*. "If it were thought "fit to ſend to his Majeſty to have Peace, with the *Character of the Earl of* Eſſex. *His Letter to the Speaker.* July 9.

* *Ruſhworth* ſays, She was ſhot by the Centinels, who upon the *Brickbatts* flying about their Ears, were forced to fire Ball. Ruſh. V. p. 290.

† *Ruſhworth* ſays, they were generally of the meaner ſort. It is a little ſtrange *Whitlock* ſhould ſay nothing of this Tumult, who is ſo particular in every Thing relating to the Houſe of *Commons*.

1643 " ſettling of Religion, the Laws and Liberties of " the Subject, and to bring unto juſt Tryal thoſe " chief Delinquents that have brought all this Miſ- " chief to both Kingdoms; And (as my Lord of " *Briſtol* ſpake once in Parliament) how we may be " ſecured to have theſe Things performed hereafter; " or elſe, if his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to abſent him- " ſelf, there may be a Day ſet down to give a Pe- " riod to all theſe unhappy Diſtractions by a Battle, " which when, and where they ſhall chuſe, that may " be thought any way indifferent, I ſhall be ready to " perform that Duty I owe you; and the Propoſiti- " ons to be agreed upon between his Majeſty and " the Parliament, may be ſent to ſuch an indifferent " Place, that both Armies may be drawn near the " one to the other; that if Peace be not concluded, " it may be ended by the Sword."

It is evident this is not the Language of a Man propoſing Peace to gratify the King, and ſolely with a Deſign to draw on a Negotiation from which the King might reap ſome Benefit; but of one that heartily wiſhed for ſuch a Peace as might put a happy Period to the Diſtractions of the Kingdom: Or if that could not be done by means of a Peace, to end them at leaſt by one deciſive Battle. He was doubtleſs of Opinion, that the Nation would run leſs hazard by venturing a Deciſion by Arms, than by the Continuation of the War. Nothing can be a ſurer Sign of the uprightneſs of his Intentions. But there were few in thoſe Days that ſtood ſo well-diſpoſed. The King paſſionately wiſhed for Peace; but it was on Condition he ſhould be no Loſer by it, that he ſhould be reſtored to all his Rights, and his Word relied upon for the future. As to Religion, all he would yield, was, that the *Presbyterians* ſhould not be compelled by *Penal* Laws to conform to the Church of *England*. Hitherto he had advanced nothing that might make them hope for a publick *Toleration* of their Religion. The Parliament for their Part wiſh-

ed likewiſe for Peace, provided by this Peace the King were reſtrained from returning to his former Courſes, that is to ſay, were ſo humbled that he ſhould be able to do nothing without the Conſent of both Houſes, and have nothing left but the empty Name of a King, with the external Badges of Royalty. As to Religion, there were very many, as well Members as others, who prefered the Continuation of the War, let what would be the Conſequence, to their ſeeing the Biſhops reſtored to their Power. This muſt be always remembred, when either of the two Parties is heard to ſpeak of Peace. The like Temper with that of the Earl of *Eſſex* was doubtleſs the Cauſe that ſome were carried away with the bare ſound of Peace, and the Limitations inſerted in the Propoſitions which were to be ſent to the King at the Time of the late Plot. But it may be affirmed, that the chief Authors of the Stratagem were far from having the Nation's Welfare in view, and had no other Thoughts but to ſerve the King. And I do not at all queſtion but ſome others were not wrought upon to Conſent to the Propoſitions on account of the End propoſed to themſelves by the *Presbyterian*-Party, now no longer a Secret, being very ſenſible that the Advantages the Parliament might gain upon the King in the Continuation of the War, would help to pull down the Church of *England* with the greater Eaſe. 1643.

The King tries in vain to gain the Earl of Eſſex;

The Earl of *Eſſex*'s Uprightneſs brought upon him what is uſually the Lot of honeſt Men in Civil Diſſentions, where unleſs a Man be hot and violent he paſſes for indifferent, and not hearty enough in his Cauſe. The King being perfectly informed of this Lord's Moderation, imagined he deſired Peace only becauſe he was diſpleaſed with the Parliament, and convinced of the Injuſtice of the Cauſe he had eſpouſed. In this belief he uſed all means to gain him, but to no manner of Purpoſe. On the other Hand, the moſt violent of his Party grew jealous of the Earl of *Eſſex*, perceiving he was no fit Inſtrument for

which renders him ſuſpected to the Parliament.

1643. for their Designs. Wherefore they no longer confided in him, or at least pretended not to do so, in order to have Cause to put in his room, another General, more compliant and more ready to be managed. They cast their Eyes on the Earl of *Manchester* *, known formerly by the Name of the Lord *Kimbolton*, and began with giving him the Command of the Forces of the *eastern* associated Counties, to which *Lincolnshire* was lately added, with Orders to go and oppose the Earl of *Newcastle*; and an Ordinance was passed to raise new Levies to reinforce this Army.

The Earl of Manchester is made General of the associated Counties.

The Earl of Essex is displeased.

If the Earl of *Essex* had sided with the Parliament only out of Passion, Humour or Interest, the Mortifications he met with would have been apt to make him join with the King to be revenged of the two Houses. But he was of another Character. Though he had complained several Times of the little Regard shown him, in leaving his Army without Recruits and Cloaths, and though several Lords of the King's Party took this Occasion to try to perswade him to change Sides, he stood firm to his Principles. How strong soever their Sollicitations might be, he never gave the least Reason to believe that he was capable of betraying the Parliament who had trusted him with the Command of their Forces. Both Houses being informed what Instances were made to their General, assured him of their Esteem and Acknowledgment for his great Services, and promised to recruit and cloath his Army before those of Sir *William Waller* and the Earl of *Manchester*. This Satisfaction was more than sufficient to make him forget all the Occasions of Complaint before given him. A famous Historian has been pleased to ascribe the Earl of *Essex*'s constant Attachment to the Parliament, to his not having Steddiness enough to engage in so hazardous an Enterprize as that of forcing the Parliament to Peace. I doubt not but this was an Effect

Clarend. III. p 323.

* *Edward Montague*, whose Father was created, *Earl of Winchester*. 1. Car 1.

fect of the King's, and all his Party's Prepoſſeſſion, that there was not a ſingle Man for the Parliament that was ſatisfied in his Conſcience of the Juſtice of his Cauſe: This Notion they never quitted. 1643.

What the Project of the King's Friends was.

The Project of thoſe who had attempted to gain the Earl of *Eſſex*, was, that as ſoon as he ſhould give the Word, the Lords and *Commoners* who were in the Secret, ſhould away to the Army, and under the Security thereof, proteſt againſt the Violence that was offered, the Breach of their Privileges by the Common-Council's taking notice of their Debates, and over-ruling their Concluſions by hindering the ſending of the Propoſitions to the King. They made no doubt but by their Example, great Numbers would take the ſame Courſe, and by that means they hoped to be ſtrong enough to conſtrain the Parliament to make Peace. And in Caſe the Parliament ſhould remain obſtinate, their Deſign was to enter upon a ſeparate Treaty with the King, as Men undeceived, who having been ſeduced by the Parliament, were at length ſenſible how unjuſt their Cauſe was. They imagined the whole Kingdom would do the ſame, and that the Parliament would be entirely forſaken. For the King and his Party had all along this Conceit, that among all the Parliament's Adherents, not one was ſo through Perſwaſion, Honour, and Conſcience, but through Seduction, Fear, or Ignorance. This is what cauſed them to make ſo many wrong Steps to compel the Parliament to a Peace by the People's Means, Steps that proved extremely prejudicial to the King. That I have been ſpeaking of with regard to the Earl of *Eſſex*, was no leſs ſo than the reſt. The Lords and *Commoners* who were concerned in this Stratagem, as well as in *Waller*'s Plot, fearing the Earl of *Eſſex* might diſcover them, thought proper to avoid being called to an account, by retiring to the King. Of this Number were the Earl of *Portland* *, and the Lord *Conway*, who had been impri-

* *Jerom Weſton*, Son to the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*, who was created Earl of *Portland*, 8 Car. 1.

1643. ſoned about *Waller*'s Affair, and afterwards releaſed, the Lord *Lovelace*, who had only ſtaid till then with the Parliament by the King's Leave, the Earls of *Clare*, *Bedford* * and *Holland*. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was diſſatisfied with his not having in the Parliament the ſame Credit as formerly, feigning to be out of order, obtained the Parliament's leave to retire for his Health to his Houſe at *Petworth* in *Suſſex*. [As this Place was liable to be infeſted from ſome of the King's Quarters *,] it is generally believed he had ſome Aſſurance of not being moleſted there. The flight of all theſe Peers turned greatly to the King's Diſadvantage, as he had not now ſo many Friends in the Parliament, who were always ready to ſerve him, and had been wont to direct and manage his Adherents in *London*. Moreover, by the Abſence of theſe Lords, the King's Enemies were more at their Eaſe, and found fewer Obſtacles to their Deſigns, than before. For ſhortly after, the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army was enabled to go and relieve *Glouceſter*, and the Parliament approved of the *Covenant* made with *Scotland*, in which doubtleſs they would have been croſſed by thoſe that were lately withdrawn. I muſt now proceed to other Matters.

Diſgrace of Sir John Hotham.

I juſt mentioned that Sir *John Hotham*, Governour of *Hull*, was apprehended by Order of Parliament; It is now Time to ſpeak of the Cauſe of his Diſgrace. The King had been ſo very angry with him, that there was hardly any likelihood he ſhould ever prevail with himſelf to pardon the Indignity he had received from him, or *Hotham* be ever inclined to deliver himſelf into his Hands. And yet, the deſire of becoming Maſter of *Hull* in the one, and the Thirſt of Revenge in the other, made them forget all that was paſt. *Hotham* could not bear that, after the Service he had done the Parliament in keeping *Hull*

* It is *Dorſet*, by miſtake, in the Original.

*, The leaving out of the e Words in the Original makes the reſt of the Sentence obſcure.

Hull for them, without dreading to expoſe himſelf to the King's utmoſt Indignation, the Lord *Fairfax* ſhould be made Commander in Chief of all the Forces in the *North*, an Honour which doubtleſs he thought himſelf more worthy of, reſolved to be revenged for this pretended Injuſtice, by delivering up the Place to the King. The preciſe Time of his applying himſelf to the Earl of *Newcaſtle* is not known; but it is certain he writ ſeveral Letters to him, which were communicated to the Queen while ſhe was in the *North*. He had drawn his Son Captain *Hotham* into the Plot, and they agreed between them to deliver up *Hull* to the Queen, when ſhe ſhould be on her march with her Troops to the King. Mean while young *Hotham* having done ſomething that gave Occaſion to ſuſpect him, was ſeized by Sir *John Meldrum*, and ſent Priſoner to *Nottingham*-Caſtle. *Hotham* found means to eſcape, and going to *Lincoln*, writ from thence to the Parliament, complaining of the Injury done him, and affirming he was ready to anſwer whatever ſhould be laid to his Charge. But as the Queen was now upon her march, and the Time come to put the Deſign in Execution, he returned to *Hull*, to contrive the means with his Father. The Queen thought herſelf ſo ſure of having *Hull* very ſoon in her Power, that ſhe ſaid in her Letter of the 27th of *June* to the King, "She ſtayed "at *Newark* but for one Thing, to have *Hull* and "*Lincoln*, for which ſhe hoped he would pardon two "Days ſtop." At the ſame Time that the Order was ſent to ſeize young *Hotham*, the Mayor of *Hull* was bid to have an Eye upon the Father, examine his Conduct, and take Care the Town was in Safety. The Son's Return to *Hull* after his Eſcape from *Nottingham*, the Sufpicions he already lay under, and the Warning received from a Captain of a Man of War then in the Road, that *Hull* was going, that Night or the next, to be delivered up to the King, made the Mayor, though Brother-in-law to the Governour, reſolve to prevent it. That very Night, whilſt the

1643.

Ruſh. V. P 275.

Ibid. p. 274.

1643. *Hotham*'s were in Bed, all the Townſmen, Officers, and Soldiers of known Affection to the Parliament, were aſſembled without Noiſe, and all the Ports of the Town ſeized, without one drop of Blood, or ſo much as a Musket diſcharged. Mean while, I know not for what Reaſon, they had neglected to ſecure the two *Hotham's* *, who found means to get out of the Town: But at their coming to *Beverly*, they were both ſeized and brought to *London*, where, after a long Impriſonment they were condemned and executed *1.

There were two Things which did the King vaſt injury with regard to the People, and from which he omitted no Opportunity to clear himſelf, knowing how detrimental ſuch Prejudices might be to him. The firſt was, that he countenanced Popery; the ſecond, that he had ſtirred up the *Iriſh* Rebellion, or at leaſt connived at it. Theſe two Things both Houſes made no Scruple to inſinuate, and even to maintain openly in their *Papers*. Not that they had poſitive Proof of what they advanced; but they drew from his Actions, and divers paſt Events, Inferences, to ſome of which one can hardly deny the King anſwered but weakly, or in *Generals*, or according to his Cuſtom, by ambiguous Expreſſions which were capable of a double meaning.

As to the firſt Charge, he took occaſion to make the following Proteſtation, juſt as he was going to receive the Sacrament from the Hands of the Lord Archbiſhop *Uſher*.

My

* The Son was ſecured, but the Father upon the firſt notice of what was doing, got out at *Beverly*-Gate, there having been no orders to ſtop him. Ruſh. V. p. 276.

*1 The Son was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, *January* 1. and the Father *January* 2. 1644. Both denying they ever intended to deliver up *Hull*. Ruſh. V. p. 749.

1643.

My Lord,

I eſpy many reſolved Proteſtants, who may declare to the World the Reſolution I do now make. I have to the utmoſt of my Power prepared my Soul to become a worthy Receiver; and may I ſo receive Comfort by the bleſſed Sacrament, as I do intend the Eſtabliſhment of the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, as it ſtood in its Beauty, in the happy Days of Queen Elizabeth, *without any Connivance at Popery. I bleſs God, that in the midſt of theſe publick Diſtractions, I have ſtill Liberty to communicate; and may this Sacrament be my Damnation, if my Heart do not join with my Lips in this Proteſtation.*

Proteſtation of the King concerning Religion at Oxford. July. Ruſh. V. p. 346.

Charles I. was undoubtedly exceeding zealous for the Proteſtant Religion, as profeſſed in the Church of *England*. But it is no leſs certain, that he never ſcrupled to be very favourable to the *Papiſts*, whether out of Complaiſance to the Queen, or from a belief that the ſtrict Obſervance of the *Penal* Laws made againſt them, was not neceſſary to the Welfare of the Proteſtant Religion. It is therefore very difficult to explain what he meant by theſe Words, *without any Connivance at Popery*. It cannot be thought that his Intention was to ſwear he would never grant the Papiſts any Toleration, ſince at this very time he was negotiating the *Iriſh* Ceſſation, whereby Toleration was granted to the *Catholicks* of *Ireland*; and we ſhall ſee hereafter, that in treating of a Peace with the Rebels, he made no ſcruple to grant them the ſame. Much leſs ſtill may we venture to affirm, that by the Word *Connivance*, he underſtood any manner of Condeſcenſion for the *Papiſts*. This Senſe would be repugnant to his Principles and uſual Practice. It ſeems therefore that the moſt reaſonable Thought we can have of the Matter is, that he made a Diſtinction between *Popery* and *Papiſts*, and that when he promiſed to eſtabliſh Religion in all its Beauty, his meaning was, that he would ſuffer none of the

Remark on this Proteſtation.

1643. the *Romish Tenets*, to be mixt with the *Doctrines* of the Church of *England*. But if this was his meaning, it was not to the Purpose, since this was not properly the Thing he was charged with. As he was very dextrous in chusing Expressions, to which it was difficult to give a fixt and determinate Sense, it is certain, his most solemn Protestations produced not the intended Effect.

As to the second Charge relating to the *Irish* Rebellion, I do not think I can give a clearer Knowledge of the Matter, than by inserting here the Substance of a Declaration published on this Occasion by both Houses *July* the 25th 1643. They set forth:

The Declaration of both Houses against the King, concerning the Rebellion in Ireland. Rush. V. p. 346.

"That in the second Year of his Majesty's Reign, "a Design was formed in *Ireland* to bring in a pub-"lick Toleration of the Popish Religion in that "Kingdom, and to suspend all Proceedings against "Papists, for a Sum of Money to be paid to his "Majesty. That the then Bishops of *Ireland* made "a Protestation against it, setting forth how grie-"vous a Sin it was to consent to such a Toleration, "and of what dangerous Consequence it might be. "And the House of Commons in a Remonstrance "made in the third Year of his Majesty's Reign, "informed that even then the Popish Religion was "profest in every part of that Kingdom, and that "Monasteries and Nunneries were then newly erect-"ed and repleniſhed with Men and Women of se-"veral Orders, beseeching his Majesty, that some "speedy Course might be taken for Redress therein; "yet in the beginning of the fourth Year of his "Majesty's Reign, all this was granted and confirm-"ed by his Majesty, in Consideration of one Hun-"dred and twenty Thousand Pounds, to be levied "in three Years upon the Kingdom in general, as "well upon the Protestants as upon the Papists.

"That

"That many potent and notorious Papiſts had 1643.
"been created Peers by his Majeſty.

"That when by Direction of the Lord Chancel-
"lor *Loftus*, and the Earl of *Cork*, then Lords-Juſ-
"tices, Proceedings were begun againſt the Papiſts,
"upon the Statute of 2 *Elizabeth*, for not coming
"to Church, and the Judges in their Circuits gave
"that Statute in Charge, and Indictments were fram-
"ed thereupon, Directions were ſent from *England*,
"to ſuſpend and ſtay all Proceedings upon that Sta-
"tute, when by taking the Penalty impoſed by that
"Statute, being Nine-pence, for abſenting from
"Church Sundays and Holidays, the poor Proteſ-
"tants there might have been eaſed of many heavy
"Payments and Taxes which were after impoſed up-
"on them.

"That the late Earl of *Strafford* being the King's
"Lieutenant there, did by his great Favourite Sir
"*George Ratcliff*, one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council
"of that Kingdom, hold Correſpondence with the
"Popiſh Clergy, and particularly with *Paul Harris*,
"a known Prieſt, who had both publick and private
"Acceſs to Sir *George Ratcliff* at all Times, as well
"by Night as by Day.

"That in *March* 1639, the Earl of *Strafford* car-
"ried with him into *Ireland*, Sir *Toby Matthews*, a
"notorious, pernicious, *Engliſh* Jeſuited Prieſt, (ba-
"niſhed at the beginning of this Parliament, upon
"the Importunity of both Houſes) lodged this
"Prieſt over againſt the Caſtle of *Dublin*, the Houſe
"where the Earl did himſelf reſide, and from
"whence this Prieſt daily rode to the publick *Maſs*-
"Houſes in *Dublin*, and negotiated the engaging of
"the Papiſts of *Ireland* in the War againſt *Scotland*.

"When the late Lord Chancellor *Loftus*, and the
"Earl of *Cork*, were Lords Juſtices, they endeavoured
"to ſuppreſs the *Maſs*-Houſes in *Dublin*, and to con-
"vert them to pious Uſes; one, which was in the
"Street called the *Back-lane*, they diſpoſed of to the
"Univerſity of *Dublin*, who placed a Rector and

"Scholars

1643. " Scholars in it, and maintained a weekly Lecture " there: But after the Earl of *Strafford* came to the " Government, the Lecture was put down, the " Scholars displaced, and the House became a *Mass*- " House, as formerly it had been.

" That divers Monasteries and Nunneries were " newly erected immediately before the Rebellion " broke forth in divers Parts of that Kingdom: " That at the *Naas*, where the Earl of *Strafford* had " his chief Seal and Resort, Convents of Friars, " namely, *Augustines*, *Franciscans*, *Dominicans*, were " not only permitted, but also an House built there " by the said Earl, for another purpose, (as he pre- " tended) soon after the Building was converted to " a Friery, by the Connivance of the said Earl.

" That the Popish *Irish* Army was kept on Foot " there for a long Time after the beginning of this " Parliament; and to the great furtherance of this " Rebellion, by teaching those barbarous Villains " the Knowledge of Arms, under the Notion of " fighting against *Scotland*, but now made use of to " extirpate both *English* and *Scots* from the Kingdom " of *Ireland*.

" And that Lead might not be wanting to the " compleating of this intended Rebellion, the Silver- " Mines of that Kingdom, which afford great Store " of Lead, and therefore fit only to be in the Hands " of Protestants of known Integrity, were farmed " out by his Majesty to most pernicious Papists, " namely, Sir *George Hamilton*, Sir *Basil Brook*, and " the like; and upon the Discovery of the Plot for " the surprising of the City and Castle of *Dublin*, " divers Barrels of Musket-Bullet were found (upon " Search) in the House of the said Sir *George Hamil-* " *ton* in *Dublin*.

" That the Earl of *Strafford* had by a violent En- " deavour entitled his Majesty by Office to the " whole Counties of *Roscommon*, *Mayo*, *Slego*, *Gal-* " *loway*, *and Clare*, and to a great Part of the Coun- " ties of *Limerick* and *Tipperary*; by which means a

" Door

" a Door was opened, not only to increaſe his Ma- 1643.
" jeſty's Revenue, but therewith to ſettle a Planta-
" tion of Proteſtants; and yet when the Lords-
" Juſtices and Council of *Ireland*, did by their Let-
" ters exceedingly importune his Majeſty, that he
" would not part with thoſe Counties; and that the
" Plantation of *Engliſh* Proteſtants might proceed as
" was formerly intended; his Majeſty notwithſtand-
" ing did, in the Queen's Preſence, by a clandeſtine
" Agreement, give away, at the Papiſts Requeſt,
" thoſe five whole Counties, for a Rent of 2000 *l.*
" or thereabouts.

" That Archdeacon *Maxwell* teſtifies in his Exa-
" minations taken in *Ireland*, that he heard *Tirl. igh*
" *Oge O Neale*, Brother to Sir *Phelim O Neale*, the
" Arch-Rebel of *Ulſter* confeſs, that the Rebellion
" was communicated by the Popiſh *Iriſh* Committee
" to the Papiſts in *England*, who promiſed their Aſ-
" ſiſtance. And *Mac Mahoun*, who was to join with
" Lord *Mac-quire* for the ſurpriſing the Caſtle of
" *Dublin*, being taken and examined, at the Rack
" confeſſed, that the Original of that Rebellion was
" brought to them out of *England*, by the *Iriſh*
" Committee employed to his Majeſty for Redreſs
" of Grievances.

" That the Earl of *Caſtle-haven*, a Peer of *Eng-*
" *land*, and a notorious Rebel in *Ireland*, Mr. *Por-*
" *ter* who declared himſelf a Papiſt in *Ireland*, Sir
" *Bazil Brooke*, the Popiſh Treaſurer for the Mo-
" nies raiſed by the Queen's Sollicitation for the
" War againſt the *Scots*; Mr. *Andrew Brown* a Law-
" yer of *Lincoln's-Inn*, heretofore expelled thence
" for being a known Papiſt, with divers other dan-
" gerous *Engliſh* Papiſts, went out of *England* into
" *Ireland* the Summer before the Rebellion broke
" forth, and were very active there.

" That the Rebels in all Parts of *Ireland* profeſſed,
" that the Cauſe of their riſing was to preſerve his
" Majeſty and the Queen from being oppreſt by the
" *Puritan* Parliament, and that it was by their Con-

" ſent,

1643. "sent, for they had good Warrant in Black and "White for what they did. They called the *English* "Army, Parliament-Rogues, and Traitors to the "Queen; and told them at the Beginning of the "Rebellion, that ere long they should see *England* "as much in Blood as *Ireland* then was. That they "had their Party in *England* and *Scotland*, which "should keep both Kingdoms so busy at home, "that they should not send any Aid against them, "with a Multitude of such-like Expressions from "the *Irish* of the best Quality; as may appear by "the Examinations of Colonel *Audley*, *Mervin*, "*William Steuart*, Esq; *Henry Steuart*, Gent. here-"with printed, and by divers other Proofs.

"In the same Month of *October*, wherein the Re-"bellion of *Ireland* brake forth, the Lord *Dillon* of "*Costelough* (now in Arms against the Parliament "and Kingdom of *England*) went out of *Scotland* "from his Majesty into *Ireland*, bringing his Ma-"jesty's Letters, obtained by Mediation of the Queen, "to be presently sworn a Privy-Counsellor of *Ire-"land*; who when he had taken the Oath of a "Privy-Counsellor, presents to the Lords Justices "and Council, from many of the Inhabitants of the "County of *Longford*, a Letter in the Nature of a "Remonstrance, full of unreasonable Demands: "As namely, to have freedom of Religion, a Re-"peal of all Laws made to the contrary, and the "like.

"In *December* after the Rebellion, the same Lord "*Dillon*, together with his Brother-in-law, the now "Lord *Taaffe*, a notorious Papist, repaired into *Eng-"land*, bringing with them several Papers and In-"structions from many Lords and Gentlemen of the "*Pale*, all now in Rebellion, to negotiate for them "to his Majesty; and as they sollicite with his Ma-"jesty here on the behalf of the Rebels, so do they "sollicite the Rebels from hence in the Name of his "Majesty, to persist in their Rebellion, as appears "by the Testimony of Mr. *Jephson*, a Member of

"the

" the Houſe of Commons lately delivered at a Con- 1643.
" ference before both Houſes in theſe Words, *viz.*

At my late being at Oxford, *finding the Lord* Dillon *and the Lord* Taaffe *in Favour at Court, I acquainted the Lord* Faulkland, *his Majeſty's Secretary, that there were two Lords about the King, who to his Majeſty's great Diſhonour, and the great Diſcouragement of his good Subjects, did make uſe of his Majeſty's Name to encourage the Rebels: To make this appear, I informed that I had ſeen two Letters ſent by the Lord* Dillon *and the Lord* Taaffe *to the Lord of* Muskerie, *the chief Man in Rebellion in* Munſter, *and one of the* Iriſh *Committee ſent into* England, *intimating, that though it did not ſtand with the Conveniency of his Majeſty's Affairs to give him publick Countenance, yet that his Majeſty was well-pleaſed with what he did, and would in time give him Thanks for it; (or near to that purpoſe.) That theſe Letters were ſeen by the Lord* Inchiquine, *the chief Commander of the* Engliſh *Forces in* Munſter, *and by his Secretary, who had kept Copies of them; and that I was ready to juſtify as much. Whereupon the Lord* Faulkland *was pleaſed to ſay, That they deſerved to be hanged. But though I ſtayed there at* Oxford *about a Week after this Diſcovery made; I never was called to any farther Account, nor any Prejudice done to theſe two Lords, but they had the ſame Freedom in Court as before, for ought I could obſerve or hear to the contrary.*

" That ſince this Diſcovery made to the Lord
" *Faulkland*, the ſame Lord *Taaffe*, one *Roche*, and
" *William Brent* a Lawyer, active Papiſts, with Let-
" ters from his Majeſty, went from *Oxford* to *Dub-*
" *lin:* And upon *Thurſday* before *Whitſuntide* 1643,
" in the Evening, taking with them one Colonel
" *Barry*, a profeſt Papiſt, and pretending for *Con-*
" *naught*, ſlipt away to *Kilkenny*, where the *Tueſday*
" following was a general Aſſembly of all the chief
" Rebels. When they had done their Errand, *Barry*
" was left Lieger at *Kilkenny* among the Rebels; the
" Lord *Taaffe* returned to *Dublin*, and upon *Friday*
" the 9th of *June* 1643, the Lord *Taaffe*, with di-

" vers

1643. "vers of the Privy-Council of *Ireland*, that favoured the Rebels, met at the Marquiss of *Ormond*'s House, where the Propositions which the Lord *Taaffe* brought from the Rebels were debated. The Lord *Taaffe* is since gone into *Connaught*, *Brent* is come back to *Oxford* to give an Account of this Employment.

"By this every Man may construe what was meant by his Majesty's not consenting that the Parliament should send a Committee into *Ireland* the last Year, to endeavour the carrying on the War against the Rebels, upon pretence that the Earl of *Leicester* was presently to go over thither, who is yet remaining at *Oxford*. That when that Committee had prevailed with the Lords Justices and Council, and with many of the prime Commanders, and other Officers of the Army in *Leinster*, to subscribe by way of Adventure for Land in *Ireland* to be settled by a new Bill, very considerable Sums which were to be deducted out of their respective Entertainments; then to render this Endeavour fruitless, one Captain *Tarner* did confidently affirm, that those which had, or should subscribe, were Enemies to the King, a thing so incredible, that few could believe it, till the same Man went to *Oxford*; and upon his return to *Dublin*, assured the Lord Marquiss of *Ormond* and the Officers, That he had discoursed with his Majesty about this way of Subscription, and that his Majesty did not approve of the same: Whereupon those who had subscribed did withdraw their Hands, and the rest were wholly discouraged.

"That about this time a Commission was sent over to meet with the Rebels, and to hear what they could say, or propound for themselves; which Commission was directed to the Lord Marquiss of *Ormond*, and to some other Commissioners, among whom the said *Thomas Bourk*, that had an hand in contriving this Rebellion, was one, and who brought the said Commission in *Ireland*, and confidently

" fidently delivered the ſame at the Council-Table, 1643.
" to the Amazement of all the Council then preſent,
" that were not acquainted with the Plot.

" That the Lords and Commons, to whoſe Di-
" rection the War was committed, thought it expe-
" dient to ſend into *Ireland* a Committee for that
" purpoſe, conſiſting of Members of the Houſe of
" Commons, but authorized from both Houſes;
" who carried with them above Twenty Thouſand
" Pounds in ready-Money, beſides great Store of
" Powder, Match, and other Ammunition: But
" when thoſe who favoured the Rebels, ſaw that du-
" ring the Abode of the Committee there, Parties
" were continually ſent forth to deſtroy the Enemy;
" and that the Committee engaged their own parti-
" cular Credits, to take up Monies for the Relief and
" ſetting forth of the Army; a Letter was ſent
" from his Majeſty, and brought over by the Mar-
" quiſs of *Ormond*'s own Secretary, wherein his Ma-
" jeſty did require the Lords Juſtices and Council
" not to admit the Committee any more at their De-
" bates. And it is obſervable, that this Letter was
" only ſigned with his Majeſty's Hand, without any
" Secretary's Hand to avow the ſame.

" The Commons cannot conceive what is meant
" that the Juſtices and Council are ſtraitly charged in
" that Letter, upon their Allegiance, not to ſuffer the
" Committee to ſow Sedition among his Majeſty's
" good Subjects, unleſs to ſtir up and incite the
" *Engliſh* Soldiers in the Pay of the Parliament, to
" proceed vigorouſly againſt the *Iriſh* Rebels, be
" conſtrued as the ſowing of Sedition among his Ma-
" jeſty's good Subjects.

" That, according to the Teſtimony of Sir *William*
" *Brereton*, Knight of the Shire for the County of
" *Cheſter*, there landed, in *June* 1643, many *Iriſh*
" Rebels in *Werral* in *Cheſhire*, ſome whereof ac-
" knowledged, that they had waſhed their Hands in
" the Blood of ſeveral *Engliſh* and *Scotch* in *Ireland*,
" and now hoped to waſh their Hands in the Blood

1643 " of *Engliſhmen* in *England:* The Country where " theſe Rebels firſt arrived, did all riſe with their " beſt Weapons, and apprehended ſeveral of them; " but they were reſcued out of their Hands by a " Troop of Horſe which came from the Commiſſio- " ners of Array, who alſo ſeized about Twenty- " eight of the honeſt Countrymen Priſoners.

" And that the Councils now predominant at *Ox-* " *ford*, and the ſupreme Council of Rebels at *Kil-* " *kenny*, are concurring and aiding one another as " well by Sea as by Land, is apparent by that which " follows: The Commiſſioners authorized to com- " mand the King's Forces in the *Weſt*, by an Autho- " rity derived unto them under the Great Seal of " *England*, do grant Commiſſions or Letters of Mart, " for the apprehending and taking for his Majeſty's " Service all Ships and Veſſels belonging to the Ci- " ties and Towns that have declared for the Parlia- " ment; and on the other Side, the Rebels of *Ire-* " *land* grant the like Commiſſions. And as the " Ships in his Majeſty's Service do gratify the Rebels " of *Ireland*, in ſeizing the Ships that bring Provi- " ſion for the Relief of the *Engliſh* Army in *Ireland*; " ſo the Rebels of *Ireland* do in like manner gratify " his Majeſty, by commanding the Ships ſet forth " by them to examine all *Engliſh* Ships at Sea, whe- " ther they be for the King or Parliament; and if " they be for the King, to let them go; but if for " the Parliament, to take and pillage them. All " which is proved by Depoſitions herewith annexed.

" The Earl of *Antrim*, a notorious Rebel, was " taken by the *Scots* Army in *Ulſter*, and impriſoned " there, upon Suſpicion of High-Treaſon: To a- " void his Tryal, he broke Priſon, and fled into " the *North*-Parts of *England*, and hath been with " the Queen at *York* a long time; from whence he " was ſent to the Rebels of *Ulſter*, with ſecret In- " ſtructions, and had Ammunition aſſigned him by " the Queen's Directions: And what care was taken " of his Ammunition appears by a Letter here an-

" nexed, dated at *York* the 8th of *May* 1643, written 1643.
" by Serjeant Major *Roſſe*, at the deſire of Mr. *Jer-*
" *min*.

" Since this Care taken of the Ammunition of
" the Earl of *Antrim*, the Earl of *Antrim* is taken
" the ſecond time by General Major *Monroe*, as he
" was returning from the Queen to the Rebels of
" *Ulſter*, with divers Letters, Inſtructions and Pa-
" pers: And by the Confeſſion and Depoſition of the
" Earl of *Antrim*'s own Servant, who was taken
" with his Maſter, and ſince condemned and execu-
" ted, it is evident that there was, and doubtleſs yet
" is, a Deſign on Foot to reconcile the *Engliſh* and
" *Iriſh* in *Ireland*; and that by their joint Power ha-
" ving expelled the *Scots*, the *Iriſh* Forces there
" might be ſent againſt the Parliament of *England*.
" The Earl of *Antrim*, the Lord of *Aboyn*, and the
" Earl of *Niddiſdale*, were Three principal Agents
" employed in this Plot. This clearly appears, in
" that the Lord of *Aboyn*, in a Letter taken in the
" Earl of *Antrim*'s Pockets, writes in theſe Words:

My Lord,

BEing certainly informed by Niddiſdale's *Servant, That there is a new Order ſince we parted, for ſtopping of the Ammunition, I have taken occaſion to intreat your Lordſhip by this Bearer, that I may know the Particulars of it. I muſt confeſs it ſurprizeth me, that any diſtance ſhould alter ſo ſeaſonable a Concluſion: And certainly, I ſhall never deſerve to be made the Inſtrument of fruſtrating the Hopes of thoſe Parts, which ſhould have been enabled by this Supply: I am perſuaded there is ſcarce another Mean to make our Fidelity uſeleſs for her Majeſty's Service.*

" And that it might appear to the Rebels of
" *Ireland*, that the Earl of *Antrim* was accounted
" his Majeſty's good Subject, and had his Majeſty's

1643. " Approbation for what he was to act there, he was " furnished with a Pass from the Earl of *Newcastle*.

The Pass is here inserted at length in the Declaration. The rest of the Article tends to shew by the Earl of Antrim's *Confession, and that of* Steuart *one of his Servants, that the Earl was employed by the Queen to make Peace with the Rebels.*

" The House of Commons, among a numerous " Company of Proofs of this kind, concluded with " the Testimony of *John Dod*, late Minister at *An-* " *negilliffe* in the County of *Cavan*, who was exami- " ned at the Bar of the House of Commons, and " testifieth,

That after he had suffered many Miseries in this Rebellion of Ireland, *he repaired into this Kingdom, and some Occasions carrying him to* Oxford, *he stayed there seven Weeks, and came out of* Oxford *the* 13*th of* June 1643. *That during his Stay there he saw a great Number of* Irish *Rebels, whom he very well knew to have had a Hand in the most barbarous Actions of that Rebellion; as the dashing of small Infants in pieces, the ripping up of Women with Child, and the like, among whom was one* Thomas Brady, *who at* Turbet *in* Ireland, *within seven Miles where the said* Dod *lived; as Thirty-six old Men, Women and Children not able to flee, were passing over a Bridge, caused them all to be thrown into the Water, where they were all drowned; that this* Brady *is now at* Oxford *in great Favour, and Serjeant-Major to Colonel* Percy's *Regiment: That he saw there Three* Franciscan *Fryars, namely* ——— ; *and Three Jesuits, namely* ——— ; *who were all very earnest for the Cause, and daily encouraging the Soldiers to fight against the Round-heads, and for that purpose have listed themselves in the Lord* Dillon's *Troop, and are called Cornets: That there are daily and publick Meetings at Mass, in almost every Street there; and verily believes in his Conscience, that for one Sermon preached, there are four Masses said now at* Oxford: *That he saw Sir* John Dungan *there, a Man accused of High-Treason in* Ireland,

land, *for being in the Rebellion, and fled into* England, *who hath a Commiſſion for a Troop of Horſe: The Lord* Barnewall *of* Trimbleſtown, *and his Son, who hath a Commiſſion for a Troop of Horſe, and is now gone into* Wales *to raiſe them: A Son of the Lord* Newterfield, *who hath gotten a Command likewiſe: That as near as he can poſſibly compute, there was then at* Oxford *above Three Thouſand Rebels; and that moſt of the King's Life-Guard are* Iriſh. 1643.

The two Houſes concluded in the following Manner: "Upon the whole Matter, no Man can think "that this Rebellion in *Ireland*, ſo barbarous and "bloody, that One Hundred and Fifty Four Thou-"ſand Proteſtants, Men, Women and Children, "*Engliſh* and *Scotch*, were maſſacred in that King-"dom, between the 23d of *October*, when the Re-"bellion broke forth, and the 1ſt of *March* follow-"ing, by the Computation of the Prieſts themſelves "that were preſent, and were directed by ſome chief "Rebels of *Ireland* to take this Computation, leſt "they ſhould be reported to be more bloody than "in Truth there was cauſe: No Man can believe, "That this horrid and unparallelled Rebellion ſhould "be the Undertaking of the Rebels alone, being "ſet on Foot when a Parliament was ſitting in *Eng-*"*land* that could not diſſolve without its own Con-"ſent, when all Nations profeſſing the *Romiſh* Re-"ligion, were at Peace with *England*, and ſo en-"gaged at home, that the Rebels, in reaſon, could "not expect any conſiderable Aſſiſtance from them, "nor could think themſelves able to encounter "*England* or *Scotland* either, much leſs both toge-"ther: So that to imagine the Nobility, Gentry, "and in a manner the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*, "ſhould thus deſperately engage their Lives and "Eſtates in ſo raſh an Enterprize, without being "encouraged, incited, nay, commanded from *Eng-*"*land*, with Aſſurance both of Connivance and

1643. "Aſſiſtance too, were to deny them to be reaſonable Creatures.

"And therefore the Houſe of Commons, abundantly ſatisfied in their own Conſciences and Judgments of the Truth thereof, cannot but declare to the World, That by all theſe concurring Circumſtances and convincing Proofs, they are perſuaded, that this unheard-of and monſtrous Rebellion of *Ireland*, was projected, incited and aſſiſted by thoſe Councils now only prevalent with his Majeſty: That the Queen, with her *Romiſh* Prieſts, the *Papiſts* of all his Majeſty's Three Kingdoms have been principal Actors and Sticklers herein: That now thoſe bloody Rebels have in a manner rooted out the Proteſtant Religion in *Ireland*, there is a Deſign to pardon them, and to bring them into *England* to do the like: That no earthly Power is likely, in human Reaſon, to withſtand this damnable Plot, but the Power of the Parliament in *England*, which is now declared by a late Proclamation, to be no free Parliament, to be null, and of none effect; and all poſſible Endeavour uſed, by Strength and Stratagem, to deſtroy the ſame. So that the Houſe of Commons do conceive it impoſſible that ſo many of thoſe which would be thought the honeſt and moderate *Engliſh* Proteſtants ſhould any longer be blinded and led on, to join with *German*, *French*, *Walloon*, *Engliſh*, *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Papiſts; and thereby to ſurrender up at once the Proteſtant Religion, the Parliament, Liberties and Laws of *England*, into the Hands of Papiſts and Strangers; that ſo this renowned Kingdom may be no more a Nation."

As the Charge againſt the King of having ſtirred up the *Iriſh* Rebellion, or at leaſt connived at it, made a very great Noiſe in thoſe Days, and as all the Hiſtories are full of it, I thought it neceſſary to ſhow the Grounds or Pretences of it, by giving the Subſtance

Subſtance of this Declaration. For it is not likely that the Parliament ſhould have omitted any thing of what was capable to prove their Aſſertions, though it be true that ſome Steps taken by the King afterwards afford room for many Additions to this *Manifeſto*. I ſhould, according to my uſual Method, give here the King's Anſwer to every one of theſe Articles. But I have not been able to diſcover any, or ſo much as to know whether he ever returned any Anſwer at all. Indeed he uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to clear himſelf from this Accuſation: but it was only by *Generals* and *Proteſtations* without replying to any particular Article, no not even in his *Eikon Baſiliké*, where he undertakes to vindicate his whole Conduct. 1643.

I cannot therefore but obſerve, on account of this Declaration, that ſome Articles ſeem very much aggravated: Others there are, from whence may be drawn Conſequences not ſo odious as thoſe here inſinuated. But then it cannot be denied that there are ſome, to which it were to be wiſhed, for the King's Honour, he had returned diſtinct and particular Anſwers.

The Parliament's Policy in accuſing the King.

It appears by this *Manifeſto* that the Parliament laid aſide all Ceremony with regard to the King. But beſides the Part Animoſity and Revenge might have in the Deſign of blackening his Reputation, it is certain Policy had no ſmall Share in it. The King, in all his publick *Papers*, repreſented himſelf as perfectly innocent of all that was laid to his Charge, and as having undertaken the War only for the Defence of the Laws and Liberties of the Nation. He deſcribed the two Houſes as a Company of Robbers, who for their own private Ends, had put the Kingdom in a Flame, refuſed the Obedience due to him, and without any Cauſe trampled upon all the known Laws of the Land. The gratifying the Paſſion of Revenge was not the King's ſole Motive: there was another much more dangerous to the Parliament. And that was, to draw the People of *London* to his Side, by

1643. help of these *Papers* (which his Friends took Care to disperse in the City) and thereby to force both Houses to conclude such a Peace as he desired, that is, a Peace which should restore him to all his Rights. If therefore the two Houses, out of respect to the King, had neglected to defend themselves, their Silence might have been very prejudicial to them, since the World is apt to believe, if an Accusation be not, that therefore it cannot be, answered. For which Reason it was the Parliament's Business to try, as far as in them lay, to inlighten the People whom the King, as they pretended, had a Mind to impose upon by general Protestations, which they attempted to show his Actions did not square with. This was the grand Design of this Declaration, wherein they endeavoured to demonstrate the King's Insincerity, in that, whilst he called Heaven and Earth to Witness that he had no other Intention than to maintain the Protestant Religion, *without conniving at Popery*, he was labouring to make a Peace with the *Irish* Rebels; a Peace which in the Conjuncture of Affairs could not be concluded but by granting Things inconsistent with the safety of the Protestant Religion.

The Parliament orders the Book of Sports to be burnt. May 5. Rush. V. p. 317.

On the other Hand, as the King by his *Papers* and the help of his Emissaries in *London*, was continually endeavouring to convince the Publick of the Greatness and Sincerity of his Zeal for Religion, the Laws and the Liberties of the People, without ever saying a Word of what passed the fifteen first Years of his Reign, the two Houses were concerned to renew the Remembrance of those Times, least the Occasion of their Fears and Jealousies should in the end be forgot. And therefore they did two Things very proper to produce this Effect. The first was, to order King *James*'s Book for tolerating Sports on *Sundays*, which *Charles* I. had caused to be published afresh in the Churches, to be burnt by the common Hangman. This Book being almost forgotten, could not produce any great Effects at the Time I am speaking of. But in all appearance, both Houses would

would thereby insinuate to the People what was to be expected from the King's great Zeal for Religion, in Case he came to be restored to his former Power. 1643.

The second was, to proceed to Judgment against Judge *Berkley*, whom the Lords condemned in the exorbitant Fine of twenty Thousand Pound, and to stand committed to the *Tower* till he should be tried upon the other Articles alledged against him. For this Sentence related only to that Part of his Charge concerning his extrajudicial Opinions in the Case of *Ship-Money*. *Berkley* was one of the Instruments made use of by the King to establish an arbitrary Power, and had been one of the most forward. Nevertheless he had now lain three Years in Prison, without being thought of. But this Year the Parliament believed it proper to bring him to Judgment, as well to revive the Memory of a Time the King was striving to cast a Vail over, as to reap the Benefit of his Fine *. This last Motive makes the Lord *Clarendon* say, that the Parliament, in appropriating the Fine to themselves, which by the Laws was due to the King alone, were [thought by many to be] guilty of a greater Crime than that for which *Berkley* was sentenced. This supposes, that at the very Time the King and Parliament were making War upon one another, the Parliament should do the King Justice, and send him the Money arising from Fines and Confiscations. But the two Houses were so far from allowing this Maxim, that on the contrary, the same Month they passed an Ordinance for seizing the King's, Queen's, and Prince's Revenues for the publick Use, that is to say, to be employed in the War against the King. Four Days after the King on his Part issued out a Proclamation, forbidding all Tenants or Debtors to pay any Rents or Debts to such Persons as were in open Rebellion against him. But these

Judge Berkley's Sentence. ibid. p. 361. Sept. 12.

Clarend. III. p. 377.

The King's, Queen's, and Prince's Revenues seized. Rush. V. p. 361. Sept. 21. ibid. p. 362.

* The half of his Fine was abated, and upon Payment of the other half he had his Liberty. *Clarend.* III. p. 377.

1643. theſe kinds of Orders, as well from the King as the Parliament, were executed only in Places where the Power was in their Hands.

Return of ſome of the Lords who had retired to the King.

Moſt of the Lords before-mentioned, who had withdrawn themſelves from the Parliament, and retired to the King, meeting but with a very cold Reception at *Oxford*, thought fit to change Sides once more, and return to *London*. The Earl of *Holland* led the way. He was at firſt put under Confinement; but ſome Days after, he had leave to go and live upon his own Eſtate, without any Employ. Probably, he had expected to be looked better upon, ſince after his return he had publiſhed a Declaration very injurious to the King, wherein he ſaid, that he retired to *Oxford*, in hopes to have been able by his Credit to procure a Peace, which he had laboured to bring about to the utmoſt of his Power, but without Succeſs, the King and his Council being entirely averſe to all Accommodation, becauſe every Thing at Court was managed by the Papiſts *. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was gone to *Petworth*, being informed how ill the Earl of *Holland* was received at *Oxford*, judged it proper for him to return to the Parliament, where he was received with Reſpect, both Houſes being willing to ſuppoſe that he had never intended to do what he had not done, though many ſuſpected he had withdrawn to his own Eſtate on purpoſe to ſee what Succeſs the other Lords would have at *Oxford*. The Earls of *Bedford* and *Clare* took

The Earl of Holland.

Northumberland.

Bedford and Clare.

* *Whitlock* ſays, (p. 73.) the Earl of *Holland* being examined by the Parliament, ſaid, that *after he heard of the Ceſſation in* Ireland, *his Conſcience would not give him leave to ſtay any longer with him at* Oxford. The young Earl of *Caernarvon* came alſo from *Oxford* into the Parliament, and was committed to the Care of his Grandfather the Earl of *Pembroke*. Whit. ibid.

The Lord *Clarendon* obſerves upon this Occaſion, that the ill Reception of theſe Lords, made the King and all about him looked upon as implacable; and ſo diverted all Men from any thoughts of returning to their Duty, and chuſe rather to ſtay where they were, than expoſe themſelves by unſeaſonable and unwelcome Addreſſes. III. p. 367.

took alſo the ſame Courſe, and came off with being debarred for a while from ſitting in Parliament *. 1643.

One of the principal Matters tranſacted this Year 1643, was the Reſolution both Houſes took to make a new *Great-Seal.* The Thing had been propoſed by the *Commons* in the Month of *July*; but whether through Scruple, as ſome pretended, or becauſe the King's ſecret Party were yet too numerous in the Houſe of Peers, the Lords refuſed their Conſent, or rather delayed their Anſwer. But in the *November* following, their Scruples vaniſhed. The *Commons* repreſented to them in a Conference, the Miſchiefs occaſioned by the conveying away, and through the want of the *Great-Seal* *. *The Parliament orders a new Great-Seal.* Ruſh. V. p. 339.

I. It was ſecretly and unlawfully carried away by the Lord-Keeper *Littleton*, who ought not to have departed without leave of both Houſes. Nor would have been ſuffered to do ſo, if his Intentions had been diſcovered.

II. It hath been ſince taken away from him, and put into the Hands of ill-affected Perſons; ſo as the Lord-Keeper being ſent to by the Parliament for the ſealing ſome Writs, anſwered, *He could not ſeal the ſame, becauſe he had not the Seal in his keeping.*

III. That thoſe who have had the managing thereof, have employed it to the Hurt and Deſtruction of the Kingdom; as by making new Sheriffs, to be as ſo many Commanders of Forces againſt the Parliament; by iſſuing out illegal Commiſſions of *Array*; by ſending forth Proclamations againſt both Houſes of Parliament, proclaming them Traitors.

And

* It was ſaid in Drollery, that theſe three Earls had much confirmed others to continue with the Parliament, for they having tried both Parties, found it by Experience, that this was the beſt to be in and adhere to. *Whitlock*, p. 68.

*1 The Author having confounded theſe two Reaſons for making a new Great-Seal, they are placed in order in the Tranſlation.

1643. And through the want of the Great-Seal. 1. The *Terms* have been adjourned, the Courſe of Juſtice obſtructed. 2. No *Original Writs* can be ſued for without going to *Oxford*, which none that holds with the Parliament can do, without Peril of Life or Liberty. 3. Proclamations in Parliament cannot iſſue out for bringing in Delinquents impeached of High-Treaſon, or other Crimes, under Pain of Forfeiting their Eſtates. 4. No *Writs of Error* can be brought in Parliament to reverſe erroneous Judgments, nor Writs of Election iſſued out for chuſing new Members upon Death or removal of any, whereby the Number of Members is continually leſſening. 5. Every other Court of Juſtice has a peculiar Seal, and the Parliament, the ſupreme Court, has no other Seal but the *Great-Seal*, and ſo now no Seal at all. 6. The *Great-Seal* is the *Clavis Regni*, and therefore ought to be Reſident with the Parliament (the Repreſentative-Body of the whole Kingdom) whilſt it continues ſitting, the King, as well as the Kingdom being always legally preſent in it during its Seſſion.

The next Day, the Lords declared their Conſent to the making a new *Great-Seal*. Accordingly one was made exactly like that in the King's Hands, and by an Ordinance of both Houſes, it was declared, that all *Letters Patents*, and *Grants* which had paſſed under the *Great-Seal* ſince the 22d of *May* 1642 *, were void and of no Effect. That the new Great-Seal ſhould be of like Force, Power and Validity as any Great-Seal of *England* had ever been, and ſhould be put into the Cuſtody of the Perſons hereby ordained Commiſſioners for that Purpoſe, who ſhould have the ſame Power and Authority as any Lord-Chancellor, or Lord-Keeper had uſed to have. On the laſt of *November*, the new Great-Seal was carried by

* The Day the Lord Keeper *Littleton* left the Houſe, and went with the Seal to the King at *York*.

by the Speaker of the *Commons* attended with the whole Houſe, to the Lords, and delivered to the Lord *Grey* of *Werk* their Speaker, who in the Preſence of both Houſes gave it to the Commiſſioners *. The firſt Thing that was ſealed by it, was a *Patent* to the Earl of *Warwick*, of Lord High-Admiral of *England*, the Earl of *Northumberland* not being in that Favour with both Houſes as formerly. 1643.

Remark on the Great-Seal.

The King and his Friends made great Noiſe about this Attempt of the Parliament's, and urged the *Statute* of the 25th of *Edward* III, by which the counterfeiting the Great-Seal, is in expreſs Terms declared to be High-Treaſon. But it is eaſy to perceive this *Statute* concerns only private Perſons, and not both Houſes of Parliament, and that it was not poſſible, when the *Statute* was made, to foreſee the King and the Parliament would be one Day divided. Beſides, it cannot be ſaid that private Perſons have any manner of Right to diſpoſe of the Great-Seal. But it is not the ſame with both Houſes of Parliament, who are the Repreſentatives of the Nation. For the Great-Seal is not the King's in particular, but the Kingdom's Seal, and the Kingdom is a Body compoſed of the King, who is the Head, and the People who are the Members. If the King has the Diſpoſal of the Great-Seal, it is only as he is the moſt noble of the Members of this Body, conſidered as being united with, and not as being ſeparated from the

* Two Lords and four Commoners, who thereupon took the Oaths for the due Execution of their Places; the Speaker of the Peers ſwearing the Lords, and Mr. *Brown* the Clerk of the Lords Houſe, the four Commoners. The Seal was ordered to remain at the ſaid Mr. *Brown*'s Houſe, in an Iron Cheſt with three different Locks, and not to be removed thence but in the Preſence of three Commiſſioners. The two Lords were, firſt, the Earls of *Rutland* and *Bullingbrook*, but the Earl of *Rutland* alledging himſelf not qualified for ſuch a Charge, the Earl of *Kent* was nominated in his Room. (*Whitlock* ſays, the Lords were *Manchester* and *Bullingbrook*, p. 67.) The four Commoners were, St *John*'s, *Wilde*, *Brown* and *Prideaux*, all Lawyers. Ruſh. V. p. 342.

1643. the other Member *. If therefore ſuch a Separation happens, as was at the Time I am ſpeaking of, it is hard to conceive by what Title the King or People, ſeparately, may claim the Diſpoſal of the Great-Seal, which is the Seal of their *joint*, not *ſeparate*, Authority. In ſhort, I am afraid that they who moſt ſtrenuouſly affirm, that in ſuch a Separation, the King ought to have the ſole Diſpoſal of the Great-Seal, are willing to admit all the Conſequences which may flow from that Principle. The Great-Seal ſtamps an inviolable Authority upon all the *Acts* it is applied to. If therefore in Caſe of an open War between King and Parliament, the King could, by means of the Great-Seal, communicate ſuch an Authority to all his particular Acts, where would be the Bounds of his Power, which by the Conſtitution of the Government, is limited by the Laws? He would have nothing to do but to declare by Proclamatian under the Great-Seal, as *Charles* had really done, that according to the Laws, both Houſes of Parliament are Traitors and Rebels, and then the Buſineſs would be decided by the ſole Poſſeſſion of the Great-Seal, and the King might aſſume an unlimited Power by this ſame Anthority. But how would it be, if the Parliament was in Poſſeſſion of the Great-Seal, and by the like Proclamation ſhould declare the King Traitor and Rebel, would the Application of the Seal give ſuch an *Act* an inviolable Authority?

It will doubtleſs be urged, that the Great-Seal gives an inviolable Authority to ſuch *Acts* only as are agreeable to the Laws, and that the Laws expreſsly declare thoſe who take up Arms againſt the King, guilty of High-Treaſon. But it is manifeſt, that the Laws as they neither could, nor ought to foreſee an actual Separation between the King and the People repreſented in Parliament, have conſidered the King only as the Head, inſeparably united with the Body, and not as the Head divided from the other

* And as the Executive Power is lodged in his Hands.

ther Members. Elſe it might be ſaid, the Laws have aſcribed to the King an unlimited Power, which is directly contrary to the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government. Certainly the Laws have conſidered the King but as Head of the State, and the Crime of taking up Arms againſt him relates not more to his Perſon in particular, than to the reſt of the State. The Parliament therefore ſeems to have had no leſs right to make a new Great-Seal, than the King would have had, if the Common-Seal had been in the Hands of the Parliament, ſince the Seal was not the Property of either, but belonged to both, conſidered as being inſeparably united together. 1643.

Count Harcourt's Embaſſy.

About this Time, the Count *Harcourt*, a Prince of the Houſe of *Lorrain* was ſent from *France* into *England*. He came directly to *London*, where he was received with great Ceremony as Ambaſſador Extraordinary, though he had not preſented his Credentials to the Parliament: But it was ſuppoſed he had ſome, and intended to addreſs himſelf firſt to the King. After ſome Days ſtay in *London*, without any Application to both Houſes, he went to *Oxford*, where he had ſeveral Conferences with the King. After that, he writ to the Earl of *Northumberland*, that having propoſed to his Majeſty, from the King of *France*, and the Queen-Regent, the making a Peace with his Subjects, he found him inclined to enter into Negotiation, and that if both Houſes would let him know wherein conſiſted the Differences between the King and them, he would gladly interpoſe to make up the ſame. Both Houſes thought it very ſtrange that this Prince ſhould offer his Mediation without producing his Credentials. They returned him therefore an Anſwer by the Earl of *Northumberland*, ſaying, they received with all due Reſpects, the Offers of the King and Queen-Regent of *France*, and that as ſoon as he ſhould ſhow that he was authorized to make any ſuch Propoſitions, they would not fail to appoint a Committee to treat with him. But he had no Credentials for the two Houſes, the Queen-Regent

1643. Regent not judging proper to own them for Parliament, since the King of *England* denied them that Title. Thus this pretended Mediation was not only fruitless, but was also a clear Indication that the *French* Court had sent this Embassy only as an outward Testimony of their concerning themselves in the King's Affairs, though in all Appearance, they did not much desire to see an End put to the Troubles of the Kingdom *.

Sir Edward Deering *returns to the Parliament.* Rush. V. p. 383. Feb. 2.

Sir *Edward Deering*, who had made himself so famous in the beginning of this Parliament, by his Zeal for his Country, and by several noble Speeches upon *Grievances*, had taken a thorough Disgust at the Proceedings of both Houses, when he found that some of the Leading-Men aimed to establish *Presbyterianism* in the Church of *England*. For that Cause, after the War broke out, he forsook the Parliament, and turned to the King. But in all Appearance he was scarce any better pleased with the Court than he had been with the Parliament, since he followed at last the Example of the Lords above-mentioned. He came to *London* in the Month of *February* 1643-4, and presenting a Petition to the House of *Commons*, whereof he was Member, he got leave to go and spend the Residue of his Days at his House [near *Canterbury*] where he died in a few Months after *1.

Pym's Death.

Mr. *Pym*, one of the Pillars of the Parliament and a chief Manager of the Affairs of the House, died in the Month of *December* 1643. The Sticklers for the King

* Whilst Count *Harcourt* was in *England* he had two Affronts put upon him. He had not been landed four and twenty Hours, before *Mountague*, one of his Train, was apprehended and committed to the *Tower*. This Man was an Agent of the King's in the Court of *France*, and thought by disguising himself to get a safe Passage to *Oxford*, in the Ambassador's Retinue. As Count *Harcourt* was going from *London* to *Oxford*, his Coach was searched for Letters. For both which Indignities he could get no Redress.

*1 Besides his former *Papers*, he left behind him a learned Discourse (published about a Week before his Death) concerning the *Proper Sacrifice*, wherein he solidly and eloquently confutes Popish Transubstantiation. *Rush.* V. p. 384.

King ſpeak of him as of a very wicked Man, and thoſe for the Parliament repreſent him as the greateſt Patriot then in *England*. Opinions ſo oppoſite about the ſame Perſon are not uncommon. It is not ſtrange that from oppoſite Principles ſhould be drawn contrary Conſequences. Thus much is certain, that Mr. *Pym*'s Death was a very great Loſs to the Parliament, he being one of the moſt able Members of the Houſe. * 1643.

The *Commons*, as was ſaid, committed to Priſon in *May* this Year 1643, a Perſon ſent by the King with the Offer of Peace, and ſhortly after he was diſcovered to be one of thoſe the King employed to keep up his Correſpondencies in *London*. The King could not be ignorant that the *Commons* had declared at two ſeveral times, that they would treat as Spies ſuch as ſhould come from the King's Quarters to *London*, without a Safe-Conduct. Beſides, that he had pretty many Friends in *London* and the Parliament-Houſe, he had no need to be informed of theſe particular Reſolutions, to know that it is not allowable for Men, without a Safe-Conduct, to come into the Enemies Quarters, ſince it is an univerſal Rule in time of War. But here the thing was ſtill more particular. For upon the Houſe's arreſting the King's Meſſenger before-mentioned, his Majeſty by Advice of his Council, deemed it inconſiſtent with his Honour to hold any farther Correſpondence with the Parliament. Moreover, the 18th of *October* both

The Parliament hangs one of the K's Meſſengers for Spy. Ruſh V. p. 369.

* The Lord *Clarendon* will have it, that he died of the *Morbus Pediculoſus*, or *Lowſy Diſtemper*, whereas *Ruſhworth* ſays there was ſuch a Report, but the ſame was not true; and for publick Satisfaction, his Body was viewed by many Hundreds of People; the true natural Cauſe of his Death ſeeming to be the great Pains he took, joined with a competent old Age, and at beſt but an infirm Conſtitution. *Whitlock* ſays the ſame thing, but makes him die in *May*. Some time before his Death he cauſed to be printed a Vindication of himſelf, which the Reader may ſee in *Ruſhworth*, Vol. V. p. 376. He is ſaid to be beſt vers'd in Parliamentary Affairs of any Man then in *England*.

1643. Houſes publiſhed an Ordinance, declaring any Perſon coming to *London* from the King's Quarters ſhould be looked upon as a Spy. And yet Twelve Days after, namely, on the 20th of *October*, the King ſent privately to *London* one *Daniel Kniveton* a State-Meſſenger with Three Proclamations; one againſt *taking of the ſolemn League and Covenant*; another againſt *the Obſervation of the Monthly Faſt* enjoined by the Parliament; a Third for *removing the Seals of the Green-Wax Offices belonging to the* Exchequer, King's-Bench *and* Common-Pleas *to* Oxford. This Man was taken up and committed to Priſon. Nevertheleſs, on the 19th of *November* following, *Carpenter*, another Meſſenger, was privately ſent by the King with an Order to the Judges to adjourn the *Term* to *Oxford**. *Carpenter* was alſo apprehended, and they were both tried and condemned to die. *Kniveton* was ſo much the leſs excuſable, as he had before been taken and detained at *Windſor* upon the like Account, and diſcharged by the General. All the Defence he made was, that being the King's Sworn Meſſenger, he was obliged to obey him; that beſides, not taking *London* for a Garriſon, he thought he might have come without Drum, Trumpet or Paſs. But this Defence not being capable of ſaving his Life, he was executed. *Carpenter*, though under the ſame Condemnation, was reprieved and committed to *Bridewel* *1. The Lord *Clarendon* ſpeaks of the Sentence paſſed upon theſe Men as of a great Injuſtice, for two Reaſons; that they were obliged to obey the King

* The King had publiſhed ſeveral Proclamations for the Adjournment of the *Term* to *Oxford*, which had been fruitleſs for want of the neceſſary legal Form of having the Writs read in Court. So *Carpenter* was to deliver theſe Writs of Adjournment into the Hands of either of the ſworn Judges then remaining at *Weſtminſter*, who were *Bacon* in the *King's-Bench*, *Reeve* in the *Common-Pleas*, and *Irever* in the *Exchequer*. Accordingly he delivered the Writs to *Reeve* and *Trevor*, who immediately cauſed him to be apprehended.

*1. From whence he eſcaped ſome time after, and returned to *Oxford*.

King, being his Meſſengers, and that the Parliament had not cauſed their Ordinance to be notified to the King. I am afraid all the World will not be induced by theſe Reaſons to condemn the Proceedings of both Houſes. The King at leaſt ſeems not to have blamed them, ſince he did not uſe Repriſals, neither does it appear that he ever complained of it in form. 1643.

In proportion as the War was continued, the Animoſity between the King and Parliament was inflamed, all Ceremony and Regard being entirely dropped on both Sides. The King would no more own the two Houſes for Parliament; and they omitted nothing, as appears in their Declaration concerning the *Iriſh* Rebellion, to blacken the King's Reputation. Theſe Doings were not confined to *England*, where they might be in ſome meaſure neceſſary, becauſe the Buſineſs was to gain the People: but care was taken alſo to convey *Papers* abroad, tending to the Vindication of one of the Parties, and the Blackning the other. Both Houſes being informed, or it may be, ſuppoſing, that the King had Emiſſaries abroad who were uſing their utmoſt Endeavours to repreſent the Civil Wars in *England* under the Notion of a horrible Rebellion againſt the Sovereign, ordered the Aſſembly of *Divines* then ſitting at *Weſtminſter* *, to write Letters to the Churches of *Ze-*

The Aſſembly of Divines write to the Churches Abroad by Order of Parliament. Ruſh. V. p. 371.

* Divers Members of both Houſes to a great Number ſat in this Aſſembly, and had the ſame Liberty with the Hundred and Twenty *Divines* to debate and give their Votes in any Matter. *Selden*, who was a Member, ſpoke admirably (ſays *Whitlock*, who was alſo a Member) in theſe Debates, and ſometimes when the *Divines* had cited a *Text* to prove their Aſſertion, he would tell them, *Perhaps in your little Pocket Bibles with gilt Leaves* (which they would often pull out and read) *the Tranſlation may be thus, but the* Greek *or* Hebrew *ſignifies thus and thus*, and ſo confuting them in their own Learning. Not but there were many famous Divines among them, as *Twiſſe* their Prolocutor, Biſhop *Reynolds*, *Arrowſmith*, *Lightfoot*, *Gataker*, &c Their firſt Meeting, purſuant to the Ordinance of both Houſes, was the 1ſt of *July* 1643. in *Henry* VII's Chapel. *Ruſh.* V. p. 339.

1643. *land, Holland, France, Switzerland,* to warn them against the Artifices of the King's Agents, by ſetting before them the true State of the Affairs of *England.* They charged them to inſiſt chiefly upon the King's employing *Iriſh* Rebels and other *Papiſts* to be Governours, Commanders and Soldiers; to lay before them clearly the many Evidences of the Intention of the King's Counſellors to introduce *Popery,* and hinder the Reformation intended by the Parliament: Laſtly, to let them know the Judgment paſſed by the King's Party upon the Proteſtant Churches abroad was unſound, becauſe not governed by Biſhops. The Aſſembly failed not to ſend to theſe Churches a circular Letter, which was properly a *Manifeſto* for the Parliament againſt the King, and with it Copies of the *ſolemn League* and *Covenant,* and of the Declaration of both the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* on that Subject.

The King's Manifeſto touching Religion.

Some time after the King on his part publiſhed a *Manifeſto,* addreſſed to all the Proteſtant Churches, in order to efface the Impreſſions which the Parliament's circular Letter might have cauſed. This *Manifeſto,* which was very ſhort, contained only a Proteſtation that he had never intended to conſent to the publick Exerciſe of the Catholick Religion in his Dominions, but was reſolutely bent to adhere to his laſt Breath, to the Church of *England,* wherein he was born, baptized and brought up, and to the Liturgy of the ſame Church, approved of by ſo many Convocations and Parliaments, by all the Proteſtant Churches and the Synod of *Dort.*

The King troubled how to find Money.

Mean while, the King was very much at a Loſs how to maintain the War the enſuing Campaign, knowing the Parliament were preparing to exert themſelves powerfully. He had been openly charged with having, before this Parliament, arbitrarily exacted Money of his Subjects, without Conſent of Parliament. He had owned himſelf that he had gone beyond his Power, as he had not only redreſſed that *Grievance,* but alſo proteſted ſeveral times he had done

it freely and willingly. After the War was begun, 1643.
he never ceaſed to accuſe both Houſes of the ſame arbitrary Doings himſelf had been ſo often upbraided with, in laying Taxes upon the Subjects without their Conſent, which was directly contrary to the *known Laws* whereon he perpetually dwelt. By demonſtrating that both Houſes broke the Laws, it was that he aimed to gain the People to his Side. Mean while, Money muſt neceſſarily be had, not only to keep up the Forces already on Foot, but to levy more, that the *Scots* may be reſiſted, who are now upon the Point of entring *England*. If for the Maintenance of theſe Forces, he ſhould impoſe Taxes by his ſole Authority, he would loſe the Privilege of reproaching both Houſes for the ſame thing, and it may be, diſoblige his own Party by acting againſt the Laws. And yet Money muſt be had at any rate, otherwiſe he would not be in Condition to purſue the War. Hitherto he had uſed ſeveral ways to raiſe Money, without affording his Enemies a Handle againſt him, whether by ſelling or mortgaging the Crown-Lands, or by the voluntary Contributions of his Well-wiſhers. But the Means he had already practiſed were too uncertain to be ſafely depended upon. He ſought therefore and found an Expedient to free himſelf from this Streight; which was, to require all the Members that, according to him, had been driven from the Parliament-Houſe, to repair to *Oxford*, pretending that theſe Members were the true Parliament; and the rather, as he had publickly declared that he looked upon both Houſes at *Weſtminſter* no longer as ſuch. He did not expect this new Parliament would gain him more Friends than he had already; but he might reaſonably hope this ſame Parliament would grant him an Aid of Money, and that being authorized by ſuch an *Act*, he might openly and by way of Authority levy what Money he neceſſarily wanted. This is what happened accordingly, and this was properly the King's Aim in

1643. calling this Parliament, which met at *Oxford* the 22d of *January* 1643-4.*

1643-4. *Parliament at* Oxford. Rush. V. p. 560.

As it was not proper the King ſhould diſcover at firſt the ſole End he propoſed to himſelf in calling this extraordinary Parliament, he only told them in his firſt Speech, that he had called them together to receive their Advice, and conſult with them about the Means to appeaſe the Troubles of the Kingdom.

This Parliament propoſes Peace.

The firſt Step this Parliament took was to try to ſatisfy the Publick that their Intention was to labour for Peace. I have already explained the conſtant Ambiguity of the Word *Peace*, and the different Senſes given it by the two Parties, and therefore think it needleſs to ſay any thing more on this Head. There is no queſtion but the King heartily wiſhed for a Peace, but it was provided it were made after his Manner, and in his Senſe of the Word, elſe he was very averſe to any ſuch thing. To be convinced of what I advance here, one needs only conſider what the Lord *Clarendon* ſays, ſpeaking of the Motion made in the Council to call the Parliament at *Oxford*, which the King ſtuck at a little. *The King was at firſt in ſome Apprehenſion*, ſays that illuſtrious Hiſtorian, *that ſuch a Conflux of Perſons together with the Parliament, who would look to enjoy the Privileges of it in their Debates might, inſtead of doing him Service, do many things contrary to it, and exceedingly apprehended, that they would immediately enter upon ſome Treaty of Peace which would have no effect; yet whilſt it was in ſuſpenſe, would hinder his Preparation for War; and though no body more deſired Peace, yet he had no mind that*

Vol. III. p. 413.

* The ſame Day the Parliament at *Weſtminſter* called the Houſes, and there appeared Two Hundred and Eighty of their Members, beſides a Hundred more in the Service of the Parliament in the ſeveral Counties, and now they expelled by Vote Forty Members who had deſerted the Parliament. *Whitlock's Mem.* p. 76. In the Houſe of Peers remained only the Earls of *Northumberland, Pembroke, Eſſex, Kent, Lincoln, Rutland, Salisbury, Suffolk, Warwick, Mancheſter, Mulgrave, Denbigh, Stamford, Bullingbrooke.* The Lords, *Say, Davies, Wharton, Grey* of *Werk, Willoughby* of *Parham, Howard* of *Eſcrick, Rochfort*, and *Roberts*. Clarend II. p. 444.

that a Multitude ſhould be conſulted upon the Conditions of it: imagining, that things of the greateſt Importance, as the giving up Perſons, and other Particulars of Honour, would not ſeem to them of Moment enough to continue a War in the Kingdom. Hence we may ſee what ſort of Peace that was the King deſired. It was not ſuch a Peace as the Parliament at *Oxford* might think reaſonable, but a Peace whereby he ſhould not be obliged to make any Conceſſions. 1643 4.

But his Council quickly freed him from theſe Apprehenſions, by the ſame Method uſed on the like Occaſion in the Beginning of the War. It was intimated to him, that there was no probability the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* would ever treat with the Members that ſhould meet at *Oxford*, ſince they would look upon them under no other Notion but as private Perſons and Deſerters of the Patliament. Whereupon the King's Scruples vaniſhed. As the Parliament at *Oxford* was wholly guided by the King's Direction, and as his Majeſty agreed to the propoſing a Peace to thoſe at *Weſtminſter*, it may eaſily be gueſſed, that in ſo doing his Intention was not to conclude it, unleſs both Houſes at *Weſtminſter* would give way in every thing. But the two Houſes at *Oxford* had another view in this Step. And that was to lay a Snare for thoſe at *Weſtminſter*, and engage them if poſſible to treat with them, which would have been owning them for Parliament. However, they expected to reap ſome Advantage from their Refuſal. Clarend. III. p. 414.

A Letter from the Parliament at Oxford *to the Earl of* Eſſex.

To this end, a Letter was ſent to the Earl of *Eſſex* under the Hands of the Prince of *Wales*, the Duke of *York*, Forty-three Lords, and a Hundred and Eighteen Members of the Houſe of *Commons*. In this Letter it was ſaid, " That his Majeſty having " ſummoned them to attend him at *Oxford*, they were " aſſembled in Obedience to his Commands: That " his Majeſty was pleaſed to invite them in the Pro- " clamation of Summons, by graciouſly ſaying, " *His Subjects ſhould ſee how willing he was, as far as* " *in him lay, to reſtore the Peace of the Kingdom:* That

1643-4. " this Invitation had not only been made good to " them, but ſeconded by ſuch unqueſtionable De- " monſtrations of his Majeſty's deep Senſe of the " Miſeries and Calamities of his poor Subjects in " this unnatural War, and of his moſt entire and " paſſionate Affections to redeem them from that " ſad and deplorable Condition, by all ways poſſible " conſiſtent with his Honour or the future Safety of " the Kingdom: *That as it were* Impiety *to queſtion* " *the Sincerity of them, ſo it were great want of Duty* " *and Faithfulneſs in us, (his Majeſty having vouch-* " *ſafed to declare that he did call us to be Witneſſes of his* " *Actions and privy to his Intentions) ſhould we not ſa-* " *tisfy and* witneſs *to all the World the Aſſurance we* " *have of the Piety and Sincerity of Both.*" Adding---- " That being ſatisfied of this Truth, they had yet " hopes to be the happy Inſtruments of their Country's " Redemption from the Miſeries of War, and Reſti- " tution to the Bleſſings of Peace, and were deſirous " to believe that his Lordſhip, howſoever engaged, " would co-operate with them in the bleſſed Work, " by truly repreſenting to, and induſtriouſly pro- " moting with, *thoſe by whom he was truſted* *, their " moſt earneſt Deſire, That ſome Perſons be appoint- " ed on either Part to treat of ſuch a *Peace* as may " yet redeem their Country from the Brink of " Deſtruction."

The Earl of Eſſex's *Anſwer.* The Earl of *Eſſex* returned this ſhort Anſwer, " That the Letter he had received not being addreſ- " ſed to the two Houſes of Parliament, nor any Ac- " knowledgment of them being therein, he could " not communicate it to them: That the Mainte- " nance of the Parliament of *England* and the Privi- " leges thereof, was *That* for which himſelf and his " whole Party were reſolved to ſpend their Blood, as " being the Foundation whereon all the Laws and " Liberties of the Nation were built." † Tho'

* Not calling or allowing them to be the Parliament.

† This Letter was directed to the Earl of *Forth* the King's General. With this Letter he ſent a Copy of the *Covenant*, and the Declaration of both Kingdoms.

Though the Earl of *Eſſex* ſaid he could not communicate the Letter to the Parliament, it was known however that his Anſwer had been concerted with a Committee of both Houſes, called the *Committee of State.* This made the King, knowing by that the Intention of both Houſes, believe he ſhould run no great Risk by ſending them a Meſſage, in a Letter to the Earl of *Eſſex*, directed to *the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at* Weſtminſter. This Meſſage contained the uſual Offers to treat of Peace, and appoint Commiſſioners, if they would do the like on their Part. The King added, he took this Step by the Advice of *the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at* Oxford. Both Houſes eaſily perceived the King was laying a Snare for them, by putting them under a Neceſſity either of accepting his Offer, in which caſe they ſhould indirectly own the Lords and Commons aſſembled at *Oxford* for Parliament, or of rejecting it, and ſo furniſhing him with a Handle to upbraid them for refuſing to labour for Peace. But they did not much trouble themſelves about this Artifice, and for Anſwer declared, they would never own the Members who had deſerted both Houſes for Parliament, " And hereupon, *added they*, we think " our ſelves bound to let your Majeſty know, that " ſeeing the Continuance of this Parliament is ſet- " tled by a Law, (which, as other Laws of your " Kingdoms, your Majeſty hath ſworn to maintain, " as we are ſworn to our Allegiance to your Majeſty, " theſe Obligations being reciprocal) we muſt in " Duty, and accordingly are reſolved with our Lives " and Fortunes, to defend and preſerve the juſt " Rights and full Power of *this Parliament*; and do " beſeech your Majeſty to be aſſured that your Ma- " jeſty's royal and hearty Concurrence with us here- " in, will be the moſt effectual and ready Means of " procuring a firm and laſting Peace in all your Ma- " jeſty's Dominions, and of begetting a perfect Un- " derſtanding between your Majeſty and your Peo- " ple, without which your Majeſty's moſt earneſt

1643-4.

The King's Meſſage to both Houſes at Weſtminſter.

Declaration of both Houſes to the King. Ruſh V. p. 570.

" *Profeſſions*,

1643-4. " *Professions*, and our most *real Intentions* concerning " the same must necessarily be frustrated.

I showed above with what Intention the King proposed a Peace to both Houses at *Westminster*, namely, that this general Offer might not be accepted, as was easy to foresee. Upon this Refusal it was that both Houses at *Oxford* exulted, as if the bare Proposal of a Peace had been a clear and infallible Evidence of their hearty Desire to make a reasonable one. They published upon this occasion a long Declaration so like those the King had already published in a like Case, that it was not hard to perceive it flowed from the same Fountain. They published also, some time after, another, aiming to show that the Members assembled at *Oxford* had been driven from the Parliament by Threats and Acts of Violence, which were set forth together with the indirect Practices made use of by the Leaders of the other Party to intimidate such as would not conform to their Sentiments, and this, it was pretended, was the sole Reason of their withdrawing themselves. This was really the King's Scheme; but it may be said that it was not well grounded. For these Members who had deserted the Parliament, had not, for the most part, absented themselves till long after these pretended Acts of Violence, some by his Majesty's own express Order, others for fear of being punished for endeavouring to raise Commotions against the Parliament. But care was taken not to say one word of this in the Declaration. After all, supposing some had withdrawn themselves purely out of Fear, it is certain, their Number was nothing near so great as of those who retired with the sole View to serve the King. And yet they were all confounded in one and the same Class, as having been expressly driven from the Parliament.

The Oxford *Parliament's Declaration on a Peace.* Rush. V. p. 567.

The Westminster *Parliament's upon the same Account.* Rush. V. p. 576.

Some time after, both Houses at *Westminster* published likewise a *Manifesto*, wherein they pretended to show, that under the specious Colour of proposing Peace, a Snare was laid to engage them tacitly to own

that they were not the Parliament, but that the true Parliament was aſſembled at *Oxford*. They drew their Proofs from ſeveral Letters written from *Oxford* to the Earl of *Eſſex*, from the manner of Expreſſion in the King's late Meſſage, but eſpecially from an intercepted Letter of the Lord *Digby*'s, where he ſaid: "A Point which his Majeſty may not ſuffer "them to gain, without ſubverting the Grounds "and Maxims of all his late Proceedings againſt "them, and that which he now goes upon by the "Advice of all his Nobility here, as you will per-"ceive by this incloſed Proclamation (*a*), upon the "Effects whereof all the Eyes of the Kingdom are "fixed. God ſend them to be as good actuated, as "they are in Speculation, for I am confident, that "in reaſon it carries probability of the ſureſt and "readieſt way to a Re-eſtabliſhment of his Majeſty "in his juſt Rights and Powers, of any Courſe that "hath been yet attempted." 1643-4. Dec. 27. Ibid. p. 580.

The Day before the two Houſes at *Oxford* writ to the Earl of *Eſſex* to propoſe Peace, they voted that the *Scots* having entered the Kingdom in an hoſtile manner, had thereby denounced War againſt *England*, and that all the *Engliſh* who ſhould aſſiſt them, ſhould be deemed as Traitors and Enemies to the State. *Votes at Oxford againſt the Scots.* Ibid. p. 564.

March the 12th the ſame Houſes at *Oxford* voted, that the Lords and Commons now remaining at *Weſtminſter* are guilty of High-Treaſon, [for raiſing of Forces under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*] for conſenting and being aſſiſting to the preſent coming in of the *Scots* into *England*, and for counterfeiting the Great-Seal. But as Votes did no manner of hurt to the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, ſo neither were they of much advantage to the King. He found a more real Benefit from them with regard to the Buſineſs the *Oxford*-Parliament was ſummoned for, I mean, as to the Aid of Money he expected to enable him to ſupport the War.

This

(*a*) The Proclamation to ſummon the Members to meet at *Oxford*.

1643-4. *Means to procure the King Money.*

This Parliament was however at no ſmall Loſs how to aid the King effectually, for that was the main Buſineſs. If as the only and true Parliament they had laid a general Tax, the King would have run the hazard of meeting great Oppoſition in levying the Money, all the Inhabitants of the Counties on his Side, not being ſatisfied that ſuch a Parliament had a lawful Authority. In that caſe, he would have been obliged to uſe force to compel thoſe that ſhould refuſe to pay, which did not ſuit at all with the preſent Situation of his Affairs. Another Method therefore was taken, which without doubt was ſuggeſted by the Court. And that was, to adviſe the King to borrow One Hundred Thouſand Pounds of the richeſt Men of his Party. To that purpoſe the *Commons* went every one into his own Country, to take the Number of thoſe who were reckoned Monied-Men, and make a Liſt, wherein were ſet down the Quality and Ability of each. The *Commons* being returned to *Oxford* with their Liſts, the Taxes were proportioned; after which, the King writ circular Letters to every particular Perſon to borrow of one a Hundred Pounds, of another Two Hundred, promiſing to repay the ſame as ſoon as he was able, and not forgetting to ſay in theſe Letters, that this Loan was by Advice of his Parliament *. Thus, though this Parliament did not think themſelves ſufficiently authorized to impoſe a general Tax, the particular Perſons who were rated, were no leſs obliged to furniſh what was laid upon them, ſince theſe Loans were made with the Advice of both Houſes. The King would not have found his Account ſo well in a general Tax, for it was much eaſier to raiſe a Hundred

Ruſh. V. p. 580.

* Theſe Letters were ſubſcribed thus: *By the Advice of the Members of both Houſes aſſembled at* Oxford,

Edward Littleton, } Speakers.
Samuel Eure, }

Hundred Thouſand Pounds upon particular rich Men, than upon the whole Nation. Now the Thing was to provide certainly and ſpeedily the Money the King had occaſion for. Accordingly it was ſeen ſhortly after, that this was the ſole Motive of chuſing this Method; for the Parliament at *Oxford* hearing that both Houſes at *Weſtminſter* had laid an Impoſition upon Wine, Beer, Ale, and other Commodities, which they called an *Exciſe*, a Word never before heard of in *England*, made no ſcruple to injoin the like in the Counties where the King's Authority was acknowledged. 1643-4.

After that Time, nothing of any Moment paſſed in this Parliament, which having held till the 16th of *April*, was prorogued to the Month of *October*, and never met again. It ſerved only to help the King to Money, for which it was ſolely deſigned, and to exhibit a Sight never before ſeen in *England*, namely, two Parliaments holding their Seſſions at one and the ſame Time. *The Parliament at* Oxford *is prorogued.*

Three Days after the opening of this Parliament, the *Scotiſh* Army entered *England*, notwithſtanding the Seaſon of the Year, which one would have thought ſhould have hindered their March *. The Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle* who commanded in the North for the King, having notice that the bad Weather prevented not this Army's advancing towards the Borders, began to march alſo with his Troops, and came to *Newcaſtle* the 2d of *February* *1. The *Scotch* Army approaching this Town, the General ordered it to be ſummoned; but the Summons had no Effect. He ſtayed in thoſe Parts all the reſt of the Month of *February*, waiting for his Artillery which was coming by Sea. The 28th of the ſame Month, he *The* Scotch *Army enters* England. Jan. 19. Ruſh. V. p. 603. Feb. 3.

* This Army conſiſted of eighteen Thouſand Foot and three Thouſand Horſe. The Earl of *Leven* was General. *John Baily* Lieutenant-General of the Foot, and *David Leſley* Major-General of the Horſe. *Ruſh.* V. p. 604.

*1 The Day before the Approach of the *Scots*. Ruſh. V. p. 613.

1643-4. he paſſed the *Tyne* at ſome Diſtance from *Newcaſtle*, having left near the Town on the North-ſide, ſix Regiments of Foot and ſome Horſe, to keep the Garriſon in awe. The Marquiſs being too weak to venture a Battle, contented himſelf with harraſſing the *Scots* by frequent Skirmiſhes, in order to retard their March: But at laſt he thought proper to retire to *Durham*, where the *Scotch* General followed him, though with great Inconveniency as he wanted Forrage for his Horſe.

The Lord Fairfax *defeats Colonel* Bellaſis *at* Selby. April 11. Ruſh. V. p. 618.

When the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle* marched out of *York* to oppoſe the *Scots*, he left the Command of the City with a good Body of Troops to Colonel *John Bellaſis* *. As ſoon as the Lord *Fairfax*, had Intelligence that the Marquiſs was gone northwards, he reſolved to march towards *York*; and to that End, ordered his Son Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to meet him at a certain Place with the Party he commanded, that they might act in Conjunction. But *Bellaſis* having notice of this Deſign, departed from *York* with the beſt part of the Garriſon to hinder their joining, and went and poſted himſelf at *Selby*. A few Days after, the Lord *Fairfax*, having taken a great compaſs about, to deceive the Vigilance of the Enemy, and found Means to join his Son, ſuddenly attacked *Selby*, where *Bellaſis* lay with fifteen Hundred Horſe, and eighteen Hundred Foot, forced the Town, took the Colonel Priſoner, with ſixteen Hundred of his Men, and killed a great Number.

The Marquiſs of Newcaſtle *returns to* York.

The Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle* heard of this fatal Defeat at *Durham*, the *Scots* being then within two Miles of the Place. He was afraid immediately that the Lord *Fairfax* after his Victory, would go and attack *York*, or at leaſt, march forthwith towards *Durham*, to hem him in between the two Armies. For this Reaſon, he choſe, without farther Conſideration, to retire to *York*, as well to be ſafe himſelf as to ſave that

* Son to the Lord *Falconbridge*.

that City, which otherwiſe would have been in great Danger. 1643-4

It ſoon appeared that the Marquiſs had taken this Reſolution very ſeaſonably, for the 22d of *April*, that is, nine Days * after the Fight at *Selby*, the Lord *Fairfax* joined with the *Scots* at *Tadcaſter*, from whence the two Generals reſolved to go and beſiege *York*. But as this City was of too large an Extent to be inveſted on all Sides by the two Armies, particularly towards the River, over which the Marquiſs had made a Bridge of Boats *1, they deſired the Earl of *Manchester*, General of the Forces of the eaſtern *aſſociated Counties* to advance to this Siege. Till the Arrival of the Earl of *Manchester*, the two Generals held the City blocked up to the ſouthward of the River *Ouſe*. I ſhall interrupt for a Moment the Account of the Siege of *York*, to ſay a Word of the ill Succeſs the Parliament Arms met with at *Newark*. 1644.

Meldrum is defeated at Newark by Prince Rupert, Ruſh. V. p. 307. March 22.

Whilſt the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle* was in the *North* watching the Motions of the *Scotch* Army, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and Sir *John Meldrum*, with about five Thouſand Men of the Parliament Forces, laid Siege to *Newark*, a conſiderable Town in *Nottinghamſhire*, where the King had placed a Garriſon. As ſoon as the King had notice of it, he ſent Orders to Prince *Rupert*, to do all he could to relieve the Place. The Prince being then at *Cheſter*, put himſelf immediately upon the march, and being joined by ſome other Troops, he made a Body of ſeven Thouſand Men, with which he advanced towards *Newark*. *Meldrum*, who commanded alone at the Siege, the Lord *Willoughby* being gone elſewhere, reſolved to fight

* *Rapin* is miſtaken here in the Time, but the Error is corrected in the Tranſlation. See *Ruſh.* V. p, 618, 620.

*1 The Caſe was, the Marquiſs having a great Strength of Horſe, and the Advantage of a Bridge over the River, could eaſily tranſport them to either Side in a ſhort Time: So that if the Beſiegers divided their Forces, the River being betwixt them, he might fall on the weaker, and the reſt would not be able to relieve them. The River *Ouſe* runs North and South quite through the City, divided into two Parts, which are joined by a Stone Bridge.

1644. fight the Prince, and to that Purpose drew up his Forces at a little distance from the Town. The 22d of *March* there was a pretty sharp Battle, particularly at a Bridge, by which *Meldrum* had resolved to retreat in Case of need. The Bridge was vigorously attacked, and as bravely defended. Mean while, after the Fight was over, *Meldrum* finding himself too weak to renew it the next Day, resolved to retreat over the Bridge in the Night. But he found the Guard he had left there was gone, and the Bridge in the Possession of the Enemies *. So not being able to make a Retreat, and perceiving himself beset on all Sides with the King's Forces, *Meldrum* sent a Trumpet to the Prince for a Parley. It was agreed that the Foot should march away wirh their Swords, Colours, and Drums, all the Officers with their Arms, Horses, and Baggage, and the Troopers and Dragoons, with their Swords, Horses, and Colours. But he was forced to deliver up all his Ordnance and Ammunition with about three Thousand Muskets.

Other Exploits of Prince Rupert Rush. V. p. 623.

The Prince, after this Expedition, which gained him great Honour, returned back into *Shropshire*, and from thence into *Lancashire*, to relieve the Countess of *Derby*, who for the space of eighteen Weeks was besieged in *Latham-House*, and made a gallant Defense against a Body of two Thousand Men. In his way to *Latham*, the Prince carried by Assault *Stopworth*, a small Town in *Cheshire*. Whilst he was advancing towards *Latham*, the Besiegers raised the Siege of their own accord, and Part of them under the Command of Colonel *Rigby*, went and reinforced the Garrison of *Bolton* in *Lancashire*, which was in great Danger. The Prince pursued them, and without

* *Rapin* has confounded here two Bridges. The Bridge that was attacked was a Bridge of Boats, over which *Meldrum*'s Horse were drawn by his order into the Island. This Bridge Prince *Rupert* endeavoured to recover, but was repulsed. The other was *Muscome* Bridge, over which he designed to retreat, but the Guard deserting broke it down. *Rush.* V. p. 307.

out giving them Time to come to themſelves, took the Town by Storm *. 1644.

After that he attacked *Liverpool*, a Sea-Port-Town on the Edge of *Cheſhire*, where thoſe who deſign for *Ireland* generally imbark. The Governour Colonel *More*, after having made ſome Reſiſtance, conveyed on board the Ships in the *Pool* moſt part of his Soldiers *1, and the richeſt Goods in the Town, and then the Prince with little Oppoſition entered the Town. Here it was he received a Letter from the King, ordering him to march with all ſpeed to the Relief of *York*, which was now beſieged. The King ſaid to him in this Letter, *That his Affairs were in ſo very ill a State, that it would not be enough, though his Highneſs raiſed the Siege of* York, *if he had not likewiſe beaten the* Scotch *Army*; which Words induced the Prince to fight a Battle that proved very fatal to the King.

He is ordered by the King to relieve York.

I left *York* blocked up by the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Armies, commanded by the Lord *Fairfax* and the Earl of *Leven*, till the Earl of *Mancheſter* ſhould come and join with them. The Earl of *Mancheſter* was General of the ſeven eaſtern *aſſociated Counties*, who had ſet on Foot an Army of fourteen Thouſand Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons. With this Army, the Earl of *Mancheſter* had already done the Parliament great Service. In the laſt Campaign he had taken the Town of *Lynn*, and in the beginning of this, he had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Lincoln*. As ſeveral of the leading Members of Parliament had Thoughts of putting him in the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Place, occaſion

Exploits of the Earl of Mancheſter. Ruſh. V. p. 621.

* *Ruſhworth* ſays, the Prince's Soldiers ruſhing into the Town, put great Numbers to the Sword, (1200 by their own Confeſſion) deſtroying for ſome Miles round, and ſpoiling all they met, denying Quarters (as the Townſmen alledged afterwards) and uſing other Violences, beſides totally plundering the Town and ſlaying four Miniſters. Colonel *Rigby* eſcaped to *Bradford*. Ruſh. V. p 623.

*1 With his beſt Ordnance, Arms, and Ammunition.

1644. was taken from the Services he had performed, to make a conſtant Proviſion for his Army. To that End, by an Ordinanee of both Houſes, *May* the 15th 1644, each of the ſeven aſſociated Counties were charged and rated at ſuch a weekly Sum for the Maintenance of his Army *; after which he received Orders to go and join with the other two, to carry on the Siege of *York* together. The Parliament had likewiſe taken Care for the Subſiſtence of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s * and Sir *William Waller*'s Armies; ſo that in the Month of *May*, they had five Armies on Foot, without reckoning the Troops diſperſed in ſeveral Counties and employed in Garriſons.

The Parliament has five Armies

The Earl of Manchester *joins* Fairfax *and the* Scots.

Before the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle* was blocked up in *York*, he had ſent out General *Goring* with four Thouſand Horſe, to ravage the Parts in Subjection to the Parliament. For which Cauſe the Earl of *Manchester* detached likewiſe three Thouſand Horſe which were joined by two Thouſand ſent from the *Scots* before *York*, to wait the Motion of *Goring*. The Earl of *Manchester* therefore joined the two Armies only with his Foot, and ſome few Horſe, and preſently after the Siege of *York* was begun in good earneſt. The Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle* had ſent the King Word, that he hoped to be able to hold out ſix Weeks or two Months, and beſought him to think in the mean while how to relieve him. To retard the Progreſs of the Siege as much as poſſible, he made ſome Overtures for a Treaty, but on ſuch Conditions as he knew would not be granted. Nevertheleſs he gained ſeven or eight Days by this Artifice, ſo that the

Siege of York.

The Marquiſs amuſes the Beſiegers.

* On *Eſſex* the weekly Sum of 1687 *l.* 10 *s.* on *Suffolk*, 1875 *l.* on *Norfolk* and the City of *Norwich*, 1875 *l.* on *Hertfordſhire*, 675 *l.* on *Cambridgeſhire*, 562 *l.* on *Huntingtonſhire*, 330 *l.* on *Lincolnſhire*, 1218 *l.* on the Iſle of *Ely*, 221 *l.* 5 *s.* *Rapin* by miſtake calls it *Monthly Sum*. Ruſh V. p. 621.

*, His Army by Ordinance was to conſiſt of ſeven Regiments of Foot, each of 1000 Soldiers, divided into eight Companies, and the General's own Regiment of 1500, divided into twelve Companies, and of ſix Regiments of Horſe, each of 550 Troopers, divided into ſix Troops. *Whit.* p. 81.

the Ceſſation he had obtained, did not expire till the 15th of *June*. On the 24th, he ſallied out, and furiouſly attacked the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Men; but after a ſharp Conflict, was beaten back with loſs. 1644.

Prince Rupert *approaches* York. Ruſh. V. p. 631.

On *Sunday* the 30th of *June*, the Beſiegers had certain notice that Prince *Rupert* was advancing at the Head of an Army, which had mightily increaſed in their March, as well by the Troops drawn from ſeveral Garriſons as by *Goring*'s * Horſe, who had joined them, ſo that this Army was not inferior to the three that were employed in the Siege. The three Generals, after a ſhort Conſultation, thought it adviſeable to raiſe the Siege and join their Armies, whether with Deſign to give Battle, as ſome affirm, or to avoid it, as others pretend. Be this as it will, they went and poſted themſelves on *Marſton-More*. But though indeed Prince *Rupert* muſt have paſſed that way to come at them with his Army, they left however two Sides of *York* open, that Proviſions and Ammunition, and even Troops by ſmall Bodies might be conveyed in. If the Prince's Deſign had been only to relieve *York*, he had already done it effectually; and had nothing to do but to remain in his Poſt, and keep the Enemies at a Bay, till all Neceſſaries had been brought into the City. But that ſame Day, coming to *York* with a Guard of two Hundred Horſe only, he conferred with the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle*, or rather ſignified to him, that he intended to fight the Enemy according to his Majeſty's expreſs Orders.

The Siege is raiſed.

The Prince comes to York.

As the Prince was exceeding haughty, he made not the leaſt Compliment to the Marquiſs, upon the Authority he aſſumed, in reſolving to give Battle, contrary to the Marquiſs's Opinion, who maintained, that it was by no means requiſite in the preſent Juncture, and the rather as he expected five Thouſand Men, who were coming from the North to his Aſ-

Treats the Marquiſs haughtily, reſolves to fight.

* *Ruſhworth* ſays, it was Sir *Charles Lucas* that was ſent out by the Marquiſs, and that joined the Prince.

1644. ſiſtance. Moreover the Prince made no ſcruple to command, without ſaying any Thing to the Marquiſs, the Forces in *York* to be in a readineſs to come and join him next Morning in order to engage. Nevertheleſs theſe were Forces that the Marquiſs had levied, and all along commanded with great Reputation. Beſides, the Marquiſs's Birth and Merit ſeemed to require more regard from the Prince. Perhaps it never came into the Marquiſs's Thoughts to deſire a Sight of the King's expreſs Order, or elſe he believed it to be a great Affront to the Prince to expreſs the leaſt doubt of ſuch an Order. However this be, he told him, he was ready to obey his Highneſs in all Things, who might diſpoſe of his Troops as he pleaſed; and for his own Part, he would be contented to charge in the Battle as a Volunteer. His Diſguſt was ſtill heightned, when having asked the Prince what Service he would be pleaſed to command him, the Prince anſwered him, he would begin no Action upon the Enemy till early the next Morning, and deſired him to repoſe himſelf till then. Thus the Prince had the ſole Management of the Battle he intended to fight, without conſulting the Marquiſs any more. Though he had ordered the Forces in *York* to come and join his Army, it does not appear that he had aſſigned any Command or Poſt to the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle*, it may be by reaſon of his ſaying he would be in the Battle as a Volunteer. It cannot be denied that this Behaviour was very hard to a Lord who had always ſhown for the King a Zeal and Affection not to be ſurpaſſed, and hardly to be equalled.

The Parliament Generals retire. Kuſh. V. p. 632.

In the Night, the three Parliament-Generals having conſidered that the Place was relieved, and believing Prince *Rupert* had no farther Deſign than to lay in good ſtore of Proviſions, reſolved to march to *Tadcaſter*, *Cawood*, and *Selby*, as well to preſerve the *Eaſt-Riding*, as to hinder the furniſhing *York* with Proviſions from thence. Accordingly they began their march early in the Morning, the *Scots* leading

the Van. But about nine a Clock they had Intelligence that the Prince was drawing near with his Army, and indeed he was come before with five Thouſand Horſe, and preſſed cloſe upon their Rear. Whereupon they were obliged to draw up ſpeedily in order of Battle, and call back their Van, which made all poſſible haſte to re-join them. Luckily for them, the Foot which the Prince had drawn out of *York*, could not be ſpeedy enough to come up with his Army till Noon, and this gave the *Scots* Time to join again with the reſt of their Army, which they had left in the Morning. The Armies were both drawn up about two a Clock in the Afternoon. But there was between them a deep and large Ditch, which Neither cared to paſs for fear of giving the Enemy too great an Advantage. For this Reaſon they ſtood looking upon one another above two Hours, each deſiring that the other would begin the Battle. 1644.

The Prince forces them to engage.

Prince *Rupert* himſelf headed his Left-Wing *, conſiſting of five Thouſand Horſe. His Right-Wing was commanded by Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Colonel *Hurry*, and the main Body by General *Goring*. It does not appear that the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle* had any Command in this Action. The Parliament's Right-Wing oppoſite to Prince *Rupert*, was led by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, the Left by the Earl of *Mancheſter*, aſſiſted by *Oliver Cromwell*, who ſerved in his Army as Lieutenant-General. In the main Battalia towards the Right was the Lord *Fairfax*, and General *Leven* towards the Left. At laſt, between ſix and ſeven a Clock in the Evening, the Parliament-Generals gave the *Signal*, and marched towards the Enemies. I ſhall not pretend to deſcribe this Battle, becauſe in all the Accounts I have ſeen, I meet with ſo little Order and Clearneſs, that I cannot expect to

Battle of Marſton-moor. July 2. Ruſh. V. p. 632.

* *Ruſhworth* ſays, the Prince led the Left Wing, and *Mancheſter* and *Cromwell* the Right of the Enemy, and that *Oliver Cromwell* was hard preſſed by the Prince's Horſe, and wounded above the Shoulders, but at length he broke through.

1644. give a satisfactory Idea of it, to such of my Readers as understand these Matters. I shall content my self with relating one particular Circumstance besides the Success in general. The Left-Wing of the King's Army, commanded by Prince *Rupert*, was entirely routed by the Parliament's Right-Wing, whilst the King's Right-Wing had the same Advantage over the Left of the Parliament. The two victorious Wings, after chacing their Enemies, returned to the Field of Battle, and met one another Face to Face, I know not by what Accident, so that each stood on the same Ground that the Enemy possessed in the beginning of the Battle. Here the Fight was renewed, and maintained on both Sides with great Warmth and Vigour, till at last Night approaching, the King's Horse were put to flight, and pursued as long as Day would permit. It was probably at this Time that the Prince's Foot were routed also. I say probably, because in the Description of this Battle, it is not seen what the Foot did. But this is not the only Time that we are left in the Dark when we read in Histories the Descriptions of Battles. They are generally made by Persons who have not the least Tincture of the Art of War, and who by dwelling upon some needless Circumstances, pass over those that might give the intelligent Reader clear Notions of the Thing. It suffices therefore to say in a Word that the Prince's Army was pursued within a Mile of *York*, where they retired in the Night. The Countrymen who were commanded to bury the Dead, gave out that they interred four Thousand one Hundred and fifty Bodies. It was reported that three Thousand of the Prince's Men were killed. But the Conquerors affirmed, they lost not above three Hundred *.

The Prince's Army is routed.

Though

* Sir *Charles Lucas*, Major General *Porter*, Major General *Tilyard*, and the Lord *Goring*'s Son were among the Prisoners. Among the Colours were Prince *Rupert*'s Standard, with the Arms of the Palatine, and a Red-Cross in the middle; a Yellow Coronet, in the middle a Lion Couchant, and behind him a Mastiff, seeming

Though Prince *Rupert* had always been victorious when he had commanded in Chief, it is not very ſurpriſing that he ſhould once be worſted, this is a Misfortune incident to the greateſt Generals. But his Reſolution to march away next Day with his Army muſt needs appear very ſtrange. His Horſe had not ſuffered much, becauſe they had taken to flight betimes, at leaſt thoſe of the Left-Wing, commanded by himſelf, and his Foot were alſo in tolerable good Condition, the greateſt Storm having fallen upon the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle*'s. He might therefore have defended *York*, and waited the King's Reſolutions upon this fatal Accident. So this extraordinary Purpoſe can ſcarce be imputed but to an exceſſive Shame and Vexation, which hindered him from conſidering what Prejudice he was going to bring to the King his Uncle's Affairs. He ſent the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle* notice of his Deſign, juſt as the Marquiſs was ſending him Word that he was inſtantly going to leave the Kingdom. They both put their Reſolutions in Practice. The Marquiſs repaired that very Day to *Scarborough*, and embarked for *Hamburgh* *, and the Prince left *York* and marched towards *Cheſter* with the Remains of his Army. It is no hard Matter to gueſs at the Reaſon why the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle* quitted the King's Service, after having been ſo unworthily treated by Prince *Rupert*. He believed doubtleſs that he could not with Honour reſume his 1644.

ing to ſnatch at him, and in a Label from his Mouth written, *Kimbolton*; at his Feet little Beagles, and before their Mouths written, *Pym, Pym, Pym*; and out of the Lion's Mouth theſe Words proceeding,—*Quouſque tandem abutêre Patientiâ noſtrâ?* Ruſh. V. p. 635.

* With him went his two Sons, *Charles* Viſcount *Mansfield*, and *Henry* Lord *Cavendiſh* his Brother, Sir *Charles Cavendiſh*, Dr. *Bramhal* Biſhop of *London-derry*, the Lord *Falconbridge*, the Lord *Withrington*, the Earl of *Elthyne*, the Lord *Cornwarth*, and Sir *William Carnaby*. On the 8th of *July* they arrived at *Hamburgh*. The Marquiſs came no more to *England* till after the Reſtoration of *Charles* II. Ruſh. V. p. 637.

1644. former Command, having been deemed incapable to ſerve the King on ſo important an Occaſion. Nay, it is very probable that he imagined the Prince would not have dealt ſo haughtily and hardly with him, if he had not thought his Actions would be approved of. Nevertheleſs the Prince could not afterwards produce in his Vindication any Thing but the King's Letter above-mentioned, which he underſtood in a Senſe the King himſelf had never dreamt of *. It may then be affirmed, that his committing ſo many Errors one after another, was entirely owing to his exceſſive Haughtineſs and Pride.

The taking of York. Ruſh. V. p. 637. The Parliament-Generals made the moſt of their Victory, and the Diſſention of their Enemies. They returned to their Poſts before *York*, which was left to the Diſcretion of Sir *Thomas Glemham* the Governour, who ſeeing himſelf unable to hold out long, ſurrendered this important Place upon honourable Terms. They were no ſooner in Poſſeſſion of *York* but the three Armies ſeparated. The Lord *Fairfax* with his Forces remained at *York*, as Governour. The Earl of *Manchester* marched towards *Lincoln* not to be far, without Neceſſity, from the aſſociated Counties, whoſe Troops he commanded. The Earl of *Leven* with the *Scotch* Army marched northward to join with the Earl of *Calendar*, who was advancing with a ſtrong Reinforcement from *Scotland*. When theſe Forces were joined he went and laid Siege to *Newcaſtle*, which ſurrendered upon Diſcretion about the End of *October* *. Thus the Battle of *Marſton-moor* was the Cauſe of the King's loſing all the North, which hitherto had given the Parliament Forces a powerful Diverſion. But this was not all the Miſchief the King had to fear. He was in Danger of the three victorious Armies coming and joining in the Heart of the Kingdom with thoſe of the Earl of *Eſſex* and Sir

The three Armies ſeparate.

The Scots *take* Newcaſtle.

* This Letter was produced only to his Friends and after the King's Death. *Clarend.* II. p. 516.

* It was taken by Storm, *October* the 19th Ruſh. V. p. 651.

Sir *William Waller*, and of their taking at once all the Places which were ſtill in his Hands. This was the more to be feared, as when he heard of the Defeat of his Army at *Marſton-moor*, he was himſelf marching to the Relief of the *Weſt*, where the Earl of *Eſſex* then was with an Army which the King's Forces in thoſe Parts were not able to withſtand. This is what I am now to explain, and withal to ſpeak of what paſſed at *Oxford*, whilſt the northern Armies were in Action. 1644.

Extraordinary Preparations of the Parliament for the Campaign of 1644. Rush V. P. 653. March 26. 30.

The Parliament ſeem by their extraordinary Preparations in the Beginning of the Year 1644, to have intended to put a ſpeedy Concluſion to the War. Beſides, the Armies of the Lord *Fairfax* and *Scotland*, and that of the Earl of *Mancheſter*, which was paid by the eaſtern Counties, a new Regulation was made the latter End of the Month of *March*, for the Maintenance of Seven Thouſand Five Hundred Foot, and Three Thouſand Horſe, to be commanded by the Earl of *Eſſex*. At the ſame time by another Ordinance, the Four ſouthern aſſociated Counties, namely, *Kent*, *Suſſex*, *Surry* and *Hampſhire* were to maintain an Army of Three Thouſand Six Hundred Foot, Twelve Hundred Horſe, and Five Hundred Dragoons, under the Command of Sir *William Waller*. Theſe were not new Armies; they ſubſiſted before the Regulation; but the Buſineſs in Hand was to recruit them, compleat the Number fixed by the Parliament, and ſettle the neceſſary weekly Payment of their Subſiſtence-Money. *

Reſolution to ſend Waller *into the Weſt.*

Though Sir *William Waller* was worſted at the Battle of *Roundway-Down*, the two Houſes were ſo far from loſing their Eſteem for him, that they reſolved to ſend him into the *Weſt* with an Army capable of withſtanding Prince *Maurice*, who found no more Oppoſition in thoſe Parts. The King having notice of this Deſign, reſolved to do what he could not only to

The King tries to prevent it.

* Beſides the Money ariſing from the forfeited Eſtates in *Hampſhire* and *Suſſex*, the weekly Sum of 2638 *l.* was to be levied in the Four aſſociated Counties for *Waller*'s Army.

1644. to hinder *Waller*'s March into the *West*, but also to break the Association of the four southern Counties, where he had many Friends, and even hoped to procure an Association of these same Counties in his Favour. To that purpose, he gave the Lord *Hopton* * an Army consisting of Troops drawn out of several Garrisons, and of two Regiments of Foot lately come to *Bristol* from *Ireland* *1. As soon as these Forces were drawn together, the Lord *Hopton* went and posted himself at *Winchester*, where Sir *John Berkley* brought him two Regiments more newly raised by him in *Devonshire*, and the King sent him a Detachment of a Thousand Men commanded by Sir *Jacob Ashley*. All these Forces together made an Army of Four Thousand Foot, and Fifteen Hundred Horse, with which he resolved to march into *Sussex*. *Waller*, who was then quartered about *Farnham*, assembled his Troops and faced the Enemy: but after some slight Skirmishes, he retired into *Farnham*-Castle, from whence he took a Journey to *London*, to represent to the Parliament his want of Supplies, without which it would not be possible to perform what had been enjoined him.

He sends Hopton *to the southward.*

Immediately after *Waller*'s Departure for *London*, the Lord *Hopton* marched with part of his Army to attack *Arundel*-Castle, which was surrendered upon Terms. But having Intelligence a few Days after that *Waller* was returned to *Farnham* with a strong Reinforcement, he came back to his Army.

Hopton *takes* Arundel-*Castle.*

Waller's Journey to *London* answered his Expectation. Besides a Brigade of *Londoners* under Major-General *Brown*, he procured an Order of Parliament to the Earl of *Essex* to send him from his Army a Thousand Horse under the Command of Sir *William Balfour*. He was no sooner returned to *Farnham* with these Supplies, but he marched all Night,

Waller *retakes it.*

* Sir *Ralph Hopton* was created Lord *Hopton* of *Stratton*, *Sept.* 4. 1643, at *Oxford*, though by mistake *Rapin* still calls him *Chevalier Hopton*.

*1 Under Sir *Charles Vavasor* and Sir *John Paulet*.

Night, and at break of Day beat up one of the Lord *Hopton*'s Quarters at *Alton*, and carried away Priſoners Colonel *Boles*'s Regiment of Foot *; a Troop or two of Horſe which were in the ſame Quarrers having taken to flight in time. Then he marched directly to *Arundel*-Caſtle, and made the Garriſon Priſoners. Here the learned Mr. *Chillingworth* was taken, and died within few Days. 1644.

Battle of Alresford, *wherein the Lord* Hopton *is defeated.* Ruſh. V. p. 654. Mar. 29.

The King hearing of the Supplies given to *Waller*, ſent a Reinforcement to the Lord *Hopton*. The Earl of *Forth*, the King's General *1, had a mind to go, but refuſed the Command which the Lord *Hopton* would have reſigned to him. The Lord *Hopton* having now an Army Five or Six Thouſand ſtrong, reſolved to give *Waller* Battle, and begun his March with that Intent, juſt as *Waller* was advancing towards him with the ſame Reſolution. The two Armies met between *Farnham* and *Wincheſter* on *Cheriton-Down* near *Alresford*, where the Battle was fought the 29th of *March*. The Lord *Hopton* was defeated and forced to retire to *Reading*, and afterwards to *Oxford* *2. *Waller* marched to *Wincheſter*, and became Maſter of the City, but did not think proper to beſiege the Caſtle, [which was his own Inheritance] becauſe he had more important Affairs elſewhere, as will be ſeen preſently. The Lord *Clarendon* pretends the Loſs ſuſtained by *Waller* at *Alresford* hindered him from improving his Advantage and marching into the *Weſt*, as he had reſolved. But it may be affirmed, that this was not the thing that prevented his going to the Weſtward. It was rather owing to the Parliament's Reſolutions, by whom he was recalled to *London*, after having diſmiſſed the Auxiliary Regiments

* The Colonel had retired with his Men into the Church, but had not time to barricade the Doors. So the Enemy entering with him, his Soldiers threw down their Arms, and asked Quarter, which was alſo offered to the Colonel, who refuſing it, was killed.

*1 Lately made Earl of *Brentford*.

*2 In this Battle, on the King's Side, fell the Lord *John Stewart*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*, and Sir *John Smith* a Papiſt, Brother to the Lord *Carrington*. Clarend. II. p. 475.

1644. Regiments of that City and *Kent*, which were also come to join with him.

Resolution to besiege Oxford. Both Houses perceiving that by the fatal Blow the King had just received at *Alresford*, his Army was disheartned and considerably lessened; that moreover, they had Forces enough in the *North* to have nothing to fear from the Marquis of *Newcastle*, who was shut up in *York*, resolved to lay Siege to *Oxford*, where the King was with his Army. So, having dropped or put off their Design of sending *Waller* into the *West*, they laboured with all possible Diligence to put the two Armies of *Essex* and *Waller* upon the Foot settled by their Ordinance, that they might act together against *Oxford*.

The King had all along imagined that *Waller*'s Design was to march towards the western Parts. For which reason he had at first drawn his Forces together at *Marlborough*, and afterwards posted himself at *Newbury*, where he had remained some time, till he should be able to discover more fully his Enemies Designs. But having at length found the Parliament had altered their Measures, he was come to *Reading*, and had caused the Fortifications to be demolished, in order to strengthen his Army with the Garrison consisting of Two Thousand Five Hundred Men. He had also ordered Prince *Rupert* to come and join him: but after that he had given him leave to go and relieve *Latham-House*, where the Countess of *Derby* was besieged. With the Addition of the *Reading* Garrison, his Army was increased to Eight Thousand Five Hundred Foot, and Four Thousand Horse. But being still ignorant what the Enemy intended, he thought proper to retire to *Oxford* with his whole Army.

The Earl of Essex *and* Waller *march towards* Oxford. Rush. V. p. 668. Mean while the Parliament, who had for some time found means to take their Resolutions with more Secrecy than formerly, perceiving the two Armies of *Essex* and *Waller* ready to march, sent to each a Supply of Four Thousand Two Hundred of the Train'd-bands of *London*. So the Earl of *Essex*'s Army consisted

siſted of Twelve Thouſand Foot, and Three Thouſand Horſe; and *Waller*'s of Seven Thouſand Foot, and Fifteen Hundred Horſe and Dragoons. Theſe two Generals had Orders to march ſeparately, and lay ſiege to *Oxford*, if the King ſtayed there; but if he went from thence, the Earl of *Eſſex* was ordered to follow him with his Army, and *Waller* to march into the *Weſt*, according to the former Project. They ſate out from *London* on the 14th and 15th of *May*, to go and put themſelves at the Head of their reſpective Armies, and immediately marched towards *Oxford*. 1644.

Abington abandoned by the King, and poſſeſſed by the Earl of Eſſex.

The King had poſted almoſt all his Infantry at *Abington*, with Deſign to ſtop the Enemies there a little, that he might have time to conſider what courſe he ſhould take in caſe they really intended to beſiege *Oxford*, which he ſtill queſtioned. As *Abington* could not be eaſily defended but on the Eaſt-ſide, and as he was willing to run no unneceſſary Hazard, he had ordered General *Wilmot* to make a vigorous Defence, if he was attacked on that Side, but if on the *Weſt* from *Wantage* and *Farrington* to quit the Place. But whether the Order was not plain and full, or for ſome other reaſon, *Wilmot*, at the Enemies Approach, [on the Eaſt-ſide] immediately retired to *Oxford*, and the Earl of *Eſſex* inſtantly entered the Town of *Abington*. The King perceiving the Siege of *Oxford* was reſolved upon, had but one way to hinder it, which was to defend the Paſſes of the Rivers *Iſis* and *Cherwel*, which run on the Weſt and Eaſt-ſides of the City, and to that end he quartered his Horſe near the *Iſis*, and his Foot towards the *Cherwel*. As the Motions of the Parliament Armies entirely proceeding from the Situation of *Oxford* and the adjacent Country, and as, without the Knowledge of thoſe Parts, ſcarce any thing would be intelligible, I ſhall paſs over the Particulars, which to me ſeem not abſolutely neceſſary, and content my ſelf with ſaying, that *Waller* found means at laſt to gain the Paſs at *Newbridge* over the *Iſis*, which enabled him to go and fall upon the Rear of the King's Foot that were defending

1644. *The King withdraws from* Oxford *with his Horſe.* June 3.

ſending the *Cherwel**. Whereupon the King drew all his Forces into *Oxford* and to the *North* of the City, with thoughts at the ſame time of providing for the Safety of his Perſon, not judging it proper to ſuffer himſelf to be ſhut up. There was no time to loſe, for the King's Troops were hardly retired, when the Earl of *Eſſex* paſſed the *Cherwel* at *Goſworth*-Bridge with his Army. So the King giving Orders to his Horſe and a ſmall Body of Foot to wait for him at ſuch a Place, went out of *Oxford* the 3d of *June* about Nine a-Clock at Night, and ſafely paſſed between the two Parliament Armies *1. He was out of all danger of Purſuit before the News of his Retreat reached the Enemies, and came at length to *Worceſter*, after having endured great Fatigue.

The two Generals relinquiſh the Deſign of beſieging Oxford.

The Two Generals were extremely ſurprized when they heard the King had eſcaped them. But it was too late to hope to overtake him. Mean while, the City of *Oxford* being well ſtored with Proviſions and Ammunition, and the King having left there almoſt all his Foot, they did not think fit to beſiege the Place, and the rather, as they had no Orders to do it unleſs the King ſhould ſtay there. The Parliament's Intention was, that in caſe the King quitted *Oxford*, the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould follow him with his Army, and *Waller* go with his and take care of the Affairs of the *Weſt*. But the Earl of *Eſſex*, for what reaſon it is not known, reverſed this Order, and marched himſelf into the *Weſt*. And when *Waller* urged the Parliament's Orders, the Earl of *Eſſex* poſitively commanded him, as his General, to obey, to which the other could make no Reply. So the Earl immediately

The Earl marches into the Weſt, contrary to the Parliament's Orders.

* The Lord *Clarendon* ſays, he might have brought over all his Army and fallen upon the King's Rear, not that he did. *Clarendon* II. p. 487.

*1 He went that Night to Mr. *Parret*'s at *Northlye*, where next Morning he drew up his Army, and went that Afternoon to *Burton on the Water*, where he lodged at Dr *Temple*'s the Prince's Chaplain. On the 5th he marched to *Everſham*, and on *Thurſday* the 6th to the City of *Worceſter*.

diately begun his March towards the *Weſt*. The Parliament were very much offended with the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Diſobedience, and ſent him an Order, which reached him at *Salisbury*, to return back, follow the King, and leave to *Waller* the weſtern Expedition. But the Earl, inſtead of complying, ſent a Letter to the Committee of War *, with the Reaſons of his Conduct, ſubſcribing his Letter, *Your Innocent, though ſuſpected Servant*, Eſſex. Whether both Houſes were ſatisfied with the Earl's Reaſons, or believed it proper not to incenſe him in ſuch a Juncture, they ſuffered him to purſue his March, which he did in a ſlow and eaſy Manner, till he came into *Devonſhire*. 1644.

The Queen retires into France.

The Queen had been ever ſince the Month of *April* at *Exeter*, the Capitol of that County, where ſhe was brought to Bed of the Princeſs *Henrietta*, about a Fortnight or Three Weeks before the Earl of *Eſſex*'s coming. As ſoon as ſhe heard of his entering *Devonſhire*, ſhe ſent and deſired a Safe-Conduct to retire to *Briſtol*. The Earl of *Eſſex* anſwered, that if her Majeſty would pleaſe to go to *London*, he would have the Honour to wait upon her thither; but could not give her a Safe-Conduct to *Briſtol* without the expreſs Order of both Houſes. Whereupon the Queen withdrew into *Cornwal*, and ſome time after into *France*, with a Convoy of Men of War ſent her by the Prince of *Orange*.

Prince Maurice *raiſes the Siege of* Lyme *and retires to* Exeter. Ruſh. V. p. 682. June 15.

Prince *Maurice* had been ever ſince the 20th of *April* before the little Town of *Lyme*, which held out with more Obſtinacy than was expected. This Town and *Plymouth* were almoſt the only ones in all the *Weſt* that were for the Parliament. It was therefore neceſſary for the Parliament to have in thoſe Parts Forces capable of reviving the Courage of their Friends, who had received no Aſſiſtance ſince Prince *Maurice*'s coming. At the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Approach, who

* There was a Committee of both Kingdoms reſiding at *London* for the carrying on the War. There was uſually a Committee of the Parliament in the Armies likewiſe.

1644. who was now advanced as far as *Dorcheſter*, the Prince raiſed the Siege of *Lyme* and retired to *Exeter*. The ſame Day the Earl of *Eſſex* poſſeſſed himſelf at *Dorcheſter*. Then he detached Sir *William Balfour*, who took *Weymouth*, whither the Earl of *Eſſex* inſtantly repaired. He had ſome Thoughts of beſieging *Exeter*, and indeed marched that way: but conſidering that Prince *Maurice* was entered there with his Army, he was afraid of loſing too much time in the Siege, and ſtopped at *Chard*, where he ſtayed ſome time, and from thence marched to *Tiverton*. Whereupon, Prince *Maurice* ſent a Detachment from *Exeter*, with Orders to ſecure *Barnſtable*: but the Inhabitants ſhut the Gates againſt them, and immediately ſent to the Earl of *Eſſex* to come and take Poſſeſſion of the Town, which was done accordingly by the Lord *Roberts*. Here was taken one Captain *Howard*, who having been formerly Lieutenant to Captain *Pym*, had run away with Nineteen Troopers to the King's Party; for which being now tried by a Council of War, he was condemned and executed. Upon this Prince *Maurice* cauſed a Sea-Captain, called *Turpin*, who was taken Priſoner in attempting to relieve *Exeter*, when the Earl of *Stamford* was beſieged in it, to be hanged. He being indicted for levying Arms againſt the King, was by the Judges, *Heath*, *Forſter*, *Banks* and Serjeant *Glanvil* condemned, but hitherto reprieved by reaſon of the Conſequences. The Parliament took this Man's Death very ill, as his Caſe was quite different from *Howard*'s, he being a Priſoner of War, and *Howard* a Deſerter. Wherefore having Serjeant *Glanvil* in their Cuſtody, who had lately quitted the King's Party and returned to *London*, they ordered him to be impeached of High-Treaſon. Soon after the King's Party cauſed Fourteen Clothiers to be hanged at *Woodhouſe* in *Wiltſhire* *, and the Parliament

Eſſex's Progreſs in the Weſt.

Captain Howard *hanged for Deſertion.*

Captain Turpin *hanged in revenge.*

* One of the Clothiers breaking his Halter, deſired that what he had ſuffered might be accepted, or elſe that he might fight againſt any Two for his Life. But he was hanged up again. *Lud. Mem.* p. 120.

liament ordered Eight *Iriſhmen* to be executed, who had been made Priſoners in ſome Action. Theſe are the ſad Effects of Civil Wars. Such Executions gave occaſion to the Parliament in the Month of *Auguſt* following, to erect a Court-Martial, to which were given very ſevere Inſtructions chiefly with reſpect to Deſerters. About the middle of *July*, the Town of *Taunton-Dean* was taken for the Parliament, by a Party of the Garriſon of *Lyme*. * 1644.

I am obliged for a while to break off the Narrative of the Affairs of the *Weſt*, to relate what the King did after he had ſafely eſcaped from *Oxford*.

The King's March after his Flight from Oxford.

He arrived the 6th of *June* at *Worceſter* with his little Army: but he ſtayed there only a few Days, having heard *Waller* was marching that way. When he quitted *Worceſter*, he made ſeveral Marches and Counter-marches to deceive the Vigilance of his Enemy, not being ſtrong enough to venture to expect him. At laſt, having made a Show of marching towards *Shrewsbury*, *Waller* doubted not but his Deſign was to go and join with Prince *Rupert*, who was ſtill in thoſe Parts. For this was before the Battle of *Marſton-Moor*. He thought therefore he ſhould do a great Thing in getting before, and poſting himſelf between the King and *Shrewsbury*, in order to hinder his joining with the Prince. The King was very glad he had deceived *Waller*. As ſoon as he knew that *Waller* expected him upon that Rout, he feigned really to intend that Courſe. But ſuddenly turning about, inſtead of continuing his march towards *Shrewsbury*, he took the Road to *Oxford*, and left *Waller* in his Poſt without any poſſibility of overtaking him. As ſoon as he came near *Oxford*, he was joined by the reſt of his Army, which he had left behind when he quitted that City. Then, ſtanding no longer in fear of *Waller*, as he was now ſtronger than he, he went and quartered in *Bucking-*

Waller follows him.

* They were led on by Sir *Robert Pye* and Colonel *Blake*, Ruſh. V. p. 685.

1643. *hamshire*, without any other Design but to give the Enemy Battle if occasion offered.

The Fight at Cropedy-Bridge. Rush. V. p. 686. Jan. 29.

Waller having been thus circumvented, approached the King however, and at length the two Armies were in sight, with the River *Cherwel* between them. *Waller* drew up his Men on a very advantageous Ground, imagining the King would pass the River to come and attack him, and thereby furnish him with an Opportunity to fight with Advantage. But the King, to draw him off from this Post, marched away, as if he would enter further into *Northamptonshire*, leaving a strong Guard at *Cropedy*-Bridge to hinder the Enemies passing, and following him in the Rear. Whilst he was marching, he had Intelligence that there was a Body of Three Hundred Horses going to join with *Waller*, within two Miles of the Van of his Army, and it was hinted to him that they might be easily cut off if the Army mended their pace. Whereupon Orders were sent to the Van and main Body to move faster. As soon as *Waller* perceived there was a great Distance between the King's Rear and the rest of his Army, he detached a Thousand Horse to pass over at a Ford a Mile below, and himself, with Fifteen Hundred Horse, One Thousand Foot, and Eleven Pieces of Cannon, attacked *Cropedy*-Bridge, carried it, and passed his Troops over. Which done, he fell upon the King's Rear; but was beaten back with Loss of many of his Men, and part of his Cannon. This is all that can be gathered with any Clearness from the Accounts of this Battle *. The Detachment that had passed at the Ford had much the same Success. *Waller* being thus repulsed, and forced to repass the River, drew up his

* It is great pity that *Rapin* should never see *Whitlock*'s *Memoirs*, from whence he would have had not only a fuller Account of this and other Battles, but also Grounds for many curious Remarks. *Whitlock* says, Colonel *Middleton* being dismounted, the Royalists taking him to be one of their Commanders, mounted him again, wishing him to make haste and kill a Round Head, by which means he escaped. *Whit.* p. 88.

his Men on a Hill, and there waited the King's Motions. As it was yet but Three a-Clock in the Afternoon, the King believing that the Enemies were diſheartned with their ill Succeſs, ordered *Cropedy*-Bridge and the Ford to be attacked by two great Detachments. The Firſt was repulſed at the Bridge with great Loſs on the King's Side. The other gained the Ford: but all that could be done was to maintain it, expecting in vain till Night that the firſt Detachment would recover the Bridge. Night coming on, both Sides retired, *Waller* remaining Maſter of the two Paſſes. 1644.

The King was ſo prepoſſeſſed with the Notion that the Enemies Army was entirely diſcouraged, that he reſolved to ſend them an Offer of Pardon by a Herald, imagining it would be immediately accepted, and *Waller* deſerted. In this Belief he ſent a Trumpeter to *Waller*, to deſire a Safe-Conduct for a Gentleman who ſhould deliver a gracious Meſſage from his Majeſty. *Waller* anſwered, he had no Power to receive any Meſſage of Grace without Permiſſion from the Parliament, to whom his Majeſty might if he pleaſed make his Addreſſes. The two Armies faced each other for the Space of two Days, ſtanding in the ſame Poſture, after which they both drew off, each taking a different Rout *. In all appearance, *Waller* after this Loſs, did not think himſelf in Condition to go any more in queſt of the King, who was ſuperior to him in Number. As it was much about this time that the Report of Prince *Rupert*'s Defeat at *Marſton-moor* was ſpread abroad, *Waller* thought without doubt that there was no great neceſſity to hazard a ſecond Battle, ſince the King would probably be very much diſtreſſed. When he knew afterwards that the King was marching towards

* *Ruſhworth* and *Whitlock* both ſay the King drew off firſt, and then *Waller* marched over *Cropedy*-Bridge. *Rapin* follows the Lord *Clarendon*'s Account.

1644. the *West*, he gave himself still less trouble about what the King might Attempt, since it was the Earl of *Essex*'s Business to get off as he pleased. There was not Friendship enough between them, for *Waller* to be much concerned at what might happen to the Earl. Perhaps too, his not being able to follow the King, who was marching against the Earl of *Essex*, was the Reason why he dismissed the Regiments of the *London*-Auxiliaries, which added to his Loss at *Cropedy*, disabled him to act till he had fresh Troops.

Rush. V. p. 687.

The King marches towards the West.

The King, who in the Beginning of this Campaign was sadly penned up, within little more than a Month had room enough; of the two Armies which had attacked him, one was unable to hurt him, and the other was gone into the *West*, where he himself was very strong. In the first place, he was Master of all the fortified Towns, *Plymouth* only excepted. Secondly, he had at *Bristol* a large Garrison, part whereof he might draw out upon occasion. In the third Place, almost all the Gentry of the western Counties were well-affected to him. There were only the meaner sort of People that were divided between him and the Parliament, but who however were always ready to side with the strongest. Lastly, Prince *Maurice* had at *Exeter*, and in the adjacent Parts, Four Thousand Men, which he could easily lead to him by the *North* of *Devonshire*, without the Earl of *Essex* being able to prevent him. All these Considerations determined him to march westward, in order to give the Earl of *Essex* Battle, if an Opportunity offered. He had scarce begun his March, when he received the ill News of what had passed at *York*, which confirmed him in his former Resolution to follow the Earl of *Essex*. He perceived, that should he remain in the Middle of the Kingdom, where he had few Friends or fortified Towns, the Three Parliament Armies, which were now separated, would not fail to join again, and then he should be too weak to withstand them.

As

As ſoon as the King had taken this Reſolution, he informed Prince *Maurice* of it, that he might be in readineſs to come and join him. And by the ſame Expreſs ſent Orders to the Lord *Hopton* to draw what Men he could out of *Wales* into *Briſtol*, that he might meet him on the way with thoſe Troops, and as many more as he could poſſibly take out of that Garriſon. So the King making eaſy Marches in order to give the *Welſh* Troops time to join him, came the 15th of *July* to *Bath*, from whence after two Days ſtay he departed, and at length arrived at *Exeter*. When all the Forces he had ſent for had joined him, he ſaw himſelf at the Head of an Army much more numerous than the Earl of *Eſſex*'s. 1644.

The King's Meſſage to both Houſes for Peace not anſwered. July 4. Ruſh V. p. 687.

Five Days after the Fight at *Cropedy*-Bridge, the King being at *Eveſham*, cauſed to be drawn up a Meſſage for Peace to both Houſes, a Copy whereof was ſent to the Earl of *Eſſex* by the Marquiſs of *Hertford* to be communicated to the Parliament, it being intimated that the *French* Agent had the Original to deliver if required. This Meſſage directed *To the Lords and Commons of Parliament aſſembled at* Weſtminſter, contained a general Offer to treat of Peace, and if Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to him, he would grant them a Safe-Conduct. The two Houſes, who were ever jealous of the King, thought there was ſome Artifice concealed in his ſending them only a Copy of the Meſſage, and that his Aim was to engage them to demand the Original of the *French* Agent. Beſides, they did not conceive themſelves to be owned by the Direction of this Meſſage as the two Houſes of Parliament, and therefore imagined the King had a mind to reſerve to himſelf the Power of ſaying, that he did not acknowledge them for the true Parliament of *England**, and indeed he ought

* The Author being obſcure in this Place, and having miſtaken the Direction of the Meſſage as in *Ruſhworth*, the Tranſlation is according to the laſt.

1644. not, according to his Principles, since he had published the fore-mentioned Declaration against them. Wherefore they resolved to take no notice of the Message, nor return any Answer.

The King's Speech to the Somersetshire Men. July 23. Rush. V. p. 688.

Whilst the King stayed at *Bath*, he had summoned in the Inhabitants of *Somersetshire* *, and made a Speech to them, exhorting them to take up Arms for him, and furnish him with Money. He told them, "that Victory was the only means left to restore Peace "to the Nation, that blessed Peace which he had so "often sought for from them at *Westminster*, and which "they had so scornfully rejected. But, *continued he*, "when I mention Peace, I would be understood to "intend that Peace which is built upon such Foun-"dations as are most likely to render it firm and sta-"ble; wherein God's true Religion may be best "secured from the Danger of Popery, Sectaries, "and Innovations; the Crown may possess those "just Prerogatives which may enable me to pro-"tect and govern my People according to Law; "and the Subjects be confirmed in those Rights "which they have derived from their Forefathers, "and which I have granted them in Parliament; "to which I shall always be ready to add such "new Graces, as I shall find most to conduce to "their Happiness: This is the Peace which I la-"bour for, wherein I may justly expect your "best Assistance with your Hearts, and Hands, and "Purses."

For the clear understanding of the King's Meaning, not only in this, but on all other the like Occasions without exception, it must be considered, the Parliament did not deny that a King of *England* ought, according to the Laws of the Land, to enjoy such Prerogatives as his Majesty demanded; but they affirmed, he ought to do so for the Welfare, and not for the Destruction of the People. They urged that *Charles*

* To appear at a Place called *King's moor*.

Charles I. had made an ill uſe of theſe Prerogatives to deſtroy the Rights of the Subject, and from thence drew this Inference, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to put it out of his Power to do the like for the future, which could not be done any other way, than by depriving him of Part of the Prerogatives he had abuſed. They maintained, there was no room to reſt upon the King's bare Word, but that there was need of a ſtronger Fence to ſecure the Laws. The King, on his part, did not diſown he had made ill uſe of his Power. But he had repaired the Miſchief he had done, and proteſted his Intention was to govern for the Time to come, according to the Laws of the Land. What then was the Occaſion and Ground of the War? Why, the Parliament would not truſt to the King's Word; and the King refuſed to give any other Security. When therefore the King ſo frequently offered Peace, on Condition he ſhould be reſtored to all his Prerogatives, excepting thoſe he had departed from in this Parliament, he was ſo far from ſhowing by theſe Offers, that he was really and ſincerely deſirous of Peace, that they were rather a clear Evidence that nothing could ſatisfy him but an entire Victory, whether by Arms or Treaty. On the other Hand, when the Parliament ſeemed to wiſh for Peace, but on Condition that the King ſhould be ſtript of his Prerogatives, was not this in reality to deſire War, ſince it was deſiring to ſecure by a Treaty an Advantage which their Arms had hitherto rendered very uncertain? We muſt not therefore be led away with the ſound of the Word *Peace*, which was, as we ſee, a very ambiguous Term, and which both Sides, eſpecially the King, made ſhow of, to throw Duſt in the People's Eyes. I am in hopes this Remark will be of uſe to explain abundance of the like Paſſages in this Reign. 1644.

When the Earl of *Eſſex* heard of the King's Approach, he called a Council of War, to debate what was to be done in this Emergency. His own Opinion was, to return back, and hinder the King from entering *The Earl of* Eſſex *enters* Cornwall. Feb. 26.

1644. entering any farther into the Country, and to give him Battle if a favourable Opportunity offered. He repreſented that in *Devonſhire* or *Somerſetſhire*, as he ſhould not be ſtraitned in Room or Proviſions, he might either fight, or not as he ſhould think fit. But the Lord *Roberts* of *Truro* * Field-Marſhal in this Expedition, whoſe Eſtate lay all in *Cornwal*, poſitively affirmed, that as ſoon as the Army ſhould enter that County, the People would all declare for the Parliament, that then it would be impoſſible for the King to come there, and the Army might eaſily ſubſiſt, and be reinforced with a great Number of Troops. Upon this Aſſurance, which proved very falſe afterwards, the Lord *Roberts*, rather by a ſort of Violence, than the Strength of his Reaſons, cauſed it to be reſolved, that the Army ſhould march into *Cornwall*.

The King follows him.

Purſuant to this Reſolution, the Earl of *Eſſex* entered into that County the 26th of *July*, after having forced the Paſſage at *Newbridge*, which was bravely defended [by Sir *Richard Greenvil.*] The ſame Day the King came to *Exeter* *1, and after a General-Muſter of his Army, he followed the Earl of *Eſſex*, who did not find in *Cornwall* what the Lord *Roberts* had made him expect. He advanced however to *Lanceſton*, and from thence to *Bodmin*, where he diſpatched away Letters to the Parliament, ſignifying that he did not doubt but the King's Deſign was to ſtraiten him for Proviſions, and therefore earneſtly deſired that an Army might be ſent into the Weſt to lye upon the King's Rear, and hinder him from executing his Project. But as Sir *William Waller* was not in Condition to march, being then in *London*, ſolliciting Supplies for his Army, all that could be done was to

* So made in 14 *Jac.* 1. The Duke of *Buckingham* (as is ſaid in the 9th Article of the Impeachment againſt him) knowing him to be rich forced him to take the Honour, and pay him 10,000 *l.* for it.

*1 Where he found his young Daughter under the Care of the Lady *Dalkeith*.

to detach Colonel *Middleton* with two Thouſand five Hundred Horſe and Dragoons, with Orders to march weſtwards. 1644.

The King ſeeing the Earl of *Eſſex* intangled in a Country where he wanted Proviſions for the Subſiſtence of his Army, thought it a fair Opportunity to try to gain him. Wherefore he ſent him a Letter under his own Hand, perſwading him to free himſelf from the Straits he was in by reſtoring Peace to the Kingdom, that is to ſay, by declaring for ſuch a Peace as the King deſired. The Earl of *Eſſex* returning no Anſwer to this Letter, Prince *Maurice* and the Earl of *Forth*, lately made Earl of *Brentford*, the King's General, writ to him two Days after, and the next Day he received another Letter on the ſame Subject, ſigned by [the Lord *Hopton* and] many General Officers of the King's Army. At laſt, he returned an Anſwer to the Earl of *Brentford*, that he had no Commiſſion to treat. *The King's Letter to the Earl of* Eſſex. Aug. 6. Ruſh. V. p. 691.

About this Time the Lord *Wilmot*, Lieutenant-General of the King's Horſe, was arreſted [and ſent Priſoner to *Exeter*] by his Majeſty's Order, he having taken the Liberty to ſend the Earl of *Eſſex* Word, that if he would enter into Treaty, the Officers of the King's Army were ſo deſirous of Peace, they would conſtrain his Majeſty to conclude it upon reaſonable Terms. *Wilmot*'s Diſgrace bred ſome Murmurings amongſt the Officers of Horſe, by whom he was very much beloved. Nay, they preſented a Petition to the King, to pray him to let them know what Crime that Lord was accuſed of. The King in ſuch a Juncture, was very ready to give them this Satisfaction. Nevertheleſs the Lord *Wilmot* was deprived of his Poſt, which was given to the Lord *Goring*, after which, he had leave to retire beyond Sea *. Wilmot *arreſted by the King.* Ruſh V. p. 693.

It

* The Lord *Goring* was juſt come from Prince *Rupert*, with Letters to the King, requeſting that *Goring* might be made General of the Horſe in his Room. So that *Rapin* is miſtaken in ſaying he had *Wilmot*'s Poſt given him. For his Majeſty, the Day after his arreſting

1644. It was generally believed in the Army, that *Wilmot*'s Disgrace was owing to some Intrigue of the Court, and the King's private Hatred for him on account of the part he had acted against the Earl of *Strafford*.

The Earl of Essex is in great Straits.

The Earl of *Essex* was sensible too late of the Vanity of the Lord *Roberts*'s Promises. So far were the People of *Cornwall* from rising in his Favour, that on the contrary they ran in Crowds to join with the King's Army. The Earl could have no Provisions but by Sea, and in small Quantities, by means of a River which afforded him a Communication by Sea with *Plymouth* *. At last, Sir *Richard Greenvil* having brought the King a Supply of Troops, it was resolved in a Council of War, to make use of the Superiority of that Number, not only to compel the Earl of *Essex* to fight, but to cut off his Provisions entirely. This was happily effected by means of a Fort run up on the Bank of the River, by which the Enemies received their Provisions. Thus the Earl of *Essex* being reduced to the last Extremity, after having kept his Post almost a Month, resolved at last to abandon his Army, that he might not himself fall into the King's Hands. But before he did so, he ordered Sir *William Balfour* to endeavour to save the Horse, which he performed very fortunately in a dark misty Night, by passing unobserved through the King's Quarters. As soon as the Earl of *Essex* knew the Horse were out of Danger, he sent to the King and demanded a Parley; but before the Answer was returned, he took Ship with some Officers and retired to *Plymouth*, leaving Major-General *Skippon* to

He saves his Horse, quits the Army, and retires to Plymouth. Rush. V. p. 699.

ing him, told the Officers of Horse, he had justly restrained *Wilmot* for the present, but had not taken away from him his Command in the Army. However *Wilmot*, when he saw his mortal Enemy *Goring* put in the Command over him, thought himself incapable of Reparation, or full Vindication, so desired leave to retire into *France*, and had a Pass sent him for that Purpose. It seems the Earl of *Brentford* being grown old, the King designed to make Prince *Rupert* General.

* The King lay about *Liskard* and *Essex* at *Lestithiel*, from whence the River runs to *Foy*, of which Place *Essex* was Master.

to ſee to procure the beſt Terms he could for the Foot. 1644.

The King having granted the Parley deſired by the Earl of *Eſſex* before his Departure, a Conference was held between ſome Officers of both Armies, where the following Articles were agreed upon *.

I. That on the Morrow, being the 2d of *September*, all the Officers and Soldiers under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*, ſhall deliver up all their Cannons and Train of Artillery, with all Carriages, Neceſſaries and Materials thereunto belonging; and likewiſe all Arms offenſive and defenſive, with all Ammunition whatſoever, except only the Swords and Piſtols of all Officers above the degree of Corporals.

II. That immediately after, all Officers and Soldiers ſhall march out of their Quarters to *Leſtithiel* with their Colours, Trumpets, and Drums, and that all Officers above the Degree of Serjeants, ſhall take with them ſuch Horſes and Servants as properly belong

* *Whitlock*, who pretends to give an impartial Relation of this Affair, ſays, That the Earl of *Eſſex* did not ſend to Parley, but that after he was gone, ſome came by Deſign to the Parliament Forces, intimating, that the King was willing to admit of a Treaty with them, which was great Wiſdom and Gallantry in the King, chuſing rather to defeat them with their own Conſents, than Hazard the doubtful Tryal of a Battle. Upon this *Skippon* calls his Officers together to a Council of War, and declares he was for fighting his way through the Enemy as the Horſe had done. But few of the Council did concur with him, ſo the above mentioned Articles were agreed upon. Some of the Soldiers as they were marching forth, being pillaged by the King's Soldiers, *Skippon* rode up to the King, who ſtood to ſee them paſs by, and told him, "It was "againſt his Honour and Juſtice that the Soldiers ſhould be pilla-"ged, contrary to the Articles, and deſired his Majeſty to give Or-"der to reſtrain them," which the King did. There were delivered up 40 Pieces of Braſs Ordnance, 200 Barrels of Powder, and 9000 Arms for Horſe and Foot. See, ſays *Whitlock*, the uncertain Iſſues of War, a few Weeks before, *Eſſex* and *Waller*, with two great Armies were in purſuit of the King, who could ſcarce find a way to avoid them; and now the Parliament's Army is defeated, diſarmed and diſperſed, and the King becomes victorious. *Whit. Mem.* p. 98.

1644. belong to them, with all their Bag and Baggage, and Waggons with their Teams.

III. That they ſhall have a ſafe Convoy of one Hundred Horſe, from their Quarters to *Leſtithiel*, and thence in their march to *Pool* and *Wareham*.

IV. That in Caſe they ſhall march from *Pool* to any other Place by Land, that they ſhall not bear Arms more than is allowed in the Agreement, untill they come to *Southampton* or *Portſmouth*.

V. That all the Sick and Wounded ſhall be left at *Foy*, till ſuch Time as they can be conveniently tranſported to *Plymouth*.

VI. That all the Officers and Soldiers ſhall be permitted to receive all Moneys, Proviſions, and other Accommodations, as they ſhall be able to procure from *Plymouth*; to which end they ſhall have a Paſs for any twelve Perſons whom they ſhall ſend for the ſame.

VII. That there ſhall be no inviting of any Soldiers, but that ſuch as will voluntarily come to his Majeſty's Service ſhall not be hindered.

By this Treaty, the King properly gained only Artillery, Arms, and Ammunition. But though it was a great Matter to reduce this Army to ſuch a ſad Condition, it would have been of much more Advantage to him, had he made the Officers and Soldiers Priſoners of War. For the Parliament wanted neither Artillery, nor Arms, nor Ammunition, to ſet the Army on Foot again, which in Truth was in Condition within five or ſix Weeks, to give the King Battle. It is to be preſumed the King had good Reaſons to be ſatisfied with this Advantage.

The Earl is well received at London.

Though the Earl of *Eſſex* might have been juſtly upbraided for the two Faults he had committed, in obſtinately purſuing his march into the *Weſt*, contrary to the Orders of both Houſes, and intangling himſelf very prepoſterouſly in the narrow County of *Cornwall*, his Misfortune was not inſulted over, but at his Return he was received with great Reſpect. It

was

was then no proper Seaſon to examine his Conduct. The Buſineſs was to recruit and arm the ſhattered Army, as well as that of *Waller*, and accordingly both Houſes ſat about it with all poſſible Diligence. They ordered alſo Colonel *Middleton* to repair ſpeedily to the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, and the Earl of *Manchester* to march the ſame way with his Forces. 1644.

The King's Meſſage to both Houſes with the offer of Peace.

After the King had gained ſo conſiderable an Advantage, he was in hopes the frighted Parliament would deſire nothing more than to come to an Accommodation. He plainly perceived that ſuch a Peace as he deſired was impracticable, as long as the Parliament was in a proſperous State. But he flattered himſelf with the hopes that after ſo great a Turn, his Enemies would gladly accept the Offers he ſhould make them, and inſiſt no longer upon Terms he was fully reſolved not to grant. Poſſeſſed with this Thought, he ſent from *Taviſtock* a freſh Meſſage to both Houſes, with Offers of Peace, and to it annexed a Duplicate of his former Meſſage from *Eveſham*. This Meſſage was worded in ſuch a manner that he ſeemed out of pure Moderation to offer, after his Victory, to be content with having by a Peace, what he was in Condition to obtain by Force of Arms. But if we conſider what was ſaid above, in Explication of what we are to underſtand by the Peace offered by the King, we ſhall find that out of an exceſs of Modeſty, Moderation and Affection for his People, he would be ſatisfied to obtain by a Treaty, what hitherto he had not been able to procure by Arms: For that was the real meaning of his Offer, though diſguiſed under the ſpecious Name of Peace. And it is plain, the Parliament muſt have underſtood it in that Senſe, ſeeing they took no notice of it. The King himſelf did not believe, without doubt, he could deceive the two Houſes by the bare Name of Peace, after having ſo often experienced how much they were upon their Guard in that reſpect. But theſe frequent Offers of Peace were properly deſign-

Ruſh. V. p. 712.

ed

1644. ed to make Impreſſion upon the People, who did not dive into the true meaning of them.

The King attacks Plymouth *without Succeſs.* ibid.

The 10th of *September* the King appeared before *Plymouth* *, in hopes that after his late Victory, the Gates would be opened to him. But having ſummoned it in vain, and even given ſome Aſſaults, he was forced to retire, the Seaſon not permitting him to undertake a Siege of that Moment, which probably would have employed him ſeveral Months. Beſides his Deſign was to march to *London*, where he ſuppoſed all were in the utmoſt Conſternation. Mean while, General *Goring* with a Detachment of the Army, became Maſter of *Barnſtaple*.

The Arrival of the Elector Palatine at London. Ruſh V. p. 713.

I have had frequent occaſion to ſpeak of the Affairs of the *Elector Palatine*, and to obſerve how much *James* I. and *Charles* I. neglected the Intereſts, the one of the King his Son-in-law, and the other, of the Elector his Nephew. The Elector's whole Dominions being in the Hands of his Enemies, he fled for Refuge to the King his Uncle, who gave him a Penſion for his Subſiſtence; This Penſion it is likely was ill paid after the King was engaged in the War with *Scotland*, and ſtill worſe, after the beginning of this Parliament. So the Elector having attended the King till ſuch time as he retired into the North, and ſeeing the War ready to break out, quitted the King his Uncle ſomewhat abruptly at *York*. He retired into *Holland*, and ſtayed there till the Month of *Auguſt* 1644, when he came on a ſudden to *London* to reſide there, under the Protection of the Parliament. The King having notice of it, writ to him to know the Reaſon of his coming. It is not known what Anſwer the Elector returned; but it is ſomething probable, that being at a loſs how to ſubſiſt, and conſidering the King his Uncle was not in a Capacity to maintain him, he believed he ſhould find more Aſſiſtance in the Parliament which had all along expreſſed great Affection and

The King writes to him. ibid. p. 714.

* Where the Lord *Roberts*, who went thither with the Earl of *Eſſex* was made Governour, to whom the Lord *Digby* writ to perſwade him to ſurrender the Town to the King. *Ruſh.* V. p. 713.

and Zeal for his Houſe. He was not deceived in his Expectations, ſeeing the Parliament granted him an honourable Penſion, which was more regularly paid than the former one from the King *. He afterwards deſired and obtained leave to hear the Debates in the Aſſembly of *Divines*. Probably, as he did not care to meddle in military Affairs, he ſought to ſpend his Time in converſing with the Learned, and improve himſelf in Matters of Religion. 1644.

The King reſolves to march to London.

The King was ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed with the Notion that his Victory could not but make deep Impreſſion upon the Minds of the People, that he reſolved to march directly to *London*. He did not queſtion but his Army would increaſe conſiderably by the way, and that the People would forſake the two Houſes when they ſhould ſee him marching towards the Metropolis. It is true, ſuch Turns had been formerly ſeen in *England*, but very ſeldom or never in favour of Princes, whom the Nation believed they had cauſe to complain of. However, though *Charles* had given but too much occaſion to complain of his Government, yet was he perſwaded that he was beloved by the People, and imputed whatever they did againſt him, to the Artifices, Calumnies, Promiſes, Threats, and Violences that were uſed to miſlead or compel them. In this Belief, he imagined the People wanted only an Opportunity to free themſelves from the Yoke of the Parliament, and that the preſent one being very favourable ought not to be neglected. He publiſhed therefore on the 30th of *September* a Proclamation,

* He had before his coming ſent two Letters to the Parliament, declaring in the firſt, his Satisfaction in the *Covenant*, wiſhing them Succeſs; and in the other, the great Streights he and his Mother were in for want of the Stipend they formerly had, bemoaning the Courſes his Brother Prince *Rupert* took in fighting againſt the Parliament. Upon his Landing at *Graveſend*, a Committee of the *Commons* attended him, and in *May* 1645, the Commons ordered him an Allowance of 8000*l.* a Year, 2000*l.* whereof out of the King's Revenue, and the reſt out of the Eſtates of the Lord *Cottington* and Sir *Nicholas Criſpe*. Whit. Mem. p. 89, 97, 103.

1644. clamation, dated at *Chard*, wherein he ſet forth with what Earneſtneſs and Sincerity he had always deſired, and offered Peace, which had been conſtantly rejected by both Houſes, after which he ſaid, "That he "had therefore reſolved with his Army to draw pre- "ſently towards *London*, and his *ſouthern* and *eaſtern* "Counties, not looking upon theſe Parts as Ene- "mies to him, but as his poor Subjects oppreſſed by "Power (*of which he was aſſured the greater Part re- "mained Loyal to him,*) and ſo deſerving his Protec- "tion; hoping that at a nearer diſtance of Place "there might be begot ſo right an Underſtanding "between him and his People, that at length he "might obtain a Treaty for Peace, and a full and "free Convention in Parliament, and therein make "an end of theſe unhappy Differences by a good "Accommodation: whereby his People might be "ſettled in the Poſſeſſion of their Rights and Liber- "ties. And therefore he required his Subjects with- "in his own Quarters, through or near which he "ſhould paſs, forthwith to prepare themſelves with "the beſt Arms they could get, to be ready to join "him. He authorized likewiſe as well the Trained- "Bands of *London*, as his Subjects of the eaſtern "and ſouthern Counties, to chuſe their own Com- "manders among thoſe Gentlemen and Citizens that "were of approved Loyalty and Lovers of Peace, "requiring them at his Approach to put themſelves "in Arms and aſſiſt in this Expedition, and com- "manding them to ſeize ſuch Places of Strength as "the Rebels were poſſeſſed of, and to apprehend "the Perſons of all ſuch as ſhould hinder the ſettling "the Peace of the Kingdom.

ibid. p. 717. All the Effect this Proclamation had was, that the Inhabitants of *Somerſetſhire* where the King was at that Time, preſented a Petition to him, humbly beſeeching his Majeſty, "That they might have *Li- "berty to wait upon him in Perſon*, and at a nearer "diſtance of Place, become Petitioners to both Hou- "ſes to embrace his Majeſty's Offers of Peace, and

" in Caſe of refuſal they promiſed to ſpend their " Lives and Fortunes in aſſiſting him to compaſs by " the Sword, what by fair means could not be ef- " fected." But this was only a promiſed Aid, and as yet too remote for the King to make any uſe of it in the preſent Expedition. 1644.

The King meets with Obſtructions in his March.

If every Thing had fallen out as the King had fancied: If the People had flocked in Crowds to his Army: If he had been chearfully ſupplied with all Neceſſaries, it is very probable he might have arrived at *London* before the Parliament-Forces could have been joined in order to form a new Army. But his Army, inſtead of increaſing in their March, as he expected, daily diminiſhed by Fatigues, by want of Money, Shoes, and Stockings, and by Sickneſs, which diſabled abundance of his Men from following the Army. He was obliged to make frequent Halts in ſeveral Towns to wait for Money and other Neceſſaries, which he perceived would not be ſupplied when he ſhould be at a Diſtance. The Horſe being diſcontented as well at the Lord *Wilmot*'s Diſgrace, as at their having received no Pay this Campaign, he was forced to ſtay till the eaſtern Counties ſhould provide him Money to ſatisfy them, otherwiſe he durſt not advance. Theſe Delays were the Reaſon that he came not to *Salisbury* till the 15th of *October*, ſix Weeks after the Advantage he had gained in *Cornwal*. Then it was that he altered his Reſolution, and inſtead of marching to *London*, contented himſelf with returning to his old Quarters at and about *Oxford*. And even this Project could not be executed without Difficulty, conſidering the Meaſures his Enemies had taken.

The Parliament forms a great Army.

Whilſt the King was upon his March, the Parliament was not idle. They had diſpatched away Arms and Cloths for the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Foot, and detached the City Brigade* conſiſting of five Thouſand Men, beſides

* Commanded by Sir *James Harrington*, being the Red and Blue Regiments

1644. beſides the neceſſary Recruits to go and join him. Sir *William Waller* had taken the Field again, his Army being recruited and reinforced, and was now at *Andover* ready to march. The Earl of *Eſſex*'s Horſe, which had luckily eſcaped in *Cornwall*, were come to him as well as thoſe that were ſent into the *Weſt*, under the Command of Colonel *Middleton*. Thus the Earl of *Eſſex* ſaw himſelf in Condition to march the 17th of *October* in order to join with Sir *William Waller* and the Earl of *Mancheſter*, who was within diſtance. The King having notice that *Waller* was to march to *Reading*, advanced with all poſſible ſpeed towards *Andover*, to give him Battle before he had joined the Earl of *Eſſex*. Nay, he fell upon his Rear and killed twenty or thirty of his Men. But this could not hinder the joining of the three Armies, which was done the 21ſt of *October*.

Whilſt the King's Enemies lay ſo near him, he very unadviſedly and unſeaſonably, as it ſeems, detached from his Army the Earl of *Northampton* with three Regiments of Horſe, to go and relieve *Banbury-Caſtle*, which had been beſieged ever ſince the Month of *July*, and was now reduced to the laſt Extremity. The Earl ſucceeded in his Expedition, but the King was like to pay dear for it, ſeeing within a few Days he was forced to Fight, deprived of the Aid of theſe three Regiments. His Deſign, as I ſaid, was only to retire to *Oxford*, there being no longer any reaſon to induce him to purſue his march towards *London*. But he had a mind firſt, to lay Siege to *Dennington-Caſtle*, and therefore advanced to *Newbury*, which lies but a Mile from that Caſtle, whilſt the Parliament Army was at *Reading*. The next Day that Army marched towards *Newbury*, where the King fortified himſelf in the beſt manner he could, and placed his Foot in the Intrenchments, whilſt the Horſe were poſted in two open

Ruſh V. p. 721.

Regiments of Trained-bands of *London*, the Red Regiment of *Weſtminſter*. the Yellow Regiment of *Southwark*, and the Yellow Regiment of Auxiliaries of the *Tower-Hamlets*.

open Fields close by, and for some Days there were frequent Skirmishes between the two Armies. At last, on the 27th of *October* [being *Sunday*] the Parliament-Generals having divided their Forces into two Bodies, attacked the King's Intrenchments at two several Places. The Fight, which began about three or four a Clock in the Afternoon, held till Night, and was exceeding sharp, each Side repulsing the other by Turns. This is all that can be gathered with any Certainty from the Accounts of this Battle, except that when Night was coming on, the Assailants forced Part of the Intrenchment, and took some Pieces of Ordnance. But Night hindered them from improving this Advantage, and put an end to the Fight *.

1644.

Second Battle of Newbury. Oct. 27.

Mean while, the King fearing the Enemy would next Morning penetrate into his Lines, withdrew in the Night, and marching away to *Wallingford*, leaving his heavy Cannon and Baggage in *Dennington*-Castle. The Earl of *Essex* was not in the Battle. He had quitted the Army some Days before, whether on account of some sudden Indisposition, or perhaps out of some Discontent, not being able to agree, either with the Earl of *Manchester*, nor Sir *William Waller* *1.

The King retires in the Night, leaving his Cannon in Dennington Castle

* After a long and hot Dispute (says *Whitlock*,) the Parliamentarians beat the King's Forces from their Works, and then from their Ordnance, nine in Number, in which Atchievement they lost a few Men. *Whit Mem.* p. 104.

*1 *Whitlock* upon this occasion says, the Houses being informed the Lord-General was not well, and stayed behind the Army, sent a Committee of Lords and Commons to visit him, and express the Affections of both Houses to him. This was not (as was given out) a piece of Courtship, but I think real. There were some however who were jealous that he was too much inclined to Peace, and favouring of the King and his Party. I think I knew as much of his Mind as others did, and always observed him to wish for Peace, yet not upon dishonourable or unjust Terms. He was a Lover of Monarchy and Nobility, which he suspected some designed to destroy; which Humour then beginning to boil up, he resolved to suppress. But the Jealousies upon him (who was a most faithful and gallant Man, and Servant to the Publick) gave him great Trouble in his Thoughts. *Whit. Mem.* p. 103.

1644. *Dissentions between the Parliament-Generals.*

The Parliament-Generals, who thought themselves victorious, should, one would think, have attacked the King as he retreated, which they could not be ignorant of, it being then Full-Moon. They let him march away however without pursuing him *, so that he arrived safely at *Oxford*. But this was not their greatest Error. The King having left his Cannon, Ammunition and Baggage in *Dennington-Castle*, they could not have done better than employed their whole Strength to take the Castle. But they contented themselves with summoning the Governour *1, and upon his refusing to capitulate, they lay still at *Newbury* without attempting any Thing against him. This Negligence can be imputed to nothing but the Dissention sprung up amongst them, the one blaming the other for being the Cause that with so superior an Army, the King's was not entirely routed. This Dissention grew so high, that whatever was proposed by one, was sure to be opposed by the other. We shall see hereafter still worse Effects of their Discord, and the Alterations it occasioned.

The King returns to Denning-ton-*Castle, and takes away his Cannon in sight of the Enemy.*

Mean while, the King being informed of the Discord betwixt the Commanders of the Parliament-Army, and of their leaving *Dennington*-Castle unattacked, very wisely took Advantage of so favourable a Juncture. Some Days after his coming to *Oxford*, he was joined by Prince *Rupert*, who brought him some Horse. He drew a Body of Foot out of the *Oxford* Garrison, and the neighbouring Towns, and the Earl of *Northampton* came to him with his Brigade of Horse. By the help of these Supplies he formed an Army of six Thousand Foot, and five Thousand Horse, with which he marched back towards

* Colonel *Cromwell* followed the Body of the Enemy two Hours before Day. *Whit.* p. 104.

*1 Threatning not to leave one Stone upon another. To which the Governour Sir *John Bois* made no other Reply, than that he was not bound to repair it, but however would, by God's Help, keep the Ground afterwards. *Clarend.* II. p. 550.

wards *Newbury* the 2d of *November*. After the Battle, the Parliament-Army had moved towards *Oxford*; but was returned to *Newbury*, on pretenſe that the Ways were unpaſſable. But the main Reaſon was, the Generals could not agree, there being no Commander in Chief. They had ſome Intelligence of the King's March; but would not believe it till they heard of his being within ſix Miles of *Dennington*. Whereupon they reſolved to draw up next Day between *Dennington* and the King's Army. To that End, Orders were given for all their Horſe to rendezvous early the next Morning, it not being poſſible to march that Day by reaſon their Quarters were too far aſunder, and at too great a Diſtance. But that very Night the King purſued his March to *Dennington*, and placing his Army in Battalia, between the Caſtle and *Newbury*, waited in that Poſture to ſee what the Enemy would attempt. Though the Parliament-Army was drawn up alſo preſently after, the Generals having viewed the Poſture and Strength of the King's, and held a Council of War, judged it unſafe to engage. So after ſome Skirmiſhes, the King having drawn out what he left at *Dennington*, marched back to *Oxford*, where he arrived the 21ſt of *November*. In his way thither, he ſent a Detachment of his Army to the Relief of the Marquiſs of *Wincheſter*, who had been long beſieged in his own Caſtle of *Baſing*. But this Detachment found the Siege already raiſed. Thus ended the Campaign of the Year 1644, which proved not ſo fatal to the King as he had reaſon to fear, though however he loſt *York* and all the *North*. 1644.

It is Time now to ſpeak of ſome other Occurrences of the Year 1644, which had no immediate Relation to the War, but of which the Knowledge is no leſs uſeful and neceſſary than that of Conflicts and Battles, though they have no natural Connection together, nor follow from each other.

1644. *An Ordinance to forbear one Meal a Week.* Rush. V. p. 748.

March the 26th 1644, the Parliament passed an Ordinance, enjoining every Family [within the Bills of Mortality for three Months] to forbear one Meal a Week, and contribute the value thereof for the publick Occasions. This was properly laying a Tax upon every Family. For otherwise it is very likely the Parliament did not much Care whether this weekly Meal were forborn or not, provided the value [which was to be set upon each Person and Family] were paid.

ibid. p. 749.

April the 13th an *Oxford* Spy was executed in the *Palace-yard* at *Westminster*.

The 15th of the same Month, it was voted by the *Commons*, that the Committee of both Kingdoms should prepare Propositions for Peace, to be presented to the King. Not that they desired then to enter into a new Treaty with the King, for since the Conferences at *Oxford* were broken off, nothing had passed to induce them to alter their Plan. But herein they had a double View, first to let the World see, they intended not absolutely to reject Peace, as they were charged by the King: Secondly, they thereby had a Pretense ready to propose a Peace, in Case the Misfortunes that might befall them during the Campaign, should constrain them to it. What confirms this to have been their chief Aim, is that these Propositions which after all were the same in the main with those that had been debated at *Oxford*, were not sent up to the Lords till the 19th of *August*, at the very Time that the Earl of *Essex* was penned up in *Cornwal*, and not to the King till the 20th of *November*.

The Parliament keep their Resolves more private.

To the Year 1644 the Affairs of the War were so publickly debated in the Parliament, that the King was acquainted with the Resolutions there taken, before they were begun to be executed. But this Year the Managers thought fit to give the Committee of both Kingdoms, who were charged with the Affairs of the War, more Power than they had before, that they might give their Orders, and cause them to be put

put in Execution without being obliged to communicate their Reſolves to both Houſes. I do not know whether this was by an expreſs Vote, or by mere Uſurpation, the Committee well-knowing they ſhould at leaſt be upheld in it by the leading Members, in caſe there was any Attempt to call them to an Account. A conſiderable Advantage was hereby gained indeed, as the Reſolutions became more private, and as the King had not ſo good Information. But on the other Hand, the Committee had by it a Power which might be of very dangerous Conſequence. And therefore ſeveral Members complained that the moſt important Affairs were not communicated, but the Direction and Management reſerved to themſelves alone by the Committee. The Time for which they had been appointed being near expired, the *Commons* paſſed an Ordinance for the Continuance of the Committee three Months longer, and ſent it up to the Lords. But the Peers inſtead of paſſing the Ordinance as ſent up by the *Commons*, added a Clauſe to increaſe the Number of the Committee, with Five Lords and Ten *Commoners* [of their nominating]*. It is not to be doubted but the King's private Friends uſed their Endeavours to have the Number of the Committee increaſed, in hopes of being able to gain ſome one to inform them of what ſhould paſs there. But the *Commons* foreſeeing the Conſequence of this Addition, refuſed to conſent to it, and deſired the Lords that they would paſs the Ordinance as it was firſt preſented to them. The Lords declining to do it for ſome time, the *Commons* found means to get the Lord-Mayor and Common-Council of *London* to petition them among other things, that the Committee of both Kingdoms might be continued as

1644.

Difference between the two Houſes about the Committee of both Kingdoms. Ruſh. V. p. 717.

Ibid. p. 710.

* The reaſon was, *becauſe divers of the Committee, eſpecially the Commons, were apprehended not to be ſo much the General's Friends, as others who were deſired to be brought in.* and this cauſed ſome Piques among them. *Whitlock's Mem.* p. 83.

1644. it was *. Then the Lords perceiving, that since the City of *London* interposed in the Matter, their standing out would be to no purpose, passed the Ordinance
May 20. four Days after. The Declarations of the City of *London* were a Curb frequently made use of by the *Commons* to stop the Career of the King's Friends, when by their Cabals they were endeavouring to disturb their Deliberations, or to sow Discord between the two Houses. Besides, that it would have been dangerous as well as unjust to disoblige that great City, by whom the Charges of the War were chiefly born, Experience had made appear that the City had infallible Expedients to support their Friends in Parliament. The Historians of the two Parties go upon different Suppositions in this Matter. The King's Adherents pretend, that in general the *Londoners* were for the King, and would have gladly accepted the Peace he was pleased to offer them; but were over-awed by their Magistrates, who were almost to a Man devoted to the Parliament. On the contrary, the Parliament's Friends affirm, that the Number of *Londoners* who were for the King was nothing near so great as that of his Enemies, and that the Commotions now and then in the City, whether to demand Peace, or to disturb the Parliament's Debates, were the pure Effect of the Cabals of some private Persons, Sticklers in secret for the King, who did their Endeavour to sow Dissention between the Parliament and the City. That of this, the ill Success of all their Attempts was a clear Evidence.

Ordinance against the Members that had deserted, June 29. Rush. V. P. 714.

There was in the *London*-Petition above-mentioned, an Article which was of no less Importance. A great many Members of both Houses, as we have seen, had deserted the Parliament before and after the breaking out of the War. Some had taken this Course out of Affection to the King, and in order to serve him in his Army, others by his express Command

* This Petition, says *Whitlock*, was suspected by the General's Friends to be set on foot by his Enemies, and Jealousy grew among the Grandees of the Parliament, p. 84.

Command, ſeveral out of fear of Puniſhment, for endeavouring to force the Parliament to a Peace, and it may be, ſome to avoid being expoſed to the Outrages of the *London*-Mobb. By the going away of theſe Members, the Party againſt the King was become ſo ſuperior in both Houſes, that no one durſt any longer oppoſe whatever they thought proper to move. Indeed it would have been to very little purpoſe for the few Friends the King had left in the Parliament to ſtrive to ſupport his Intereſt. The King had therefore found that his Policy in diminiſhing the Number of Members in both Houſes, was ſo far from having been of any Benefit to him, that it had rather done him a great Prejudice, for by that means the Reſolutions againſt him paſſed in Parliament with much more eaſe. His Enemies had now Elbow-room, and met with no farther Oppoſition. The *Commons* perceiving that from time to time, ſome of theſe Members returned to *London*, judged it not proper to admit them into the Houſe, purſuant to a Vote paſſed long before concerning that Matter. They were apprehenſive that if ſuch Members were admitted, the King might in time ſend them ſo great a Number, as would ſuffice to obſtruct their Deliberations. Mean while, to juſtify their Refuſal to admit them, they managed ſo, that in the Petition preſented to them by the Common-Council of *London*, was inſerted an Article that none of the Members that had deſerted the Parliament ſhould be received, without Satisfaction firſt given to both Houſes for their Fidelity in time to come. In purſuance of this Deſire it was declared after by an Ordinance, that ſuch Peers as had deſerted, or ſhould deſert the Parliament, ſhould not be re-admitted without the Conſent of both Houſes; and that whatſoever Member of the Houſe of Commons had ſo offended, or ſhould ſo offend hereafter, and adhere to thoſe that were levying War againſt the Parliament, were and ſhould be abſolutely diſabled from ſitting in the Houſe of *Commons*. By this, ſuch as might intend 1644.

to

1644. to return to the Parliament to serve the King, had fair Warning that their Artifice would be without effect.

The Earl of Leiceſter *returns to* London. Ruſh. V. p. 705.

The Earl of *Leiceſter*, who much about this time quitted *Oxford* and returned to *London*, was not of the Number of thoſe who forſook the King to do him Service. He had too much reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the King for amuſing him for two Years together, under colour of deſigning to ſend him into *Ireland*, and appointing at laſt the Marquiſs of *Ormond* for Lord-Lieutenant in his Room. The Earl of *Leiceſter* was however ordered into Cuſtody at his coming to *London*: but in all appearance it was only to ſhow that the new Ordinance was intended to be ſtrictly executed.

Embaſſy from the States General. Ruſh. V. p. 716.

In the Month of *January* 1643-4, the States-General of *the United-Provinces* ſent Ambaſſadors into *England* to offer their Mediation, which the two Houſes made no great account of, knowing what Credit the Prince of *Orange*, the King's Son-in-law, had in theſe Provinces. Beſides, the Ambaſſadors, who were ſuppoſed to be all the Prince of *Orange*'s Creatures, refuſed to acknowledge fully the two Houſes of *Weſtminſter* to be the Parliament of *England*. In ſhort, theſe Ambaſſadors, after ſeveral Journies to *Oxford*, and Attempts to perſuade the Parliament to accept their Mediation without the previous Acknowledgment required, fully owned the two Houſes for the Parliament of *England*, and preſented a Memorial to offer their Mediation. It muſt be obſerved that this was the next Day after the News came of Prince *Rupert*'s Defeat at *Marſton-moor* *.

As

* On *June* the 6th the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors addreſſed themſelves to the two Houſes in ſuch Terms as were acceptable; and it was reſolved they ſhould be admitted to Audience, which was done, *July* the 12th, in each Houſe apart. Being brought into the Houſe of Peers, and Chairs prepared for them, they delivered their Embaſſy firſt in *French*, and then a Copy thereof in *Engliſh*.

Then

As they had long delayed to take this Step, both Houſes left them a good while in their Turn without any Anſwer, being willing no doubt to intimate to them, that this Mediation did not ſeem to them ſufficiently impartial. Wherefore the 10th of *December* they demanded a publick Audience, which was granted them, and therein they offered again the Mediation of their Maſters. Both Houſes anſwered, that they readily accepted the Mediation of the States: but they had already ſent Propoſitions to the King for a Treaty of Peace, of which they muſt neceſſarily wait the Iſſue. That moreover, the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* being united together by a ſolemn *Covenant*, they could do nothing without the Concurrence of the *Scots*, which would require ſome time. Thus they evaded the Offers of the States-General, not believing ſuch a Mediation could be for their Advantage. 1644. Ruſh. V. p. 720.

In the Month of *July* it was ordered by the Houſe of *Commons* that the Fine impoſed by the *Star-Chamber* upon Mr. *Denzil Hollis* for his aſſerting the Liberties of his Country in Parliament, ſhould be repaid him out of the King's Revenue. Hollis's *Fine repaid him.* July 23. Ruſh. V. p. 722.

In the Month of *October* an Ordinance of both Houſes was publiſhed, commanding that no Quarter ſhould be given to any *Iriſhman* taken in Arms againſt the Parliament. *Ordinance againſt the* Iriſh. Ibid. p. 729.

In

Then they were conducted by the Serjeant at Arms with two Members into the Houſe of Commons: When they came in, the Speaker and all the Members ſtood up in their Places uncovered, and the Ambaſſadors ſaluted them as they paſſed by them, they ſat down in Chairs ſet for them, and the Members ſat down likewiſe; and when the Ambaſſadors were covered, the Speaker and Houſe were covered alſo. They made a ſhort Speech of the Affection of their Maſters to theſe Kingdoms, and their Deſire to mediate an Agreement between the King and his Parliament; and after their Speech ended, they returned with the ſame Ceremonies as at their coming thither. During the time of their being in the Houſe, there lay upon the Table in their view Forty eight Colours taken from the King's Forces in the Battle of *Marſton-moor*. *Ruſh.* V. p. 716. *Whit. Mem.* p. 90.

1644. *Tryal of the Lord* Macguire *and* Mac Mahone. Ibid. p. 732.

In *November* the Lord *Macguire* and *Mac Mahone* were brought upon their Tryals. They were apprehended at *Dublin* the very Day they were to ſurprize the Caſtle, and ſent into *England*, where they had been confined in the *Tower* ever ſince. They had found means to break Priſon, and conceal themſelves in a Houſe in *London*. But unluckily, hearing a Woman crying Oyſters in the Street, one of them put his Head out of Window to call her, and was that inſtant eſpy'd by a Servant of Sir *John Clotworthy*'s, who knew him, and immediately gave notice to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*. They were both ſeized again, and ſhortly after condemned and executed.

Condemnation and Execution of Laud. Ruſh. V. p. 763.

From the Time that the famous *William Laud* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had been impriſoned at the Cloſe of the Year 1640, I have had but little Occaſion to ſpeak of him. It is time now to relate the ſad Cataſtrophe of his Life. He was accuſed by the *Commons* of High-Treaſon *December* the 18th 1640, and thereupon committed to the Cuſtody of the *Black-Rod*. The 26th of *February* following, the Articles of Impeachment were brought in againſt him, and then he was ſent to the *Tower*. There he remained till *October* the 23d, 1643, when the *Commons* having added Ten freſh Articles to the Impeachment, he was ordered by the Lords to anſwer the 30th of the ſame Month. It would be too tedious to ſpecify here all the Petitions he preſented, and all the Expedients his Council furniſhed him withal to cauſe his Sentence to be put off. It ſuffices to ſay in a word, that he gained time till the 11th of *November* 1644, on which Day he ſpoke ſeveral Hours together in his own Defence. But whether the *Commons* were afraid their Proofs were not ſufficient to have him condemned, or that the Delays granted him by the Lords gave them cauſe to think they were inclined to ſave his Life, they made uſe of the ſame Method as in the Caſe of the Earl of *Strafford*, I mean, a *Bill of Attainder*, which paſſed their Houſe the ſame Day the Archbiſhop made his Defence before the Peers, with

but one diſſenting Vote. The *Bill* being ſent up to the Lords, they acquainted the *Commons* [at a Conference] that indeed they found the Archbiſhop guilty of the Charge as to Matters of Fact, but deſired ſome farther Satisfaction *in point of Law*, whether the Matters amounted to *Treaſon*. Whereupon the *Commons* communicated to them the Reaſons whereby they pretended to prove him guilty of that Crime. Upon which the Lords on the 4th of *January* paſſed the *Bill of Attainder*, whereby it was ordained that he ſhould ſuffer Death as in Caſes of High-Treaſon. And on the 6th both Houſes ordered he ſhould be executed the 10th. On the 7th the Lords at a Conference informed the *Commons* of a Pardon to the Archbiſhop from the King, dated the 12th of *April* 1643, but it was over-ruled and rejected. The ſame Day, the Archbiſhop ſeeing there was no Remedy, petitioned the Lords that the Manner of his Execution might be changed to beheading. He deſired alſo that ſome of his Chaplains might be permitted to be with him before and at his Death. The Lords very readily granted his Requeſts, but the *Commons* refuſed both, and ſent him two Miniſters whom he did not ask for, with one of thoſe he deſired. The next Day he preſented a ſecond Petion to be beheaded, ſetting forth that he was Divine, Biſhop, Privy-Counſellor, and Peer; whereupon the *Commons* were at length prevailed with. When he was upon the Scaffold, he made a pretty long Speech, wherein, among other things, he inſinuated that he ſuffered for not forſaking the Temple of God, to follow the Bleatings of *Jeroboam*'s Calves, alluding to the *Schiſm* of the *Presbyterians*. He ſaid —— " He had ranſacked " every Corner of his Heart, and thanked God he " had not found any Sins there deſerving Death " by the known Laws of the Land. The King had " been traduced by ſome for labouring to bring in " Popery, but, upon his Conſcience, he knew him " to be as free from ſuch a Charge as any Man living, " and held him to be as ſound a Proteſtant according

1644.

" to

1644. "to the Religion eſtabliſhed by Law, as any Perſon "in the Kingdom. He proteſted, he never endea- "voured the Subverſion of the Laws of the Realm, "nor never any Change of the Proteſtant Religion "into Popiſh Superſtition. He had never been an "Enemy to Parliaments, but did indeed diſlike the "Miſ-government of one or two ———". After he had prayed, the Executioner did his Office at one Blow. His Friends were permitted to take his Body and bury it in *Barking*-Church. Such was the end of this famous Prelate, who, let his Favourers ſay what they pleaſe, was one of the chief Authors of the Troubles that afflicted *England*; firſt by ſupporting with all his might the Principles of that arbitrary Power which the Court ſtrove for ſeveral Years to eſtabliſh: Secondly, by uſing too much Strictneſs and Rigidneſs in the Obſervance of Trifles in the Divine Service, and in compelling every body to conform themſelves thereto. All that can be ſaid in his behalf is, that he believed in his own Conſcience, this Rigidneſs was neceſſary *.

The Liturgy is aboliſhed. Jan. 4. 1644-5. Ruſh. V. p. 785.

The ſame Day the Lords paſſed the Bill of *Attainder* againſt the Archbiſhop, they paſſed likewiſe an Ordinance that *the Book of Common-Prayer* ſhould be laid aſide, and the *Directory* eſtabliſhed, which had been

* The Managers at his Tryal were Mr. *Maynard*, Mr. *Brown*, Serjeant *Wild*, Mr. *Nicholas*, for the *Commons*; and his Council were Mr. *Herne* and Mr. *Chute*. The Sum of his Charge was, *That he had traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws and Government of the Kingdom of* England, *and inſtead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary Government*. The Chaplains he deſired to have with him were, *Stern*, *Haywood*, and *Martin*; thoſe ſent by the Commons were, *Stern*, *Marſhal* and *Palmer*. He called his laſt Speech a Sermon, and began with a Text, *Heb.* xii. 1, 2. In his printed Defence which he left behind him, he excuſes himſelf in moſt Particulars, by ſaying, that he was but one of many who either in *Council*, *Star-Chamber*, or High-Commiſſion, voted illegal Things. His Diary ſhows him to be a Regarder of Dreams. He was a learned, ſincere and zealous Man, humble in his private Deportment, but a hot, indiſcreet Man, eagerly purſuing Trifles, as bowing to the Communion-Table, Sports on the Lord's-Day, *&c.* *Ruſhworth*, *Burnet*, *Whitlock*.

been framed by the Aſſembly of *Divines*. By this the Church of *England* was rendered, by publick Authority, completely *Presbyterian*, to the great Satisfaction of the *Scots*, and many of the principal Members of both Houſes. This was an ill Preparative for the Peace which was now negotiating, and of which I have deferred to ſpeak hitherto, that the whole of what paſſed at the Treaty might be related all together. 1643.

The Treaty at Uxbridge. Ruſh. V. p. 787.

The King, as is ſeen before, ſent Meſſage upon Meſſage to the two Houſes with Overtures of Peace; and there is no doubt but he would have granted the ſame very willingly, had they been as ready to receive it in his Senſe. But they perfectly knew what they were to underſtand by the word *Peace*. Beſides, at the very time the King offered to treat with both Houſes, he carefully avoided uſing any Term that might intimate his owning them to be a Parliament. It was neceſſary therefore, if they had a mind to treat with him, either that he ſhould expreſsly acknowledge them, or that they ſhould treat as private Perſons without Authority. But ſuppoſing they could have brought themſelves to do ſo, what would ſuch a Treaty have ſignified? This was the Pretence uſed by both Houſes, during the whole Campaign of the Year 1644, not to anſwer the King's Invitations. Mean while, as the King talked very much of his frequent Offers to perſuade the People of his ſincere Deſire of Peace, and of the Refuſal of both Houſes, they reſolved to oblige him to ſpeak out more plainly what he meant by *Peace*, that the People might examine whether he offered ſufficient Security. For as I ſaid, this was the only Point in queſtion. The Treaty at *Oxford*, where two Propoſitions only were debated, not having fully cleared this Matter, the two Houſes thought it would be for their Advantage to induce the King by a ſecond Treaty, to declare poſitively that he would give no other Security than his bare Word. They hoped this would ſuffice to efface the Impreſſions

Motives of the two Houſes in propoſing a Peace.

1644. Impressions his repeated Offers might have made on the Minds of the People.

The Parliament send Propositions to the King.

Whilst the Campaign lasted, it was no proper Season for such a Negotiation, by reason of the Variety of Accidents produced by the War. It was not till *November* the 20th, two Days after the King's Return to *Oxford*, that the two Houses sent him the Propositions which had been prepared in the Summer. They had sent to desire a Safe-Conduct for their Commissioners, which the King had granted but as to private Persons, without one Word to denote his considering them as the Parliament's Commissioners. Though the two Houses were by no means pleased with such a Safe-Conduct, they accepted it however, and their Commissioners repaired to *Oxford*, where the King arrived the Day before *. At the first Audience they had of the King, he asked them, *Whether they had Power to treat:* They answered, *No, their Commission was only to receive his Majesty's Answer in writing.* The King replied, *Then a Letter-Carrier might have done as much as you.* In all appearance he had expected that the two Houses would treat with him without his owning them for the Parliament of *England*, in which he was much mistaken. He heard the Propositions read with great Attention and Patience, and then receiving them at their Hands, told them he would give them his Answer.

Private Conferences between the King and two of the Parliament's Commissioners.

The Earl of *Lindsey*, who was with the King at *Oxford*, having sent his Compliments to *Hollis* and *Whitlock*, they two, with the Consent of the rest of the Commissioners, went to return his Civility by a Visit. They found him indisposed and in his Bed: but he received them however in Presence of several Lords

Rush. V. p. 788.

* The Propositions having been prepared by the Committee of both Kingdoms, and approved of by both Houses, the Commissioners were appointed, namely, for the Peers, the Earl of *Denbigh* and the Lord *Maynard*; for the Commons, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr *Whitlock*, and the Lord *Weenman*; and for *Scotland*, the Lord *Maitland*, Sir *Charles Erskin*, and Mr. *Bartley*. Whit. Mem p. 106.

Lords who were in his Room. Presently after, the King came in, and had a long Conference with them. He told them, "He knew that they were both desirous of Peace, and wished that all the rest of the "Members were of their Opinion; and therefore, "*says he*, out of the Confidence I have of you Two, "I ask your Advice, what Answer will be best for "me to give at this time to your Propositions, which "may probably further such a Peace as all good Men "desire?" *Whitlock* answered, "The best and most "satisfactory Answer, I humbly believe, would be "your Majesty's Presence with your Parliament, "and which I hope might be without danger to "you." The King perceiving they did not care to speak their Minds before so much Company, said, "I desire you two to go into the next Room, con-"fer a little together, and set down in writing what "you apprehend may be fit for me to return in An-"swer to your Message." Whereupon they withdrew into another Room, and by *Hollis*'s Intreaty *Whitlock* wrote down what was their Sense in this Matter, and what might be fit for the Substance of the King's Answer. But this he did not in his usual Hand, and without any Name to it. The Paper thus written being left upon the Table, the King went in and took it up immediately. No Person was present, neither did the King admit any others to hear the Discourse which passed between him and them. It cannot be denied but it was very extraordinary for these Commissioners to confer in private with the King unknown to their Collegues, to whom they imparted nothing of what had passed between the King and them. Accordingly, shortly after, the Lord *Savile*, now made Earl of *Sussex*, who was in the Earl of *Lindsey*'s Room when the King came in, and who returned afterwards to the Parliament, accused them publickly of having held private Conferences with the King. But as he was not able to prove what he advanced, the Thing stuck there. What I have been saying remained a Secret till *Whitlock* pub-

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1644. liſhed it in his *Memorials*, and even there we do not find the Contents of the *Paper* written with his own Hand *. But however it is not impoſſible to vindicate theſe two Commiſſioners, who having doubtleſs ſome Knowledge of the Plot that was now contriving, and of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter, wiſhed that a Peace might be concluded before the Plot was executed. In all Appearance, they adviſed the King, in order to promote a Peace, to grant to the Parliament certain Articles, otherwiſe they foreſaw Peace would be impoſſible; but the King thought not fit to follow their Advice *1.

The King's Anſwer. The next Day the King ſent his Anſwer ſealed up to the Commiſſioners; but they refuſed to receive it, unleſs they had a Copy of it. The King denied it ſome time *2; but at laſt gave them a Copy. The Subſtance of it was only to demand a Safe-Conduct for the Duke of *Lenox* and the Earl of *Southampton*, to come with his Anſwer to the Propoſitions. As this Paper was not directed to any Body, nor the Parliament ſo much as named in it, the Commiſſioners made ſome Scruple to receive it. They were prevailed with however, on Conſideration that the two Houſes would be at Liberty to make what uſe of it they pleaſed. This Paper being read at a Conference of

* *Rapin* has committed ſome Miſtakes in his Account of this Matter, particularly he makes the *Paper* to be written by *Hollis*; but they are corrected in the Tranſlation, with ſome ſmall Additions from *Whitlock's Memorials*, which though mentioned here and elſewhere by the Author, yet he never ſaw them but as quoted in *Ruſhworth*.

*1 *Whitlock*, in his Speech to the Houſe, when accuſed by the Lord *Savile*, ſays, the King preſſed very much the unreaſonableneſs of the Propoſitions, particularly thoſe concerning *Religion* and the *Militia*; but he was told, that unleſs he would grant them, it would be in vain to treat of any Peace. *Whit.* p. 150.

*2 And told them, *What is the Anſwer to you, who are but to carry what I ſend; and if I ſend the Song of* Robin Hood *and* Little John *you muſt carry it?* This and other Paſſages there were which ſhowed the King to be then in no good Humour, and it was wondered at, ſince the diſobliging the Commiſſioners could be of no Advantage to the King. *Whit.* p. 110.

of both Houſes, the Exceptions againſt the Form and want of Directions were highly debated; but at laſt it was carried to lay aſide all Objections, and ordered that the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould write to Prince *Rupert* to this Effect: "That if his Majeſty will ſend *to* "*the Parliament of* England *aſſembled at* Weſtminſter, "and to the Commiſſioners of the Kingdom of *Scot-* "*land*, they would with all readineſs grant a Safe- "Conduct for the Duke of *Richmond* and the Earl "of *Southampton*". It was with much ado that the King reſolved to do this; but the Matter being debated in his Council, all but himſelf were for it. Nevertheleſs he could not be prevailed with, till after he was furniſhed with this Expedient, to make a Proteſtation againſt it in private, which ſhould be recorded. After that Prince *Rupert*'s Anſwer being worded as both Houſes deſired, the Safe-Conduct was ſent to *Oxford*.

1644.

The two Houſes demand to be owned for the true Parliament.

The King conſents to it with difficulty.

The two Lords ſent from the King being come to *London*, delivered the King's Anſwer to both Houſes *, dated the 13th of *December*, containing only, That whereas he found it very difficult to return a poſitive Anſwer before a full Debate, to their Propoſitions, if the two Houſes would appoint Commiſſioners, he would nominate the like Number to treat with them at any Place that ſhould be agreed on. As the King thought a common Letter-Carrier might have done the Office of the Commiſſioners who brought the Propoſitions, ſo it might be ſaid, there was no occaſion, as far as could be ſeen, to diſpatch two of the principal Men in his Court and Council, to carry this Anſwer to both Houſes. But in all Appearance the King's Aim was to get Information,

Ruſh. V. p. 801.

* The Houſes were ſomewhat at a loſs about the manner of their delivering their Meſſage, as it was directed to the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, as well as to the Parliament. But at laſt it was reſolved, that their Reception ſhould be by a Committee of fourteen Lords, and Twenty-eight Commoners, and the *Scotch* Commiſſioners in the *Painted Chamber*. Ruſh. V. p. 790.

1644. by means of theſe two Lords and his Friends in *London*, of ſome Things which he was not himſelf fully enough acquainted with *. However this be, not to dwell too long upon Preliminaries, the Particulars whereof are not abſolutely neceſſary, it ſuffices to ſay in a Word, that the following Articles were agreed upon. That the Commiſſioners of both Parties ſhould meet at *Uxbridge*: That the Conferences ſhould begin the 30th of *January* 1644-5, and ſhould laſt twenty Days: That the Propoſitions as well on the King's as the Parliament's Side, ſhould be reduced to theſe three Heads, *Religion*, the *Militia*, and *Ireland*: That *Religion* ſhould be treated upon three Days together, then the *Militia* three Days more, and after that *Ireland*, as many; which done, the Affairs of *Religion* ſhould be reſumed for three Days, then the Buſineſs of the *Militia*, and laſtly, *Ireland* for the ſame Time. The King's Commiſſioners were, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquiſs of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Kingſton*, the Earl of *Chicheſter*, and eleven others, among whom was Sir *Edward Hide* Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, afterwards Earl of *Clarendon* *1. Thoſe for the Parliament were twelve in Number, the chief whereof were the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Denbigh* *2; and for *Scotland* the principal were, the Earl

* Had *Rapin* ſeen *Whitlock*'s Memoirs, he would have found his Conjecture confirmed. He ſays, both Houſes deſired of the Duke of *Richmond* and Earl of *Southampton*, a Liſt of their Retinue, to the end no Affront might be offered to them, but chiefly to diſcover ſuch as came to Town with theſe Lords, under pretenſe of being of their Retinue, when they were not, *but came to do ill Offices to the Parliament*. *Whitlock* ſays, they were civilly treated, whereas at *Oxford* he and the reſt had been ſcurvily uſed. *p.* 114.

*1 The other ten were, the Lords *Capel*, *Seymour*, *Hatton*, and *Culpepper*, Secretary *Nicholas*, Sir *Edward Lane*, Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, Mr. *Jeoffrey Palmer*, with Dr. *Stewart*, Dr. *Lancy*, and Dr. *Shelden*, for religious Affairs.

*2 The other eight were, the Lord Viſcount *Wenman*, *Denzil Hollis*, *William Pierepoint*, Sir *Henry Vane*, junior, *Oliver St. John*, *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, *John Crew*, *Edmund Prideaux*.

Earl of *Lowdon*, Lord-Chancellor of *Scotland*, and the Marquiſs of *Argyle* *. I intend not to relate the Particulars of this Negotiation, which was tranſacted by Papers and Anſwers in Writing; but I ſhall content my ſelf with mentioning the principal Matters. The King's Propoſitions were in the main the ſame with thoſe he had given at *Oxford*, without any Alteration as to the Senſe. The Parliament's were not much different from the *Oxford* ones, but more large and full, wherefore I think it proper to inſert them here. 1644.

The PROPOSITIONS *of the Parliament and* Scotch *Commiſſioners.*

" I. THat all Oaths, Declarations and Proclama- Ruſh. V. p. 796.
" tions, againſt both or either of the Hou-
" ſes of the Parliament of *England*, and the late
" Convention of Eſtates in *Scotland*, be declared
" null, and ſuppreſſed.

" II. That his Majeſty may be pleaſed to ſwear
" and ſign the late *ſolemn League and Covenant*, and
" that an Act of Parliament be paſſed for enjoining
" the taking thereof by all the Subjects of the Three
" Kingdoms.

" III. That the Bill be paſſed for the utter aboliſh-
" ing and taking away of all Archbiſhops, Biſhops,
" *&c.* and the reſt of the Hierarchy, out of the
" Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion
" of *Wales*, with ſuch Alterations concerning the
" Eſtates of Prelates, as ſhall agree with the Articles
" of the late Treaty, of the Date at *Edinburgh*, 29
" of *November* 1642, and joint Declaration of both
" Kingdoms.

* The other *Scotch* Commiſſioners were, the Lords *Maitland* and *Balmerino*, *Johnſon*, *Erskin*, *Dundas*, *Smith*, *Kennedy*, *Berkley*, together with Mr. *Alexander Henderſon*.

1644. "IV. That the Ordinance concerning the calling "and ſitting of the Aſſembly of *Divines*, be con- "firmed by Act of Parliament.

"V. That Reformation of Religion, according "to the Covenant, be ſettled by Act of Parliament, "in ſuch manner as both Houſes ſhall agree upon "after Conſultation had with the Aſſembly of *Di-* "*vines*; and foraſmuch as both Kingdoms are mutu- "ally obliged by the ſaid Covenant, to endeavour the "neareſt Conjunction and Uniformity in Matters of "Religion, that ſuch Unity and Uniformity in Re- "ligion, according to the Covenant, as after Con- "ſultation had with the Divines of both Kingdoms, "now aſſembled, ſhall be jointly agreed on by both "Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, and by the "Church and Kingdom of *Scotland*, be confirmed "by Acts of Parliament of both Kingdoms reſpec- "tively.

"VI. That for the more effectual diſabling Je- "ſuits, Prieſts, Papiſts, and Popiſh Recuſants, from "diſturbing the State, and eluding the Laws, and for "the better diſcovering and ſpeedy Conviction of Re- "cuſants, an Oath be eſtabliſhed by Act of Parlia- "ment, to be adminiſtred to them; and refuſing "the ſaid Oath, being tendered in ſuch manner as "ſhall be appointed by the ſaid Act, to be ſufficient "Conviction in Law of Recuſancy.

"VII. An Act of Parliament for Education of "the Children of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Pro- "teſtant Religion.

"VIII. An Act for the true levying of the Penal- "ties againſt them.

"IX. That an Act be paſſed in Parliament, where- "by the Practices of Papiſts againſt the State may "be prevented, and the Laws againſt them duly ex- "ecuted, and a ſtricter Courſe taken to prevent the "ſaying or hearing of Maſs in the Court, or any o- "ther part of the Kingdom.

"X. The

X. The like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, con- 1644-5.
" cerning the four laſt preceeding Propoſitions.

" XI. That the King do give his Royal Aſſent,

" 1. To an Act for the due Obſervation of the
" Lord's Day.

" 2. And to the Bill for the Suppreſſion of Inno-
" vations in the Worſhip of God.

" 3. And to the Bill againſt the enjoying of Plu-
" ralities and Non-reſidency.

" 4. And to the following Acts, for the reform-
" ing and regulating of both Univerſities, of the Col-
" leges of *Weſtminſter*, *Winchester*, and *Eaton*.

" 5. For the ſuppreſſing of Interludes and Stage-
" Plays.

" 6. For the taking the Accounts of the King-
" dom.

" 7. For Relief of ſick and maimed Soldiers, and
" of poor Widows and Children of Soldiers.

" 8. For raiſing of Monies, for the payment and
" ſatisfying of the publick Debts and Damages of
" the Kingdom.

" 9. For taking away the Court of Wards and
" Liveries, *&c.*

" 10. For the taking away all Tenures by Ho-
" mage, and all Fines, Licenſes, Seiſures, and Par-
" dons for Alienation: And that his Majeſty will
" pleaſe to accept, in recompence hereof, one Hun-
" dred Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

" And give Aſſurance of his conſenting in the
" Parliament of *Scotland*, to an Act ratifying the
" Acts of Convention of the Eſtates of *Scotland*, cal-
" led by the Council and Conſervatory of Peace, and
" the Commiſſioners for the common Burthen, and
" aſſembled the 22d Day of *June*, 1643, and ſeveral
" Times continued ſince.

" 1. That the Perſons who ſhall expect no Par-
" don, be only theſe following, *Rupert* and *Maurice*,
" Count Palatines of the *Rhine*, *James* Earl of *Derby*,
" *John* Earl of *Briſtol*, *William* Earl of *Newcastle*,

1644-5. " *Francis* Lord *Cottington*, *John* Lord *Pawlet*, *George* " Lord *Digby*, *Edward* Lord *Littleton*, *William Laud* " Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Matthew Wren* Biſhop " of *Ely*, Sir *Robert Heath*, Knight, *&c.* and all " ſuch others, as being proceſſed by the Eſtates of " Treaſon, ſhall be condemned before the Act of " Oblivion be paſſed.

" 2. All Papiſts and Popiſh Recuſants, who have " been, are, or ſhall be actually in Arms, or vo- " luntarily aſſiſting againſt the Parliaments or E- " ſtates of either Kingdom.

" 3. All Perſons who have had any Hand in the " plotting, deſigning, or aſſiſting the Rebellion in " *Ireland*.

" 4. That the Members of either Houſe of Parlia- " ment, who have deſerted the Parliament, and con- " curred in the Votes at *Oxford*, may be removed " from his Majeſty's Counſels, and be reſtrained from " coming within the Verge of the Court, and that " they may not, without the Conſent of both King- " doms, bear any Office, or have any Employment " concerning the State or Commonwealth.

" 5. That by Act of Parliament, all Judges and " Officers towards the Law Common or Civil; and " likewiſe all Biſhops, Clergymen, and other Eccle- " ſiaſtical Perſons who have deſerted the Parliament, " ſhall not be capable of any Preferment or Employ- " ment.

N. B. *Then follow ſeveral Articles regulating the Confiſcation of the Goods, and the Fines of ſuch Delinquents as were not actually excepted out of the Pardon.*

" XII. That an Act be paſſed whereby the Debts " of the Kingdom, and the Perſons of Delinquents, " and the Value of their Eſtates may be known; and " appointing in what manner the Confiſcations a- " bove-mentioned may be levied.

" XIII. That an Act be paſſed in the Parliament " of both Kingdoms reſpectively, for Confirma-

" tion

" tion of the Treaties paſſed betwixt the two King- 1644-5.
" doms.

" XIV. That an Act of Parliament be paſſed to " make void the Ceſſation of *Ireland*, and to ſettle " the Proſecution of the War in that Kingdom.

" XV. That an Act be paſſed in the Parliament " of both Kingdoms reſpectively, for eſtabliſhing " the joint Declaration of both Kingdoms, bearing " Date the 30th of *January* 1643.

" XVI. That by Act of Parliament the Subjects " of the Kingdom of *England*, may be appointed to " be armed, trained, and diſciplined in ſuch manner " as both Houſes ſhall think fit, the like for the " Kingdom of *Scotland*.

" XVII. That an Act of Parliament be paſſed for " the ſettling the Admiralty and Forces at Sea, and " for the raiſing of ſuch Moneys for Maintenance of " the ſaid Forces, and of the Navy, as both Houſes " of Parliament ſhall think fit; the like for the " Kingdom of *Scotland*.

" XVIII. And an Act for the ſettling of all For- " ces both by Sea and Land, in Commiſſioners to be " nominated by both Houſes of Parliament.

N. B. *Here follow the Powers which thoſe Commiſſioners were to have.*

" That the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms may " meet as a joint Committee, 1. To preſerve the " Peace betwixt the Kingdoms. 2. To prevent the " Violation of the Articles of Peace. 3. To raiſe " and join the Forces of both Kingdoms, to reſiſt " all Foreign Invaſion. 4. To order the War of " *Ireland*.

" XIX. That his Majeſty give his Aſſent to what " the two Kingdoms ſhall agree upon, in Proſecuti- " on of the Articles of the large Treaty, which are " not yet finiſhed.

" XX. That all Peers, made ſince the Day that " *Edward* Lord *Littleton*, then Lord-Keeper of the " Great-Seal, deſerted the Parliament, and that the

" ſaid

1644-5. " ſaid Great-Seal was conveyed away, being the 21ſt " Day of *May* 1642, and who ſhall hereafter be " made, ſhall not Sit or Vote in the Parliament of " *England*, without Conſent of both Houſes.

" XXI. That the Deputy or chief Governour or " other Governours of *Ireland*, as alſo all the Great " Officers of the Crown of *England*, be nominated " by both Houſes of Parliament.

" XXII. That the Education of his Majeſty's " Children be in the Proteſtant Religion, and that " their Tutors and Governour be choſen by the Par- " liaments of both Kingdoms. And that if they be " Male, they be married to ſuch only as are of the " Proteſtant Religion; if they be Females, they may " not be married but with the Advice and Conſent " of both Parliaments.

" XXIII. That his Majeſty will give his Royal " Aſſent to ſuch Ways and Means as the Parlia- " ments of both Kingdoms ſhall think fitting for the " uniting the Proteſtant Princes, and for the entire " Reſtitution of *Charles Lodwick* Prince Elector Pa- " latine, to his Electoral Dignity and Dominions, pro- " vided that this extend not to Prince *Rupert* or " Prince *Maurice*, or the Children of either of them.

" XXIV. That by Act of Parliament the conclu- " ding of Peace or War with Foreign Princes and " States, be with Advice and Conſent of both Parli- " ments.

" XXV. That an Act of Oblivion be paſſed in " the Parliaments of both Kingdoms reſpectively, " relative to the Qualifications in the Propoſitions a- " foreſaid.

" XXVI. That the Members of both Houſes of " Parliament, or others, who have, during this Par- " liament, been put out of any Place or Office, for " adhering to the Parliament, may either be reſtored " thereunto, or otherwiſe have Recompence for the " ſame.

" XXVII.

" XXVII. That the Armies may be disbanded at 1644-5.
" ſuch time and in ſuch manner, as ſhall be agreed
" upon by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms.

" XXVIII. That an Act be paſſed for the grant-
" ing and confirming of the Charters, Cuſtoms, *&c.*
" of the City of *London*, notwithſtanding any *Nonu-*
" *ſer*, *Miſuſer*, or *Abuſer*. That the Militia of the
" City of *London*, and of the Pariſhes without, may
" be in the Ordering and Government of the Lord-
" Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council.

" That the Tower of *London* may be in the Go-
" vernment of the City of *London*, and the chief Of-
" ficer and Governour thereof from Time to Time
" be nominated and removeable by the Common-
" Council.

" That the Citizens or Forces of *London* ſhall not
" be drawn out of the City into any other Part of
" the Kingdom, without their own Conſent, and
" that the drawing of their Forces into others Parts
" of the Kingdom in theſe diſtracted Times, may not
" be drawn into Examples for the future.

" And for prevention of Inconveniences, which
" may happen by the long Intermiſſion of Common-
" Councils, it is deſired that there be an Act, that
" all By-Laws and Ordinances already made or here-
" after to be made by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen,
" and Common-Council, touching the calling, con-
" tinuing, and regulating of the ſame, ſhall be as ef-
" fectual in Law, as if the ſame were particularly
" enacted by the Authority of Parliament. And
" that the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-
" Council may add to, or repeal the ſaid Ordinances
" from time to time as they ſhall ſee cauſe.

" That ſuch other Propoſitions as ſhall be made
" for the City for their farther Safety, Welfare, and
" Government, and ſhall be approved of by both
" Houſes of Parliament, may be granted and con-
" firmed by Act of Parliament.

If

1644-5. If after reading these Propositions a Man were asked what, Authority the two Houses intended to leave the King, supposing he had accepted them, he would be at a loss for an Answer? It evidently appears they meant to leave him only an empty Title, and invest themselves with the Sovereignty, and that, not by Artifice, but openly and publickly. Their Principle was, that the King having rendered himself unworthy, by the Breach of his Oaths, and of the Trust reposed in him by the People, to hold the Reins of the Government, the supream Authority was to return to its original Fountain, that is to say, to the People represented by the two Houses. Accordingly they did not intend that the Justice or Injustice of these Propositions should be debated in the Treaty at *Uxbridge*; for it would have been ridiculous to assign but twenty Days for such an Examination; but they gave them as Conditions from which they would not depart, and which the King was to embrace or reject. For this Reason, the King's Commissioners endeavoured in vain to enter into a Discussion of the Propositions. All they got by that was, the Parliament's Commissioners offered to demonstrate by Word of Mouth, in private Conferences, that the Propositions were very just and reasonable. After that, pretending to have urged Arguments capable of satisfying them, they coldly demanded their Assent, though the King's Commissioners were far enough from being convinced by the Reasons alledged to them. This Method of proceeding baffled the King's Commissioners, who had prepared abundance of Arguments, Objections, and Difficulties against the Propositions, and determined to find fault with every Expression. For after all, the King was no more desirous of a Peace than the two Houses, as will be seen presently, and indeed the Thing was next to impossible, considering the Contrariety between the Principles on which the two Parties grounded their respective Rights. To say all in one Word, the Parliament's Commissioners departed

departed not an Ace from what was contained in the Propoſitions. 1644 5.

In the firſt Place, as to Religion, the need both Houſes ſtood in of *Scotland*, and the *Covenant* made between the two Nations, allowed them not to queſtion the Juſtice of this ſame *Covenant*, which had been now ſworn to in both Kingdoms. Accordingly it may be affirmed, that they defended this Point very ill. For to prove the Neceſſity of the Alterations they had made in Religion, and in the Diſcipline of the Church, the Confirmation whereof they demanded, the beſt Argument they alledged was the *Covenant* itſelf. It is true, in ſome Conferences their Miniſters were ordered to ſpeak, and endeavour to make appear that *Epiſcopacy* was not *Jure Divino*. But this did not prove the abſolute Neceſſity of deſtroying it in *England*. All their Reaſonings were built upon the pretended Miſchiefs it had occaſioned. But when the King's Commiſſioners propoſed the letting *Epiſcopacy* remain, and to reform the Abuſes thereof, the Reaſons alledged by thoſe of the Parliament not to agree to it were exceeding weak *.

For

* Upon the entrance into the Debate of Religion, Dr. *Steward* ſpoke againſt *Presbyterial* Government, and for *Epiſcopal*, which he alledged to be *Jure Divino*. Mr. *Henderſon* anſwered him, and aſſerted that *Epiſcopacy* was not ſo ſuitable to the Word of God as *Presbytery*, which he urged to be *Jure Divino*. Whereupon the Marquiſs of *Hertford* ſpoke to this Effect:

My Lords,

"HEre is much ſaid concerning Church-Government in the Ge-
"neral, the Reverend Doctors on the King's Part affirm, that
"*Epiſcopacy* is *Jure Divino*; the Reverend Miniſters of the o-
"ther Part do affirm, that Presbytery is *Jure Divino*, for my Part
"I think that neither the one nor the other, nor any Government
"whatſoever is *Jure Divino*, and I deſire we may leave this Ar-
"gument, and proceed to debate upon the particular Propoſals."

The Earl of *Pembroke*, ſays *Whitlock*, and many of the Commiſſioners were of the ſame Judgment. *Whit.* p. 123.

1644 5. For the Militia, an Article which included the ordering of the Forces of the Kingdom, the Custody of Places, the Nomination to great Posts, *&c.* the Parliament could not depart from it, without owning they were making War very wrongfully, since they did not pretend to do it, but in order to obtain such Securities as they believed they had right to demand. If by a Treaty they should have accepted the King's Word as sufficient Security, every body would have perceived that they might have avoided the War, by accepting that Security which the King had always offered before the Rupture. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that this Article might very justly have been deemed a proper Subject for Treaty. But the Parliament seems to have kept to this Article of the *Militia*, only to lay invincible Obstacles to a Peace. For it may be affirmed, that neither Party desired it, unless greater Advantages might be procured by a Treaty than by Arms.

As for *Ireland*, the two Houses thought they had the King at very great Advantage, and therefore were glad to expose him to the giving bad Reasons in his Vindication. It is certain then, it was not properly with design to make Peace that the two Houses sent their Commissioners to *Uxbridge*. Their sole View was to let their Party see they were determined to stand by the Alterations they had made in Religion, and the Establishment of *Presbyterianism*: To show the Publick that the King, when he so frequently offered Peace, made Overtures only of a Peace very destructive and dangerous to the Nation: And lastly, to confirm the People in their Suspicions, that the King did not proceed as he ought in the Affairs of *Ireland*.

The King on his part was no more inclined to seek Expedients for Peace than the two Houses. If he sent his Commissioners to *Uxbridge*, it was in the first place, because having so often expressed his earnest Desire to treat, he could not decently draw back, when he was, as I may say, taken at his Word. Secondly,

condly, he knew that it had been moved in Parliament to purſue the War more vigorouſly than ever, and that in order to do it with greater Succeſs, ſuch Alterations in the Army were contriving, as could not but be diſadvantageous to him. He hoped therefore by means of the Treaty of *Uxbridge* to retard the Execution of this Project, as well as the Parliament's Preparations. Thirdly, he did not queſtion but the unreaſonable Demands of both Houſes would have a good Effect for him in the Minds of the People, becauſe they would clearly ſee that the Parliament's Aim was to deſtroy entirely the Worſhip of the Church of *England*, practiſed ever ſince the Reformation, to aſſume to themſelves the Sovereignty, under colour of abridging the Power of the Crown, and in a word, to change the Conſtitution of the Government in Church and State. But though he had conſented to treat upon the Parliament's Propoſitions, he was however reſolved never to conſent to the Aboliſhing of *Epiſcopacy*, or Diminution of the Regal Authority, nor to deprive himſelf of the Aid he expected to draw from *Ireland*, by a Peace with the Rebels, unleſs he was firſt ſure of Peace in *England*. 1644-5.

What has been ſaid concerning the little Inclination both Parties had to Peace, needs no proof with reſpect to the Parliament. Their Propoſitions, the Proceedings of their Commiſſioners, and the ſhort Space they aſſigned for the Treaty, are clear Evidences of it. As for the King, there are ſtill more convincing Proofs. Firſt, there is not the leaſt likelihood that as his Affairs then ſtood, if he had really and ſincerely reſolved to labour for Peace, he would have been willing, I won't ſay to accept, but even to liſten to Propoſitions which tended to leave him nothing but the empty Name of King, and to deprive him wholly of the Exerciſe of the Royal Power. Had he been Priſoner in the Hands of the Parliament, they could ſcarce have propoſed to him harder Terms. And indeed, when that Diſaſter befel him afterwards, the Parliament made very little Additions

to

1644 5. to theſe ſame Terms propoſed to him at *Uxbridge*, when he was yet able to defend himſelf. Secondly, the Intentions I aſcribe to the King with regard to Peace, are proved by ſeveral *Papers* found in his Cabinet at the Battle of *Nazeby*, that was fought within a few Months after, and which the Parliament ordered to be printed and publiſhed. I ſhall give here ſome Extracts of them, becauſe they relate to the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, of which I am now ſpeaking. I own, it is not impoſſible but the Publiſhers of theſe *Papers* may have lam'd or falſified them. But there would be need of other Proofs beſides a bare Poſſibility, to take away all Credit from theſe *Papers*, the Originals whereof the Parliament boaſted to have in their Hands. Beſides, the impartial Reader can find nothing there contrary to the Genius and Character of *Charles* I, or to the State of his Affairs.

Directions for my Uxbridge *Commiſſioners.*

Firſt, concerning Religion.

Ruſh. V. p. 887, &c. "IN this the Government of the Church (as I "ſuppoſe) will be the chief Queſtion, wherein "two Things are to be conſidered, Conſcience and "Policy.

"For the firſt, I muſt declare unto you, that I "cannot yield to the Change of the Government by "Biſhops, not only as I concur with the general "Opinion of Chriſtians in all Ages, as being the "beſt, but I likewiſe hold my ſelf particularly bound "by the Oath I took at my Coronation, not to alter "the Government of this Church from what I found "it. And as for the Church's Patrimony, I cannot ſuffer any Diminution or Alienation of it, it "being without peradventure Sacrilege, and likewiſe contrary to my Coronation Oath. But whatſoever ſhall be offered for rectifying of Abuſes, if "any have crept in, or yet for the eaſe of tender "Conſciences,

" Conſciences, (ſo that it endamage not the Foun- 1644-5.
" dation) I am content to hear, and will be ready
" to give a gracious Anſwer thereunto.

" For the ſecond; as the King's Duty is to protect
" the Church, ſo it is the Church's to aſſiſt the King
" in the Maintenance of his juſt Authority; where-
" fore my Predeceſſors have been always careful,
" (eſpecially ſince the Reformation) to keep the
" Dependency of the Clergy entirely upon the
" Crown, without which it will ſcarcely ſit faſt upon
" the King's Head; therefore you muſt do nothing
" to change or leſſen this Dependency.

" Next concerning the Militia after Conſcience:
" This is certainly the fitteſt Subject for a King's
" Quarrel, for without it the kingly Power is but a
" Shadow, and therefore upon no means to be quit-
" ted, but to be maintained according to the antient
" known Laws of the Land: Yet becauſe (to at-
" tain to this ſo-much-wiſhed Peace by all good Men)
" it is in a manner neceſſary, that ſufficient and real
" Security be given for the Performance of what ſhall
" be agreed upon, I permit you either by leaving
" ſtrong Towns, or other military Force to the Re-
" bels Poſſeſſion (until Articles be performed) to
" give ſuch Aſſurance for the Performance of Con-
" ditions, as you ſhall judge neceſſary for to conclude
" a Peace, provided always that you take (at leaſt)
" as great Care, by ſufficient Security, that Condi-
" tions be performed to me, and to make ſure, that
" the Peace once ſettled, all things ſhall return into
" their antient Channels.

" As for *Ireland*, I confeſs they have very ſpecious
" popular Arguments to preſs this Point, the gain-
" ing of no Article is more conducing to their Ends
" than this; and I have as much reaſon, in both
" Honour and Policy, to take care how to anſwer
" this as any. All the World knows the eminent
" inevitable Neceſſity which cauſed me to make the
" *Iriſh* Ceſſation; and there remain yet as ſtrong
" Reaſons for the concluding of that Peace, where-

1644-5. "fore you must consent to nothing to hinder me "therein, until a clear way be shewn me how my "Protestant Subjects there may probably, at least, "defend themselves, and that I shall have no more "Need to defend my Conscience and Crown from "the Injuries of this Rebellion."

Memorials for Secretary Nicholas, *concerning the Treaty at* Uxbridge.

Oxford, *Feb.* 1644.

"I. FOR Religion and Church-Government, I "will not go one Jot farther than what is "offered by you already.

"II. And so for the Militia, more than what ye "have allowed by me; but even in that you must "observe, that I must have free Nomination of the "full half, as if the total Number of *Scots*, and all, "be Thirty, I will name Fifteen. Yet if they (I "mean the *English* Rebels) will be so base as to ad-"mit of Ten *Scots* to Twenty *English*, I am content-"ed to name Five *Scots* and Ten *English*; and so "proportionably to any Number that shall be agreed "upon.

"III. As for gaining of particular Persons, be-"sides Security, I give you Power to promise them "Rewards for performed Services, not sparing to en-"gage for Places, so they be not of great Trust, "or be taken away from honest Men in Possession, "but as much Profit as you will. With this last "you are only to acquaint *Richmond*, *Southampton*, "*Culpepper* and *Hide*."

The

The Queen to the King.

Paris, *Jan.* 6. *Decemb.* 27. 1644-5.

" I Underſtand that the Commiſſioners are arrived " at *London*; I have nothing to ſay, but that you " have a care of your Honour, and that if you have " a Peace, it may be ſuch as may hold; and if it fall " out otherwiſe, that you do not abandon thoſe who " have ſerved you, for fear they do forſake you in " your Need: Alſo, I do not ſee how you can be in " Safety without a Regiment of Guards; for my " ſelf, I think I cannot be, ſeeing the Malice which " they have againſt me, and my Religion, of which " I hope you will have a care of both; but, in my " Opinion, Religion ſhould be the laſt thing upon " which you ſhould treat: For if you do agree up- " on Strictneſs againſt the Catholicks, it would diſ- " courage them to ſerve you; and if afterwards there " ſhould be no Peace, you could never expect Suc- " cours either from *Ireland* or any other Catholick " Prince, for they would believe you would abandon " them after you had ſerved your ſelf. Adieu, my " dear Heart."

My Wife, Dec. 27.
Jan. 6. 1644-5.

His Majeſty's Letter to the Queen.

Oxford, *Decemb.* 1644.

Dear Heart,

" KNOW as a certain Truth (that all) even " my Party, are ſtrangely impatient for Peace, " which obliged me ſo much the more at all Occa- " ſions to ſhew my real Intentions to Peace: And " likewiſe, I am put in very good Hope (ſome hold

1644-5. " it a Certainty) that if I ſhould come to a fair " Treaty, the Ring-leading Rebels could not hinder " me from a good Peace: Firſt, becauſe their own " Party are almoſt weary of the War, and likewiſe " for the great Diſtractions which at this time moſt " aſſuredly are amongſt themſelves, as Presbyterians " againſt Independents in Religion, and General a- " gainſt General in point of Command. Upon " theſe Grounds a Treaty being moſt deſirable, " (not without hope of good Succeſs) the moſt " probable means to procure it was to be uſed, which " might ſtand with Honour and Safety. Amongſt " the reſt, (for I will omit all thoſe which are un- " queſtionably concealable) the Sound of my Re- " turn to *London* was thought to have ſo much force " of popular Rhetorick in it, that upon it a Treaty " would be had, or if refuſed, it would bring much " Prejudice to them, and be advantageous to me; " yet, leſt fooliſh or malicious People ſhould inter- " pret this as to proceed from Fear or Folly, I have " joined Conditions with the Propoſition (without " which this Sound will ſignify nothing) which thou " wilt find to be moſt of the chief Ingredients of " an honourable and ſafe Peace. Then obſerve, if " a Treaty at *London*, with Commiſſioners for both " Sides, may be had without it, it is not to be uſed, " nor in caſe they will treat with no body but my " ſelf; ſo that the Conditions ſave any Aſperſion of " Diſhonour, and the treating at *London*, the Ma- " lignity which our factious Spirits here may infuſe " into this Treaty upon this Subject.

" This I hope will ſecure thee from the Trouble " which otherwiſe may be cauſed by malicious Ru- " mours: and though I judge my ſelf ſecure in thy " Thoughts from ſuſpecting me guilty of any Baſe- " neſs, yet I held this Account neceſſary, to the end " thou mayeſt make others know as well as thy ſelf " this certain Truth, that no danger of Death or " Miſery (which I think much worſe) ſhall make " me do any thing unworthy of thy Love.

" I con-

" I conclude, by conjuring thee as thou loveſt 1644-5.
" me, that no Appearance of Peace, nor hopeful
" Condition of mine, make thee neglect to haſten
" Succour for him, who is eternally thine."

Copy to my Wife, Dec. 1644.
By Tom Elliot.

To the Queen.

" I Shall now tell thee, That the Rebels are en-
" gaged into an equal Treaty, and that the Diſ-
" tractions of *London* were never ſo great, or ſo
" likely to bring good Effect as now. Laſtly, That
" Aſſiſtance was never more needful, never ſo likely
" as now to do good."

Copy to my Wife, Jan. 1.
1644. *By* P. A.

To the Queen.

Oxford, *Jan.* 2. 1644.

Dear Heart,

" AS for my calling thoſe at *London* a Parlia-
" ment, I ſhall refer thee to *Digby* for parti-
" cular Satisfaction of this in general: If there had
" been but two (beſides my ſelf) of my Opinion,
" I had not done it; and the Argument that pre-
" vailed with me was, That the Calling did no ways
" acknowledge them to be a Parliament. Upon
" which Condition and Conſtruction I did, and no
" otherwiſe, and accordingly it is regiſtred in the
" Council-Books, with the Councils unanimous Ap-
" probations. And ſo farewell, dear Heart."

Copy to my Wife, Jan. $\frac{2}{11}$.
1645. P. A.

To the Queen.

Oxford, *Jan.* 22. 1644.

Dear Heart,

"I Believe thou wilt approve of my Choice of "Treators; and for my Propoſitions, they differ "nothing in Subſtance (very little in Words) from "thoſe which were laſt, wherefore I need to ſay no- "thing of them; and for my Inſtructions, they are "not yet made, but by the next I hope to ſend them.

"Now upon the whole Matter, I deſire thee to ſhew "the Queen and Miniſters there, the Improbability that "this preſent Treaty ſhould produce a Peace, con- "ſidering the great ſtrange Difference (if not Con- "trariety) of Grounds that are betwixt the Rebels "Propoſitions and mine, and that I cannot alter "mine, nor will they ever theirs, till they be out "of hope to prevail by force, which a little Aſſiſt- "ance by thy Means will ſoon make them be; for I "am confident, if ever I could put them to a De- "fenſive (which a reaſonable Sum of Money would "do) they would be eaſily brought to Reaſon."

Copy to my Wife.
Jan. 22. 1644.

The Queen to the King.

Paris, *Jan.* $\frac{27}{17}$, 1644.

My Dear Heart,

"TOM *Elliot*, two Days ſince, hath brought "me much Joy and Sorrow, the firſt to know "the good Eſtate in which you are, the other Fear "that I have that you go to *London*; I cannot con- "ceive where the Wit was of thoſe who gave you "this Council; unleſs it be to hazard your Perſon "to ſave theirs: But thanks be to God, to Day I re-

ceived

" ceived one of yours by the Ambaſſador of *Portu-* 1644 5.
" *gal*, dated in *January*, which comforted me much
" to ſee that the Treaty ſhall be at *Uxbridge*. For
" the Honour of God, truſt not your ſelf in the
" Hands of thoſe People; and if ever you go to
" *London*, before the Parliament be ended, or with-
" out a good Army, you are loſt. I underſtand
" that the Propoſitions for the Peace muſt begin by
" disbanding the Army; if you conſent to this you
" ſhall be loſt, they having the whole Power of the
" Militia, they have done and will do whatſoever
" they will.

" I received Letters Yeſterday from the Duke of
" *Lorrain*, who ſends me word, if his Service be
" agreeable to you, he will bring you Ten Thouſand
" Men. Dr. *Goffe*, whom I have ſent into *Hol-*
" *land*, ſhall treat with him in his Paſſage upon this
" Buſineſs, and I hope very ſpeedily to ſend good
" News of this, as alſo of the Money; aſſure your
" ſelf, I will be wanting in nothing you ſhall de-
" ſire, and that I will hazard my Life, that is, to
" die by Famine, rather than not to ſend to you.
" Send me word always by whom you receive my
" Letters; for I write both by the Ambaſſador of
" *Portugal*, and the Reſident of *France*: Above all,
" have a Care not to abandon thoſe who have ſerved
" you, as well the Biſhops as the poor Catholicks.
" Adieu."

The King to the Queen.

" THE Treaty begins to Day. I deſire thee to
" be confident that I ſhall never make a Peace
" by abandoning my Friends, nor ſuch a one as will
" not ſtand with my Honour and Safety."

To my Wife, Jan. 30.
1644. *By* Legg.

1644 5.

To the Queen.

Oxford, *Feb.* $\frac{15}{25}$, 1644.

Dear Heart,

" THE Expectation of an Expreſs from thee " (as I find by thine of the 4th of *February*) " is very good News to me, as likewiſe that thou " art now well ſatisfied with my Diligence in writing.

" As for our Treaty, there is every Day leſs " hopes than other, that it will produce a Peace, " but I will abſolutely promiſe thee, that if we have " one, it ſhall be ſuch as ſhall invite thy Return; for " I vow, that without thy Company I can neither " have Peace nor Comfort within my ſelf. The li- " mited Days for treating are almoſt expired, with- " out the leaſt Agreement upon any one Article; " wherefore I have ſent for Enlargement of Days, " that the whole Treaty may be laid open to the " World; and I aſſure thee, that thou needeſt not " doubt the Iſſue of this Treaty, for my Commiſ- " ſioners are ſo well choſen, (though I ſay it) " that they will neither be threatned nor diſputed " from the Grounds I have given them, which " upon my Word, is according to the little Note " thou ſo well remembreth, and in this not only " their Obedience but their Judgments concur.

" In ſhort, there is little or no appearance, but " that this Summer will be the hotteſt for War of " any that hath been yet; and be confident, that in " making Peace, I ſhall ever ſhew my Conſtancy in " adhering to Biſhops, and all our Friends, and " not forget to put a ſhort Period to this perpetual " Parliament. But as thou loveſt me, let none per- " ſuade thee to ſlacken thine Aſſiſtance for him, who " is eternally thine,"

To my Wife, Feb. $\frac{15}{25}$.
1644 5. *By* P. A.

C. R.

To

To the Queen.

Oxford, *Feb.* 19. 1644.

Dear Heart,

" I cannot yet ſend thee any certain Word concerning the Iſſue of our Treaty, only the unreaſonable Stubbornneſs of the Rebels gives daily leſs and leſs hopes of any Accommodation this way; wherefore I hope no Rumours ſhall hinder thee from haſtening all thou may'ſt with all poſſible Aſſiſtance to me, and particularly that of the Duke of *Lorrain*'s, concerning which I received yeſterday good News from Dr. *Goff*, that the Prince of *Orange* will furniſh Shipping for his Tranſportation, and that the reſt of his Negotiations goes hopefully on.

" As for truſting the Rebels, either by going to *London*, or disbanding my Army before a Peace, do no ways fear my hazarding ſo cheaply or fooliſhly; for I eſteem the Intereſt thou haſt in me at a far dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more Wit. I reſt eternally thine."

To the Queen.

Oxford, *March* 5. 1644.

Deart Heart,

" NOW is come to paſs what I foreſaw, the fruitleſs End (as to preſent Peace) of this Treaty, but I am ſtill confident I ſhall find good Effects of it: For beſides that my Commiſſioners have offered, to ſay no more, full-meaſured Reaſon, and the Rebels have ſtucken rigidly to their Demands, which I dare ſay had been too much, though they had taken me Priſoner, ſo that aſſu-

" redly

1644. " redly the Breach would light foully upon them. " We have likewiſe at this Time diſcovered, and " ſhall make it evidently appear to the World, that " the *Engliſh* Rebels (whether baſely or ignorantly " will be no very great Difference) have as much as " in them lies tranſmitted the Command of *Ireland* " from the Crown of *England* to the *Scots*, which be- " ſides the Reflection it will have upon theſe Rebels, " will clearly ſhew, that Reformation of the Church " is not the chief, much leſs the only End of the " *Scotiſh* Rebellion.

" But it being Preſumption, and no Piety ſo to " truſt to a good Cauſe, as not to uſe all lawful " Means to maintain it; I have thought of one " means more to furniſh thee with for my Aſſiſtance " than hitherto thou haſt had; it is, that I give " thee Power in my Name (to whom thou thinkeſt " moſt fit,) that I will take away all the Penal Laws " againſt the *Roman Catholicks in* England, as ſoon " as God ſhall make me able to do it, ſo as by their " Means, or in their Favours, I may have ſo power- " ful Aſſiſtance as may deſerve ſo great a Favour, " and enable me to do it. But if thou ask what I " call that Aſſiſtance, I anſwer, that when thou " knoweſt what may be done for it, it may be eaſily " ſeen if it deſerve to be ſo eſteemed: I need not tell " thee what Secrecy the Buſineſs required, yet this I " will ſay, that this is the greateſt Point of Confi- " dence I can expreſs to thee, for it is no Thanks " to me to truſt thee in any Thing elſe but in this, " which is the only Thing of Difference in Opinion " betwixt us: And yet I know thou wilt make a " good Bargain for me, even in this, I truſting thee " (though it concerns Religion) as if thou wert a " a Proteſtant, the viſible good of my Affairs ſo " much depending on it. Eternally thine.

To

1644.

To the Queen.

Oxford, *March* 13. *O. S.*

Dear Heart,

" WHat I told thee laſt Week concerning a " good Parting with my Lords and Com- " mons here, was on *Monday* laſt handſomely per- " formed : Now if I do any Thing unhandſome or " diſadvantageous to my ſelf or Friends in order to " a Treaty, it will be merely my own Fault; for I " confeſs, when I wrote laſt, I was in fear to have " been preſſed to make ſome mean Overtures to re- " new the Treaty, knowing there were great La- " bourings to that Purpoſe; but now I promiſe thee " if it be renewed, (which I believe it will not, with- " out ſome eminent good Succeſs on my Side) it " ſhall be to my Honour and Advantage, I being " now as well freed from the Place of baſe and mu- " tinous Motions (that is to ſay, our mungrel Parli- " ament here) as of the chief Cauſers, from whom " I may juſtly expect to be chidden by thee, for hav- " ing ſuffered thee to be vexed by them, *Wilmot* be- " ing already there, *Percy* on his way, and *Suſſex* " within few Days taking his Journey to thee.——

I ſhall make no other Remark on theſe Letters, than that they evidently ſhow the Peace which the King ſeemed to deſire ſo earneſtly, was an empty Sound without any thing real, but ſo far only as underſtood in the private Senſe he gave the Word. I have made appear on the other Side, that the two Houſes were not more inclined to Peace. Wherefore I hope my Readers will not take it ill that I forbear entering into a long Detail of the Conferences at *Uxbridge*, where both Parties ſought only to amuſe the People, rather than Expedients to come to a Concluſion. I ſhall therefore content my ſelf with relating

1644-5. ting in few Words, how far the two Parties went towards making that Peace they seemed to wish for so heartily.

Upon the Article of Religion the King's Commissioners, after many Disputes, consented at last to the following Particulars.

The Offers of the King's Commissioners about Religion. Rush. V. p. 818.

" 1. That Freedom be left to all Persons, of what " Opinions soever in Matters of Ceremony, and that " all the Penalties of the Laws and Customs which " enjoin those Ceremonies be suspended (1.)

" 2. That the Bishops shall exercise no Act of Ju- " risdiction or Ordination, without the Consent and " Council of the Presbyter, who shall be chosen [by " the Clergy of each Diocese,] out of the learnedst " and gravest Ministers of that Diocese (2.)

" 3. That the Bishop keep his constant Residence " in his Diocese, except when he shall be required " by his Majesty to attend him on any occasion, and " that (if he be not hindered by the Infirmities of " old Age or Sickness) he preach every *Sunday* in " some Church within his Diocese (3).

" 4. That the Ordination of Ministers shall be al- " ways in a publick and solemn manner, and very

REMAKR (1). *Since the penal Laws were not to be abolished, but only suspended, it followed that the Presbyterians could rely upon that Freedom no longer than it was out of the King's Power to deprive them of it.*

REM. (2). *It was not set forth who they were that should chuse the Presbyter. If it was the Bishop, this Concession amounted to little or nothing* *.

REM. (3). *This was no more than the Bishop's Duty, and it was not for the King's Honour to let this be considered as a Condescension to promote the Peace.*

* This Remark was needless, being occasioned by *Rapin*'s omitting the Words [*by the Clergy of the Diocese*] which are in the Concession. See *Rush.* V. p. 818.

" ſtrict Rules obſerved concerning the Sufficiency and 1644-5.
" other Qualifications of thoſe Men, who ſhall be
" received into *Holy Orders*; and the Biſhop ſhall
" not receive any into *Holy Orders*, without the Ap-
" probation and Conſent of the Presbyters, or the
" major part of them.

" 5. That competent Maintenance and Proviſion
" be eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, to ſuch Vi-
" carages as belong to Biſhops, Deans, and Chap-
" ters, out of the Impropriations, and according to
" the value of thoſe Impropriations, of the ſeveral
" Pariſhes (4).

" 6. That for the Time to come, no Man ſhall be
" capable of two Parſonages or Vicarages with Cure
" of Souls.

" 7. That towards the ſettling of the Publick
" Peace, one Hundred Thouſand Pounds ſhall be
" raiſed by Act of Parliament out of the Eſtates of
" Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters, in ſuch manner as
" ſhall be thought fit by the King and two Houſes of
" Parliament, without the Alienation of any of the
" ſaid Lands (5).

REM. (4). *One of the Things chiefly urged againſt the Church of* England *by the Presbyterians, was, that the Churches were ill ſerved, becauſe the Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters, committed the Cure of thoſe which belonged to them, to inſufficient Preachers for cheapneſs ſake. This Abuſe, doubtleſs ought to have been reformed, without making it one of the Conditions of the Peace.*

REM. (5). *By the Treaty between the Parliament and* Scotland, *the Lands of the Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters were aſſigned for the Payment of the* Scotch *Troops. The King ſeemed by this Conceſſion to agree that one Hundred Thouſand Pounds ſhould be raiſed upon thoſe Lands. But by ſuppoſing likewiſe the Neceſſity of the King's Conſent for the applying that Sum, the* Scots *could not be ſure he would agree that it ſhould be aſſigned to them.*

" 8. That

1644 5. " 8. That the Juriſdiction in Cauſes Teſtamentary, " Decimal, Matrimonial, be ſettled in ſuch manner " as ſhall ſeem moſt convenient by the King and two " Houſes of Parliament (6).

" 9. That one or more Acts of Parliament be paſ- " ſed for regulating of *Viſitations*, and againſt *immo-* " *derate Fees* in *Eccleſiaſtical* Courts, and the Abuſes " by frivolous *Excommunications*, and all other Abu- " ſes in the Exerciſe of *Eccleſiaſtical* Juriſdiction, in " ſuch manner as ſhall be agreed upon by his Ma- " jeſty, and both Houſes of Parliament ". *(7)*.

When theſe Conceſſions are compared with the Parliament's Demands, that *Epiſcopacy* ſhould be aboliſhed, it is no wonder the Parliament's Commiſſioners were not ſatisfied with them. Accordingly, without ſpending time in diſputing upon theſe Articles, they rejected them as inſufficient and offered not to qualify their Demand in the leaſt.

As to the *Militia*, the King's Commiſſioners after long diſputing, and alledging divers Arguments to ſhow the Injuſtice of ſtripping the King of one of the moſt eſſential Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Inconveniences infallibly ariſing from thence, were willing to grant:

Offers about the Militia. Ruſh. V. p. 827. " That all the Forces of the Kingdom, both by " Sea and Land, ſhould be put into the Hands of

REM. (6). *This Conceſſion ſignified nothing, for ſeeing the King meant not to give up his negative Vote in Parliament, to ſay that after the Peace this Article ſhould be ſettled by the King and two Honſes, was as much as to ſay, there ſhould be no Alteration in it but what the King pleaſed.*

REM. (7). *This pretended Conceſſion is like the former; for after the Peace ſhould be made, it would be ſtill in the King's Breaſt to give or with-hold his Aſſent to the Reformation of the Abuſes; whereas the Buſineſs in Hand was to ſettle what ought to be reformed.*

" Twenty

" Twenty Commiſſioners, Ten to be named by the 1644-5.
" King, and Ten by the Two Houſes, and that the
" ſame Thing ſhould be done in *Scotland*. But they
" would not conſent the Commiſſioners for *Scotland*
" ſhould be joined with thoſe for *England*, ſo as to
" form one Committee, or that the firſt ſhould in
" any manner meddle with the Affairs of *England*.
" Upon theſe Conditions, they offered that the King
" ſhould be content that this Commiſſion ſhould
" continue for three Years". But ſtill the Power of theſe Commiſſioners was to be ſettled firſt, wherein there were very great Difficulties.

The Parliament's Commiſſioners would not agree that the King ſhould name Ten of the Perſons that were to be intruſted with the Militia. Their Reaſon was, that the Point in Hand being to give the People Security, they would have none at all, if half the Commiſſioners were nominated by the King: Nay, rather it would be a means to re-kindle the War, there being no likelihood that theſe Commiſſioners, thus divided in two, would ever be able to agree, as they would be of quite oppoſite Principles. Moreover, proceeding upon the Foundation that the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* were united in the ſame Cauſe, and under the ſame Danger, they perſiſted to demand that the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms ſhould act in common. Upon theſe two Conditions they yielded ſo far as to agree that the Commiſſion ſhould continue but for ſeven Years, after having long contended for an unlimited Time. Thus the Negotiation upon this Article ſucceeded no better than upon the foregoing one *.

As

* The Parliament ſent an Expreſs to *Uxbridge* with their Vote to propound a *Limitation of the Militia for three Years, after the three Kingdoms are declared by the King and Parliament to be ſettled in Peace, or to have it ſettled in the Parliament for ſeven Years, after the Time the King is willing to ſettle it.* When they firſt treated of the Militia, Sir *Edward Hyde* would have had it for granted that the *whole Power of the Militia by the Law of*

1644-5. *About* Ireland.

As to *Ireland*, the Commissioners agreed not upon any one Thing. The Parliament's would have the Cessation to be void, and for he future there should be neither Peace nor Truce without the Consent of both Houses. The King's, knowing his Majesty's Mind, that he would not only maintain the Cessation, but even designed to make Peace with the *Irish*, were far from consenting to the Parliament's Demands. Thus the whole Dispute turned upon this Point, whether the King had Power to conclude a Cessation without the Privity of the two Houses, some affirming, others denying it. On both Sides, the same Arguments were frequently repeated with mutual Reproaches for sundry Steps, and a Disagreement in almost all the Facts alledged by each Side; so that neither of the Parties made the least Concession.

After a Negotiation of eighteen Days upon the three Grand Articles I have been speaking of, the King's Commissioners desired his Majesty's Propositions, particularly those concerning the Cessation of Arms, and the King's Return to the Parliament, might be taken into Consideration. The other Commissioners answered, that when the two Houses should see the Treaty in a fair way with some appearance of Success, they would consent to a longer Time. The two remaining Days were spent by the King's Commissioners, in trying to get the Treaty prolonged; but they could not prevail. It must be remembred, that the King's Aim was to gain Time for

England *is in the King only.* This by Mr. *Whitlock* was denied to be so very clear; and he undertook to make it out, *that our Law doth not positively affirm where that great Power is lodged, and doubted not but to satisfy the Commissioners fully in that Point.* Whereupon it was moved, that a Day might be appointed to hear their Arguments: But on account of the Time, it was thought fit to lay aside the Debate. The Commissioners of both Kingdoms at their return from their Quarters thanked *Whitlock* for encountering Sir *Edward Hyde* upon the Point of the Right of the *Militia*, wherein he was so confident. *Whit. Mem.* p. 124, 128.

for theſe two Reaſons eſpecially. Firſt, as he was perſwaded that as long as the People ſhould have any hopes of Peace, they would not eaſily be induced to find the Parliament the neceſſary Supplies for the Continuation of the War, and ſo the Preparations of the two Houſes would be retarded of Courſe. The Second was, that he rightly judged the Parliament would not ſeriouſly think of executing their Project with regard to the Army, whilſt there ſhould be any Proſpect of a Peace. The two Houſes perceiving the King's Drift, avoided the Snare, and the Conferences were broke off upon the Expiration of the Twenty-days. 1644-5. *The Treaty is broke off.*

The Houſe of *Commons*, or rather the new Party which had been forming in the Houſe, waited only for the breaking off the Treaty, in order to execute a Project which I have juſt mentioned, but of which it will be neceſſary to ſpeak here more fully, ſeeing the Execution thereof ſerves for Foundation to all the Events which happened afterwards.

Before the Parliament was aſſiſted by *Scotland*, the War had not been much to their Advantage. The Succeſſes of the two firſt Campaigns were ſo far from anſwering their Expectations, that it is very probable, without the Aſſiſtance of the *Scots*, they would have been forced to make ſuch a Peace as the King deſired. If in the Third, the King had loſt all the *North*, he had made himſelf amends by gaining almoſt all the *Weſtern* Counties, and after the ſecond Battle of *Newbury*, he was ſtill at *Oxford* in Condition to withſtand his Enemies. The *Scotch* Army, which having ſubdued all the North, advanced towards the middle of the Kingdom, was therefore what made the Ballance incline to the Parliament's Side, and which probably, was to give them the Superiority in the fourth Campaign, for which both Sides were preparing. This Aid came very ſeaſonably to eſtabliſh the Affairs of the *Presbyterians*, who then carried all before them in the Parliament, and diſpoſed of every Thing as they pleaſed. They were *The State of the King and Parliament*

1644-5. the Men that had contributed the moſt to engage the Kingdom in a War, and called in the *Scots* becauſe they could not hope to execute their Deſigns, unleſs the Parliament's Arms were victorious. But before I proceed, it will be abſolutely neceſſary to make known theſe ſame *Presbyterians*, who till then ſeemed to have made but one and the ſame Party, though in reality they conſiſted of two, very different from each other both in Principles and Intereſts.

After all the Pains I have taken, I have not been able to diſcover preciſely the firſt Riſe of the *Independent* Sect or Faction. Thus much is certain, their Principles were exceeding proper to put the Kingdom in a Flame, as they did effectually. With regard to the State, they abhorred Monarchy, and approved of none but a Republican Government. As to Religion, their Principles were contrary to thoſe of all the reſt of the World. They not only were averſe to *Epiſcopacy*, and the *Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy*; but would not ſo much as endure ordinary Miniſters in the Church. They maintained that every Man might pray in Publick, exhort his Brethren, interpret the *Scriptures* according to the Talents God had endued him with, whereas very often *Miniſters* were *ordained* without proper Endowments, whilſt thoſe of many Lay-men remained uſeleſs for want of external Ordination. So with them, every one prayed, preached, admoniſhed, interpreted *the Holy Scriptures*, without any other *Call* than what himſelf drew from his Zeal and ſuppoſed *Gifts*, and without any other Authority than what the Approbation of his Auditors gave him *.

I cannot

* The *Independents*, called at firſt, *Congregationaliſts*, owed their Riſe chiefly to *Goodwin*, *Nye*, *Bridge*, *Sympſon*, and *Burroughs*, who tranſported themſelves into *Holland* for Liberty of Conſcience. From whence, upon the downfal of *Epiſcopacy* they returned to *England*, and addreſſed the Parliament with an *Apologetical Narrative* for Indiſturbance and Toleration. In this *Apology* they declare, that *they conſulted the Scriptures without any Prepoſſeſſions*:

1644-5. *Different Origine of the Independents with regard to Religion and civil Government.*

I cannot exactly tell whether this *Sect* or Faction was entirely formed in the Beginning of the Parliament, or whether it ſprang up during the Seſſions. But there is a Diſtinction, in my Opinion, to be made upon this Subject. I conjecture that the *Sect* was already formed with reſpect to Civil Government, and that the Principles of Arbitrary Power which *James* I. and *Charles* I. laboured to eſtabliſh, gave it Birth: but with regard to Religion, it was formed during the ſitting of this Parliament. I build my Conjecture upon this. When the long Parliament began, there were but two known Parties in the *Engliſh* Church, namely, the *Epiſcopalians* or Church-of-*England*-Men, and the *Presbyterians*. The Name of *Independent* * were wholly unknown, and thoſe that afterwards was called *Independents*, were certainly united with the *Presbyterian*-Party, and were but few in Number. But they were different from the other *Presbyterians*, as they propoſed to themſelves for their End to change the Monarchy into a Commonwealth, which cannot be imputed to the *Presbyterians*

They join at firſt the Presbyterians.

poſſeſſions: They look upon the Word of Chriſt as impartially and unprejudicedly as Men of Fleſh and Blood are like to do in any juncture of Time, they having no Temptation to any Biaſs. As to Church-Government they ſaid, They confined themſelves to Scripture, Precept and Precedent, leaving room for Alterations upon farther Inquiry. Purſuant to theſe Grounds they held a middle Courſe between *Presbytery* and *Browniſm*. The firſt they counted too *Arbitrary*, the other too *Looſe*. Their main Characteriſtick was, the diſallowing *Parochial* and *Provincial* Subordinations, and forming all their *Congregations* upon a Scheme of Coordinacy. As to the manner of their *Service*, they prayed publickly for Kings and all in Authority: They read the *Scriptures*, and expounded the *Leſſons* upon proper Occaſions: They adminiſtred the Sacraments: They ſung Pſalms, and made Collections for the Poor every Lord's-Day. Their publick Officers were *Paſtors*, *Teachers*, *Ruling Elders*, (which were *Eccleſiaſticks*) and *Deacons*. As for *Church Cenſures*, they had none but *Admonition* and *Excommunication*. The five above mentioned *Independents* were all or moſt of them Members of the *Aſſembly of Divines*. *Rapin* ſeems to confound them with the *Browniſts*.

* So called from their declaring againſt the *Dependency* of Churches. Which, as was ſaid in the Note above, was their main Characteriſtick.

1644-5. in general. It is very true, the *Presbyterians* were for humbling the Regal Power, and leaving the King only the Shadow of Sovereignty: but they preſerved a ſort of Attachment to the Name of King, and at leaſt an external Reſpect for Royalty. If we examine all the Propoſitions they preſented to the King at ſeveral times, we ſhall find them built upon this Foundation. They were in that, like the *Scots*, who cannot with any reaſon be accuſed of intending to aboliſh Monarchy, though they meant to reduce it within very narrow Bounds. The *Independents*, after having helped with all their Might to diminiſh the Regal Power, in hopes that thereby they ſhould attain to their intended Aim, the Deſtruction of the Monarchy, perceived at laſt that they ſhould not be able, without great Difficulty, to compaſs their Ends. The Reaſon was, becauſe neither the *Engliſh* nor *Scotch* Presbyterians had any Inclination to eſtabliſh a Commonwealth, and becauſe their whole *Clergy*, who had a great Influence in that Party, were of the ſame Principles. They judged therefore, that it would be of great Benefit to them to deſtroy the *Clergy*'s Authority, by intimating there was no occaſion for it, and that their *Vocation* was not built upon ſound Foundations. Then it was that the *Independent* Sect began to ſpring up with regard to Religion; for there are no Footſteps of it till the Cloſe of the Year 1644. I own this is all Conjecture, which may be rejected if any thing more plauſibly occur.

It is no wonder therefore, that ever ſince the Beginning of this Parliament the *Independents* had contributed heartily to put it out of the King's Power to preſerve his Authority but by a War, and to ruin the Church of *England*. It is to be conſidered rather, that this was the natural Conſequence of their Principles, and a very proper Means to lead them to their End. The Humbling of the King, and the Deſtruction of the Church of *England*, were two Points that were neceſſarily to be gained, before the Eſtabliſhment of a Commonwealth could be endeavoured. It

was not therefore proper that they ſhould ſeparate from the *Presbyterians*, as long as theſe laſt concurred with them in their Deſign to gain theſe two main Points. For that reaſon they readily conſented to call in the *Scots*, and made no ſcruple to approve of the *Covenant*, and whatever elſe the *Scots* required. The Buſineſs then was to be able to reſiſt the King, who had acquired ſome Superiority by the happy Succeſs of his Arms. This was the common Intereſt of the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, who would have been equally ruined if the King's Party had prevailed. 1644 5.

The Independents begin to undermine the Power of the Presbyterians.

Mean while, the *Scotch* Army, by ſtrengthening alike the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* againſt the King, confirmed withal to the firſt, the Superiority they had been for ſome time in Poſſeſſion of. As long as this Superiority laſted, it was next to impoſſible for the *Independents* to attain to their Ends. They judged it therefore abſolutely neceſſary for them to undermine the great Power of the *Presbyterians*, not openly, for fear of being oppreſſed, before they had well laid their Meaſures, but ſecretly and by Artifice. To that purpoſe, the Leaders of this Party, as *Vane*, *Cromwell*, *Tate*, *Haſlerig*, and ſome others, began to make themſelves very popular, and expreſs great Zeal for the Publick, in order to gain the Good-will of the People. They had their Emiſſaries every where, who diligently aggravated the Faults committed ſince the Beginning of the War, as well in the Adminiſtration of the Government as in the military Actions, and inſinuated that they were entirely owing to the private Views of the Members of Parliament, who poſſeſſing all the Poſts and Places, were too backward to put an end to the Troubles. That ſome of the Generals had, on ſet purpoſe, let ſlip Opportunities of fighting with Advantage, and that, in a word, the greateſt Part dreaded nothing ſo much as a Deciſion either by Arms or a good Peace.

Cromwell accuſes the Earl of Manchester before the Parliament.

In ſupport of theſe Rumours which were ſpread abroad, *Cromwell* came to the Parliament at the Cloſe of the Campaign, and publickly accuſed the

1644-5. Earl of *Manchester* of not having done his Duty at the Battle of *Newbury*, or in the Affair of *Dennington*-Castle, insinuating, that he was afraid of putting a too speedy End to the War. The Earl answered by a Memorial which he presented to the Lords, and *Cromwell* thought not fit to prosecute his Accusation, which was properly a Preparative only to begin the Execution of a greater Project.

Design of arresting him laid aside.

The publick Step *Cromwell* had just taken, made it suspected that he was one of the principal Authors of the Rumours which flew abroad, and tended to render the People jealous of the Parliament. There was even a Conference held at the Earl of *Essex*'s, where it was considered whether he should be arrested. But as the Proofs appeared not clear enough, it was resolved to wait till he should have laid himself more open. Probably, some of those that were present at this Conference informed him of it, which made him hasten the Execution of the Project he and his Friends had been forming. *

This

* One Evening *Maynard* and *Whitlock* were sent for by the Earl of *Essex*, and when they came they found with him the *Scots* Commissioners, *Hollis*, *Stapleton*, *Meyrick*, and others of his special Friends. Being desired to give their Opinion whether *Cromwell* might be accused of being an *Incendiary* (which was agreed upon to be *one that raised the Fire of Contention in a State*,) they answered, *Cromwell*'s great Parts and Interest in both Houses were to be considered, and therefore advised not to proceed against him without clear Proof, because it would reflect upon their Honour and Wisdom, to begin such a thing, and not be able to make it good. Wherefore instead of accusing him, they thought it best that Direction be given to collect such Particulars relating to him by which it might be judged whether they would amount to prove him an Incendiary or not. The *Scots* liked this Advice; but *Hollis* and *Stapleton* were for an Accusation. *Whitlock* says, he had cause to believe that some who were present informed *Cromwell* of all that past. And after that, *Cromwell*, though he took no notice at that time of any thing, seemed more kind to *Whitlock* and *Maynard* than formerly, and carried on his Design more actively of making way towards our Advancement. *Whitlock*'s *Mem.* p. 111, 112.

This Project was to exclude all the Members of Parliament from enjoying any Office or Command Military or Civil. It is certain that since the Beginning of the War, the Parliament in the Distribution of Posts had not forgot their own Members, or rather, to say the Truth, all the principal Posts were possessed by the Members of one or other House. Hence sprung two Inconveniences. The First, that as since the Breach with the King, the two Houses ruled with an absolute Sway, such of the Members as had Posts in the Army had so great Influence there, that no Man durst oppose their Sentiments, nor take notice of their Faults or Misdemeanours which by that means always escaped unpunished. This is what at length begot at the Close of the last Campaign those great Dissentions between the Generals, which proved so prejudicial to the common Cause. The second Inconvenience was, that it could not be denied but it was the particular Interest of the Members of Parliament to prolong the War, since the End of the Troubles, whether it happened by a decisive Battle or by a Treaty, would strip them of their Employs. This Project was therefore founded upon very plausible Reasons, and such as were very apt to make Impression on the People. But withal, it was of great Advantage to the *Independents*, as thereby the mighty Power of the *Presbyterian* Party would be considerably lessened, and as they had so well laid their Measures, that they were almost sure the Posts that became vacant would be filled with Men of their Party. And this was the more likely, because hitherto the *Independents* not having yet pulled off the Mask, it was not easy to discover who were so, seeing they were still confounded with the *Presbyterians*.

1644-5. *Partiality of the Parliament in the Distribution of Places.*

Project of the Independents.

To execute this grand Project, the Leaders of the *Independents* resolved to move two Things in the Parliament. The first, to put the Army under a *New Model*, that is to say, to form new Regiments of *Horse* and *Foot* out of the Troops then in being,

1644-5. ſo that there would be ſtill the ſame Officers and Soldiers, but new Bodies otherways compoſed than they were before. The ſecond, that the Parliament ſhould paſs an Ordinance, whereby the Members of either Houſe ſhould be excluded from enjoying or executing any Office or Command Civil or Military. The firſt was founded upon the Neceſſity of putting an end to all Factions and Cabals which might be formed in the ſeveral Bodies of the Army; the ſecond, upon the Neceſſity there was of demonſtrating to the People that the Parliament was not ſwayed by private Views, but preferred the Good of the Publick to the Intereſt of their own Members. But by this means the *Presbyterian* Members loſt at once all their Poſts and all their Credit in the Army. This was really the Thing the *Independents* had in view, but they took care not to let it be known. The other Reaſons were ſo plauſible, that they did not queſtion but they would reliſh with the People, who were already prepared to approve them. And this made it thought, that ſeveral Members would not venture to ſpeak againſt them, for fear of giving occaſion to ſuſpect they were byaſſed by Motives of Intereſt.

On the 9th of *December* 1644, theſe things were moved in the Houſe of *Commons*, at the time when Preparations were making for the Treaty of *Uxbridge*. They who were to manage the Affair *, moved to take into Conſideration the Condition of the Kingdom, the Reaſons why the War laſted ſo long, and the Conſequences of the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, in caſe it ſhould not ſucceed. This Motion being approved of, the Houſe voted themſelves into a Grand Committee, to debate upon theſe Points. A general Silence being kept for a good while, *Oliver Cromwel* ſtood up at laſt, and ſpoke briefly to this Effect:

"That

* The Excluſion of the Members from all Offices was moved firſt by Mr. *Zouch Tate*, who brought it in with a Similitude of a Boyle upon his Thumb. He was ſeconded by Sir *Henry Vane* and others. *Whit. Mem.* p. 113.

1644-5.

Crom-well's *Speech to the Houſe of Com-mons.* Ruſh. VI. p. 4.

"That it was now a time to ſpeak, or for ever "to hold the Tongue: The important Occaſion be-"ing no leſs than to ſave a Nation out of a bleed-"ing, nay, almoſt dying Condition, which the long "Continuance of the War had already brought it "into; ſo that without a more ſpeedy, vigorous, "and effectual Proſecution of the War, caſting off "all lingering Proceedings like Soldiers of Fortune "beyond Sea, to ſpin out a War, we ſhall make the "Kingdom weary of us, and hate the Name of Par-"liament. For what do the Enemy ſay? Nay, "what do many ſay that were Friends at the Be-"ginning of the Parliament? Even this, That the "Members of both Houſes have got great Places "and Commands, and the Sword into their Hands, "and what by Intereſt in Parliament, and what by "Power in the Army, will perpetually continue "themſelves in Grandour, and not permit the War "ſpeedily to end, leſt their own Power ſhould de-"termine with it. This I ſpeak here to our own "Faces, is but what others do utter abroad behind "our Backs. I am far from reflecting on any, I "know the Worth of thoſe Commanders, Members "of both Houſes, who are yet in Power; but if I "may ſpeak my Conſcience without Reflection upon "any, I do conceive if the Army be not put into an-"other Method, and the War more vigorouſly pro-"ſecuted, the People can bear the War no longer, "and will enforce you to a diſhonourable Peace. "But this I would recommend to your Prudence, "not to inſiſt upon any Complaint or Over-ſight of "any Commander in Chief upon any Occaſion "whatſoever; for as I muſt acknowledge my ſelf "guilty of Over-ſights, ſo I know they can rarely "be avoided in military Affairs; therefore waving "a ſtrict Enquiry into the Cauſes of theſe things, "let us apply our ſelves to the Remedy which is "moſt neceſſary: And I hope, we have ſuch true "*Engliſh* Hearts and zealous Affections towards the

"general

1644-5. " general Weal of our Mother-Country, as no Mem-
" bers of either Houſe will ſcruple to deny them-
" ſelves and their own private Intereſts for the pub-
" lick Good, nor account it to be a Diſhonour done
" to them, whatever the Parliament ſhall reſolve
" upon in this weighty Affair."

Motion to exclude all Members from Poſts. Ruſh. VI. p. 4. *It is approved of.*

Cromwell was ſeconded by others who ſpoke like him, in a general Manner, without making any particular Motion. At laſt *Tate* and *Vane* moved expreſsly to have all Members of Parliament excluded from Commands and Offices. This Motion was debated long, and at length approved by a Plurality of Voices, and a Committee was appointed to draw up an Ordinance to that Purpoſe. Two Days after this Ordinance was brought into the Houſe, and it was reſolved that the 18th of the ſame Month ſhould be ſet apart for a *Faſt*, to implore a Bleſſing on this Affair, as well as on the intended new Model of the Army, which had been voted too, though I could not find the Day. The 14th of *December* this Ordinance was again taken into Conſideration, and canvaſſed [in a grand Committee] very ſeriouſly on both Sides *. The 18th the *Faſt* was kept, and the 19th the Ordinance paſſed the Houſe of *Commons*. It was called *the Self-denying Ordinance*, becauſe the Houſe in paſſing it, renounced their own Advantages.

Another for new-modelling the Army.

The Self-denying Ordinance paſſes the Commons. Ibid. p. 7.

The Buſineſs however was not finiſhed till the Lords had approved of the Ordinance, which they were by no means inclined to. On the contrary, at a Conference with the *Commons* they urged ſeveral Reaſons againſt it. Whereupon the 13th of *January* the whole Houſe of *Commons* went up to the Peers with a Meſſage to preſs them to paſs the *Self-denying* Ordinance. Nevertheleſs they rejected it that ſame Day. *

The Lords reject it. Jan. 13.

Notwith-

* *Whitlock* ſpoke againſt it. See his Speech in his *Memoirs*, p. 110

*1 And here, ſays *Whitlock*, firſt began to increaſe the great Difference between the two Houſes of Parliament, which ſwelled to ſo great height as will be ſeen afterwards. *Whitlock*, p. 118.

1644-5.

Notwithſtanding this, the *Commons* went on in forming a new Model of the Army, which they voted ſhould conſiſt, in the whole, of One and Twenty Thouſand Men; namely, Six Thouſand Horſe, One Thouſand Dragoons, and Fourteen Thouſand Foot: That the Horſe ſhould be divided into Ten Regiments, the Dragoons into Ten ſingle Companies, and the Foot into Ten Regiments of at leaſt Twelve Hundred Men each. After that, they appointed Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to be General, Son to the Lord *Fairfax* who commanded in the *North*. This done, they paſſed an Ordinance for raiſing Money for the Maintenance of the Army which was to ſerve under the Command of the new General, and on the 28th of *January* ſent it up to the Lords for their Concurrence *. The Lords ſcrupled to conſent to ſeveral Articles relating to the Nomination of the principal Officers. But as they were very few in Number, it was intimated to them, that they would do themſelves great Prejudice if they pretended to oppoſe the Reſolutions of the *Commons*, and in ſhort, that Matters might be done without them. In all appearance this made the Lords paſs the Ordinance the 15th of *February*, without any Amendments.

The Commons form the new Model.

They make Sir Thomas Fairfax *General.*

Jan. 21.

The Lords conſent to it.

The 19th of the ſame Month Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, being conducted to the Houſe by Four Members, was complimented by the Speaker. After that, he delivered in a Liſt of the Colonels he had appointed, by virtue of a Clauſe in his Commiſſion, among whom there was not a ſingle Member of Parliament *1.

Fairfax *gives in a Liſt of the new Colonels.*

There

* This was to be done by the monthly Sum of Forty-four Thouſand, Nine Hundred Fifty-five Pounds, to be raiſed by Aſſeſſment proportionably throughout the Kingdom, every County being rated ſuch a Sum. *Ruſh.* VI. p. 8.

*1

For the Horſe.		For the Foot.	
Middleton,	*Whaley,*	*Crayford,*	*Ingoldsby,*
Sidney,	*Lively,*	*Berkley,*	*Montague,*
Graves,	*Fleetwood,*	*Aldridge,*	*Pickering,*
Sheffield,	*Roſſiter,*	*Holborn,*	*Welden,*
Vermuden,	Sir *Rob. Pye.*	*Forteſcue,*	*Rainsborow.*

2644-5. *It is approved.* There was also upon this Occasion some difference between the two Houses. But after several Conferences, the Lords approved of the List the 18th of *March*.

1645. *The Commons at last get the Self denying Ordinance passed.* Thus the *new Model* was compleated, and though the *Self-denying* Ordinance had been thrown out by the Lords, the *Commons* had now obtained, by empowering the General to nominate the Officers of the Army, the Exclusion of the Members of Parliament from all military Posts. This made them hope it would not be impossible to get their Ordinance passed. And indeed, on the 31st of *March* they sent it up to the Lords for their Consent, though they had already refused it. Then the Earls of *Essex*, *Denbigh* and *Manchester* perceiving it would be in vain to strive against the Stream, and that their House was not in Condition to withstand the *Commons*, surrendered their Commissions, and received the Thanks of both Houses. The next Day, being the 3d of *April*, the Lords passed *the Self-denying* Ordinance; and thus ended this Affair, which had been depending Four Months. *

Essex, Denbigh, *and* Manchester *surrender their Commissions.* Rush. VI p. 15. April 2.

Remark on the Proceedings of the Commons. When it is considered with what Earnestness the *Commons* proceeded in getting this *Self-denying* Ordinance passed, one is apt at first to believe either that the Number of the *Independents* was very Superiour in the House, or that the Members were very disinterested. But neither of these were the Case. The *Presbyterians* had always a Superiority of Number, which became still greater by the Members excluded from Posts, who not being employed any more in the Army or elsewhere, increased their Party by their Presence in the Parliament. As to the Disinterestedness of the Members, we must not imagine that Men who

* Here ended (says *Whitlock*) the first Scene of our Tragick Civil Wars in the Exit of this brave Person *Essex*, who being set aside, and many gallant Men his Officers with him, the King's Party looked upon the *new Army* and *new Officers* with much Contempt, and the *new Model* was by them in scorn called the *new-Noddle*. Whit. Mem. p. 135.

who had till now expreſſed ſo great Selfiſhneſs as to monopolize, as I may ſay, and ingroſs to themſelves all the Places of Truſt and Profit, ſhould change thus on a ſudden from Black to White, and ſincerely deſire to lay them down. But the Caſe was, they were attacked on their weak Side, wherein they could not vindicate themſelves but by ſhowing a Diſintereſtedneſs, which might at leaſt make it a Queſtion whether it was through Selfiſhneſs that they had ingroſſed to themſelves all the Offices and Charges of Profit. The *Independents* before they diſcovered their Intent, had taken care to prepoſſeſs the People with ſuch plauſible Reaſons, that the Parliament had cauſe to be afraid of being entirely deſerted, ſhould they undertake to juſtify their Conduct, and maintain their Partiality. This certainly was the Thing that cauſed the Ordinance to paſs, though it was manifeſtly deſigned to ruin the *Presbyterian* Party. For although their Superiority of Number in the Parliament did not ceaſe, the *Independents* were ſenſible that by having the Army on their Side, they could not be obliged to obey the Parliament any farther than they ſhould think proper. Accordingly to this they bent all their Endeavours, as ſoon as Things were ſettled as they had projected. The new General was reckoned a zealous *Presbyterian*, and by that the Parliament had ſuffered themſelves to be decoyed to make that Choice. But *Cromwell* had ſuch an Influence over him, that he made him do whatever he pleaſed. He had been ſo artful, as to perſuade him he had nothing in view but the Welfare of Religion, and the Good of his Country, and by that means prepared him to receive his Counſels, and place entire Confidence in him. For though the *Independent* Party began to ſhow themſelves pretty openly, they did not pretend as yet to form a ſeparate Party from that of the *Presbyterians*, and it was above a Year before they appeared bare-faced. *Cromwell* eſpecially, more than any other of this Party, put on the Appearance of a *Rigid* Presbyterian, and ſeemed to intend only the

1645.

Cromwell's Power over the new General.

Cromwell's Diſſimulation.

1645. the firm Eſtabliſhment of *Presbyterianiſm*. This he was obliged to do in order to preſerve the Confidence of the new General, and put him upon acting according to his Views, without letting him ſee the End he deſigned to lead him to. But it was not yet time to diſcover his Intentions. There were then but two Things to manage, which were abſolutely neceſſary for the Advantage of his Party. The firſt, in new modelling the Army, to order it ſo that the Officers, whom the *Independents* thought they could confide in, might keep their Commiſſions, and thoſe whom they conſidered as their Enemies, might be caſhiered. For as three Armies were to be reduced into one, many Officers would of courſe be diſmiſſed. The ſecond Thing to be done, was to proſecute the War more vigorouſly than hitherto, and endeavour more ſtrenuouſly to diſable the King to maintain it. It is evident the Deſigns of the *Independents* could not be executed but by the King's Deſtruction. This was neceſſarily to be ſuppoſed; and conſequently all Riſques were to be run to put a ſpeedy Concluſion to the War, as nothing could be more prejudicial to them than the Continuation of it.

The General forms the new Army.

As ſoon as Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had received his Commiſſion from the Parliament, he went to *Windſor*, his head Quarters, and from thence ſent out Commiſſioners where-ever there were Troops to form the new Regiments, and disband the ſupernumerary Officers. There is no doubt but theſe Commiſſioners, who were for the moſt part General Officers, had private Inſtructions with regard to ſuch as they were, either to contiuue or break, and that *Cromwell* had framed in great Meaſure theſe ſame Inſtructions, though he did not appear to have the leaſt Hand in the Matter. The Parliament undertook this Reform in a very dangerous Seaſon *. It was in the Month of *April*, when

* Major General *Skippon* did much aſſiſt in this Work, eſpecially in reducing five Regiments of *Eſſex*'s Forces into three, amongſt which was the Earl's own, that was like to prove moſt refractory *Ruſh.* VI. p. 17.

when the King was preparing to take the Field very soon. If unluckily they had met with any Reſiſtance from the Troops, as many were apprehenſive, and if this Change had occaſioned Revolts, which might eaſily have happened by the Inſtigations of the diſbanded Officers, they would have been without an Army, in the beginning of a Campaign, and conſequently unable to ſtand againſt the King's Forces. But they heard with Pleaſure that every Thing was effected with great Tranquillity, and their Orders every where freely ſubmitted to. 1645.

He detaches Cromwell *towards* Oxford.

The General kept at *Windſor* all the Month of *April*, not being able ſooner to compleat what was to be done, in order to fit the Army to enter upon Action. During this Time, he received a Letter from the Committee of both Kingdoms *, informing him that the King had ſent to Prince *Rupert* to come and join him with two Thouſand Horſe. And therefore he was ordered to diſpatch a Party of Horſe towards *Oxford* to hinder this Junction. And as the *Self-denying* Ordinance was not to take Place till after forty Days, namely, on the 13th of *May*, the Charge of this Service was by the Committee particularly recommended to Lieutenant General *Cromwell*.

Exploits of Cromwell Ruſh. VI. p. 24.

Cromwell departing from *Windſor* the 24th of *April*, he met, near *Iſlip-Bridge* *1, with a Brigade of the King's Horſe, conſiſting of the Queen's, and three other Regiments, and utterly routed them *2. Then he marched to Sir *Thomas Coggin's* Houſe at *Blechington*, where Colonel *Windebank*, Secretary *Windebank*'s Son, kept a Garriſon for the King, and ſummoned the Colonel with a ſharp Meſſage, who immediately ſurrendered. The King was ſo full of Indignation at his Cowardice, that he cauſed him to be condemned by

The King orders Colonel Windebank *to be ſhot.*

* From whom the Parliament's Army was generally to receive its Orders.

* He was ordered to march beyond *Oxford*, as the Prince was to come from about *Worceſter*. Ruſh. VI. p. 23.

*2 Her Majeſty's Standard was taken, with 200 Priſoners. *Ruſh.* VI. p. 24.

*

1645. by a Council of War, and afterwards ſhot to Death. *Cromwell* gained ſome other Advantage in thoſe Parts; but he was repulſed in an Aſſault upon *Farrington*.

The King's Party beſiege Taunton.

After the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Diſaſter in *Cornwall*, the Parliament was very weak in the *weſtern* Counties. They had in *Dorſetſhire* only *Pool*, *Lyme*, and *Weymouth*; in *Devonſhire*, *Plymouth* alone, and that beſieged, and in *Somerſetſhire*, only *Taunton*, cloſe beſieged by Sir *Richard Greenvil*, and in great Diſtreſs.

The General receives Orders to relieve Taunton.

The Parliament, fearing to loſe this important Place, ſent expreſs Orders to the General to march thither with his whole Army and raiſe the Siege, not conſidering that the Midland Counties would be left without Defenſe, juſt as the King was going to take the Field. Mean while *Fairfax* in Obedience to the Orders, began his march on the 30th of *April*, and on the 7th of *May* he was advanced beyond *Salisbury*.

He is recalled. May 6.

The Committee of both Kingdoms having received Intelligence that the King was to put himſelf on the 7th of *May* at the Head of his Army, perceived their Error in ſending the whole Army into the *Weſt*, and leaving the Middle of the Kingdom defenſeleſs. Wherefore they diſpatched with all ſpeed an Order to the General, which reached him at *Blanford*, to march back, and ſend only a Party to relieve *Taunton*. This Order the General immediately obeyed, and having detached Colonel *Welden* with three Thouſand *Foot* and fifteen Hundred *Horſe* towards *Taunton*, he returned back and came to *Newbury*, where he ſtayed ſome Days to reſt his Troops.

He ſends a Party to relieve Taunton. Ruſh. VI. p. 28.

The Siege of Taunton *is raiſed and renewed.*

Upon the Approach of the Party which was ſent towards *Taunton*, Sir *Richard Greenvil* raiſed the Siege of that Place, where Relief could not come more ſeaſonably, to ſuch Extremities was it reduced. But ſhortly after, General *Goring* came into *Somerſetſhire* with three Thouſand Horſe which the King had given him when he heard *Fairfax* was marching towards the *Weſt*. Then *Greenvil* came and joined him, and they went together and laid Siege a ſecond Time to *Taunton*,

ton, where the Party that had relieved the Town was shut up. 1645.

During theſe Traverſes of the Parliament's Forces weſtward and back again, the King on the 7th of *May* took the Field and marched towards *Cheſter*, to relieve the Place, which was beſieged by Sir *William Brereton*. But he heard by the way that the Siege was raiſed. Whereupon finding the work done to his Hands, he altered his Courſe and marched towards *Leiceſter*, which he took by Storm the 30th of *May*.

The King marches towards Cheſter *to beſiege it.*

He takes Leiceſter *by Storm.*

In the mean Time, the Parliament perceiving the King was marching towards *Cheſter*, ſent Orders to General *Fairfax* to go and beſiege *Oxford*. Accordingly *Fairfax* approached the City and began the Siege. But within a few Days, the Parliament having Intelligence of the taking of *Leiceſter*, were apprehenſive that the King's Deſign was to enter the aſſociated eaſtern Counties; and therefore ordered their General to raiſe the Siege of *Oxford*, and keep cloſe to the King. So *Fairfax* marched away on the 7th of *June*. As it was very likely that a Battle would quickly enſue, he writ to the Parliament to deſire *Cromwell*'s Abſence from the Houſe might be diſpenſed with, and that he might be ordered to march to the Army and command the Horſe, which was readily granted. Thus *Cromwell*, who had been one of the moſt forward to paſs the Ordinance for the Excluſion of the Members of Parliament from all Offices and Poſts Civil and Military, was the only Perſon that kept his Seat in Parliament, and his Command in the Army. This would be a very honourable Diſtinction for him, were there not room to ſuſpect that it was owing to his own Intrigues *.

Fairfax *beſieges* Oxford. May 22.

He raiſes the Siege and approaches the King.

Crom-well's *Abſence diſpenſed with by order of the Houſe.* Ruſh. VI. p. 39.

* This was much ſpoken againſt by *Eſſex*'s Party, as a Breach of the *Self-denying* Ordinance, and a Diſcovery of the Intentions to continue whom they pleaſed, and to remove others from *Commands* notwithſtanding their former *Self-denying Pretenſes*. Whit. Mem. p. 140.

1645. *The King's Marches.*

Mean while, the King was very uneasy. He was informed of the Siege of *Oxford*, but did not yet know it was raised, and that the Enemy was marching directly towards him. This made him resolve to move towards *Oxford*, in order to relieve the City, which was a Place of very great Importance to him. To that End, he went and encamped at *Harborough*, from whence he sent an Express to General *Goring*, to order him to come and join him with all the speed possible. Here it was that he received Intelligence that *Fairfax* was drawn off from *Oxford*, and had been repulsed with great Loss in an Assault upon *Borstal*-House *. This News filled his Troops with such Presumption, which was a common Thing with them, that they imagined the Enemies must have been in the utmost Consternation, and consequently that it was the best way to find them out and give them Battle before they recovered Heart. The King himself was possessed with this Notion, which made him contemn his Enemies, and induced him to march as far as *Daintry* in *Northamptonshire*, fancying he should always have it in his Power to fight when he pleased, and that his Enemies durst never attack him. Otherwise he might have retired to *Leicester*, and there expected in quiet the two Thousand Men Colonel *Gerrard* was to bring him from *Wales*, and the three Thousand Horse *Goring* could bring him from the *West*. As to *Goring*, there happened an Accident which very much conduced to hasten a Battle. *Fairfax* had sent a Man to *Oxford*, who pretending to serve the King, had managed so artfully, that Secretary *Nicholas* had entrusted him with a Pacquet to General *Goring*, who was before *Taunton*. This Man having done as he was ordered, *Goring* thought he could not employ, to carry a Letter to the King, a more trusty Messenger than the Person sent to him by Secretary *Nicholas*. He gave him therefore a Letter for the King, wherein he told his Majesty, that

Goring's *Letter to the King intercepted* Rush. VI. p. 49.

* In *Buckinghamshire*, held by the Livery of a Horn.

that he hoped to be Maſter of *Taunton* in a ſhort Time, conjuring him not to do any Thing in haſte, but ſtand upon the Defenſive, for he did not queſtion to be able in twelve or fourteen Days to bring him all the Forces under his Command. The King knew nothing of this Letter which was brought to *Fairfax*. But it made the Parliament-Generals ſenſible, that it was neceſſary to fight before this Aid ſhould come to the King. 1645. Fairfax reſolves to fight.

Purſuant to this Reſolution, *Fairfax* continued to advance towards the King, who having received better Information of the Number and Deſigns of his Enemies, reſolved to retire to *Leiceſter*. To that Purpoſe, he began to march towards *Harborough*, where his Van arrived, whilſt the reſt of his Army was above two Miles behind. That ſame Night, he heard that the Enemies were within ſix Miles of *Harborough*, and indeed General *Ireton*, *Cromwell*'s Son-in-law, had now fallen into ſome of the King's Quarters, and taken ſeveral Priſoners. Whereupon it was reſolved in a Council of War held in the Night, to march back and meet the Enemy, conſidering the Impoſſibility of going on to *Leiceſter*, without expoſing the Rear to certain Deſtruction. So the King Marching back in the Morning, on the 14th of *June*, met the Parliamentarians, who upon News of his March, had drawn up near *Naſeby*. Here was fought the bloody Battle that decided the Quarrel between the King and the Parliament. *The King reſolves the ſame.*

Prince *Rupert* commanded the Right Wing of the King's Army, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* the Left. Sir *Jacob Aſtley* * led up the main Body of the Foot, and the King was at the Head of the Reſerve of Horſe *1. On the Parliament's Side, the Right *Battle of Naſeby.* Jan. 14. Ruſh. VI. p. 42.

1 Lately created Lord *Aſtley* of *Reading*.

*1 Though *Rapin* quotes *Ruſhworth*, he has followed the Diſpoſition of the Army, as related by *Clarendon*. For both *Ruſhworth* and *Whitlock* ſay, the King commanded the main Body himſelf, Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, with the Earl of *Lindſey*, the Right Hand Reſerve, and the Lord *Bard* and Sir *George L'iſle* the Left.

1645. Wing of Horſe was commanded by *Cromwell*, the Left by *Ireton*. General *Fairfax*, and Major-General *Skippon*, were both at the Head of the main-Body, the firſt on the Right, and the other on the Left.

Prince *Rupert* began with charging the Left-Wing commanded by *Ireton*, and after a long Conflict, wherein he met with great Reſiſtance, he broke that Body of Horſe, put them to flight, and chaſed them almoſt to *Naſeby*-Town *. In his Return he loſt ſome Time in trying to become Maſter of the Train of Artillery. Nay, he ordered the Train to be ſummoned; but they being well defended with Fire-locks and a Rear-Guard, and he without Foot, he could not execute his Deſign.

At the ſame Time, *Cromwell* was ingaged in a very fierce encounter with Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*; but at length the King's Horſe took to flight, and were purſued about a quarter of a Mile. After that, *Cromwell* leaving a Party of Horſe to make Head againſt the King's in caſe they ſhould rally, returned with ſpeed to the Field of Battle, where his Aſſiſtance was very much wanted by his Friends.

The Parliament's Foot were ingaged with the King's, and began to be preſſed in ſuch a manner that they were in great Diſorder. *Cromwell*, who was come back victorious, gave a new Turn to the Battle, by charging the King's Infantry in Flank, who could not ſtand ſo vigorous an Attack. *Fairfax* and *Skippon* took Advantage of this Aid to put their Troops in order again, they having been roughly uſed in the beginning of the Battle *1, and at laſt, the

* *Ireton* had his Horſe killed under him, was run through the Thigh, wounded in the Face with a Pike, and made Priſoner, but found means to eſcape upon the Turn of the Battle. *Whit.* p. 145.

*1 *Fairfax* had his Helmet beat off, but however, rid up and down bare headed. Whereupon Colonel *Charles D'oyley* told him, he expoſed himſelf to too much Danger, and offered him his Helmet, but he refuſed it, ſaying, *It is well enough*, Charles. Then he ordered him to Charge a Body of the King's Foot, which ſtood unbroken,

the King's Foot were routed in ſuch a Manner that there was no poſſibility of rallying them. 1645.

In the mean time, the Prince not being yet returned from the Chaſe, the King was with his Reſerve of Horſe, unable to charge *Cromwell*, who was ſtronger than himſelf, and who was joined again by the Party he had left behind. As ſoon as Prince *Rupert* came back with his victorious Horſe, and had joined the Body of Reſerve, the King did all he could to perſuade them to charge again thoſe of the Enemy, not queſtioning but if he could put them to rout, he ſhould afterwards make light work with the Foot. But he could not bring his Horſe to make a ſecond Charge *. This is no great wonder, ſince they could not do it without manifeſt Danger. For *Fairfax*, *Skippon* and *Cromwell*, without loſing time in purſuing the King's Infantry diſperſed about the Field and unable to rally, had drawn up their Troops again without delay. They faced the King's Horſe, and prepared to receive or charge them. Thus, to renew the Fight, the King muſt with one ſingle Wing of Horſe and his ſmall Body of Reſerve, have fallen upon the Enemies Army, which wanted only the

unbroken in the Front, whilſt he would do the ſame in the Rear, and meet him in the Middle. Which was done accordingly. In this Charge *Fairfax* killed the Enſign, and one of *D'oyley*'s Troopers took the Colours, bragging he had killed the Enſign, for which *D'oyley* chiding him, *Fairfax* ſaid, *Let him alone, I have Honour enough, let him take that Honour to himſelf.* *Skippon* being wounded in the beginning of the Fight, was deſired to go off the Field, but he anſwered, *He would not ſtir as long as a Man would ſtand.* Whit. p. 145.

* Here the Lord *Clarendon* makes the following Remark. This Difference, ſays he, was obſerved all along in the Diſcipline of the King's Troops, and of thoſe under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, that though the King's Troops prevailed in the Charge, they ſeldom rallied themſelves again in order, nor could be brought to make a ſecond Charge the ſame Day. Whereas the other Troops, if they prevailed, or though they were beaten, preſently rallied again, and ſtood in good Order, till they received new Orders. The ſame thing, he ſays, was not obſervable in the Forces under *Eſſex* and *Waller*. Clarend. II. p. 658.

1645. Wing that was routed. This the *Cavaliers* were very ſenſible of, and was what hindered them from obeying the King's Orders. At the ſame time an Accident happened, which induced them to take to Flight, or furniſhed them with a Pretenee. The Earl of *Carnewarth* ſeeing the King, notwithſtanding the Unwillingneſs of his own Troops, bent upon charging the Enemies, rode up to him and ſaid, *Sir, will you go upon your Death in an Inſtant?* And withal, laying hold of the King's Bridle, turned his Horſe to the Right. The King's Cavalry ſeeing his Majeſty's Horſe turned without knowing the Cauſe, took occaſion to disband, and rode upon the Spur without looking behind them. So the King was forced to retire likewiſe, and leave his Enemies Maſters of the Field *. All his Infantry were ſo ſcattered, that the Enemies took as many Priſoners as they pleaſed. He loſt his whole Train of Artillery, all his Bag and Baggage, with his Cabinet, wherein his moſt ſecret Papers were, which the Parliament were ſo cruel as to print and publiſh, particularly his Letters about the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. Some Extracts whereof have been given above. After this, he was never able to bring a conſiderable Army into the Field. It is ſaid there were not ſlain on the King's Side above Six Hundred Men, but amongſt them were more than One Hundred and Fifty Officers, and beſides, the Enemy took above Five Thouſand Priſoners.

The King is entirely routed.

His Cabinet of Papers taken.

He retreats into Wales, The King and Prince *Rupert* that ſame Day retreated by *Leiceſter* to *Aſhby de la Zouch*, from whence, after a few Hours Refreſhment, they continued their March with their Horſe in very great Diſorder as far as *Hereford*, where they parted. Prince *Rupert* made haſte

and Prince Rupert *to* Briſtol.

* *Whitlock* ſays, the King ſhowed himſelf this Day a couragious General, keeping cloſe with his Horſe, and in Perſon rallying them to hot Encounters. *Whitlock's Mem.* p. 146. This Battle was fought in a large fallow Field, on the North-Weſt-ſide of *Naſeby*, about a Mile broad: there are now no Signs of a Fight remaining, except ſome few Holes which were the burying Places of dead Men and Horſes. The Town is ſaid by ſome to ſtand upon the higheſt Ground in *England*.

haſte to *Briſtol*, that he might put the City into a Condition to maintain a Siege, there being great likelihood that it would not be long before they attacked it. The King retired into *Wales*, and made ſome ſtay at *Ragland*-Caſtle, not deſpairing of being able to form another Army in thoſe Parts. The Reaſon is not known why he was bent, contrary to all Appearance, upon trying to form a new Army in *Wales* and the neighbouring Counties, inſtead of marching into the *Weſt* with his Horſe, where he had a ſtrong Body of Troops under the Command of *Goring* and *Greenvil*; with which he might have long continued the War. 1645.

Mean while, *Fairfax* advanced towards *Leiceſter*, which ſurrendered upon Terms four Days after the Battle of *Naſeby*. After that he marched with all ſpeed towards the *Weſt*, where it was very neceſſary to lead the Army, as well to relieve *Taunton* and the Party there ſhut up, as to reduce to the Obedience of the Parliament the weſtern Counties now in Subjection to the King. Upon the Approach of the Army, *Goring* raiſed the Siege of *Taunton* *, and in a few Days after was defeated by *Fairfax* at *Langport*, who killed many of his Men, took Twelve Hundred Horſes, and made Fourteen Hundred Priſoners. This Victory was followed with the taking of *Bridgwater*, *Bath* and *Sherburn*, after which, *Fairfax* went and laid Siege to *Briſtol*.

Leiceſter ſurrenders to Fairfax. Ruſh. VI. p. 50

He marches into the Weſt.

Taunton *is relieved, and* Goring *defeated.*

All the World expected Prince *Rupert* would, according to Cuſtom, perform Wonders in the Defence of this City, which was ſtrongly garriſoned and well ſtored with Proviſions and Ammunition. Nay, the Prince himſelf had ſent the King word, he hoped to hold out at leaſt four Months. And yet, the Parliament-Army having approached the *Lines* that were drawn about the Place, and repulſed ſeveral Sallies, the Prince, upon the firſt Summons, agreed to capitulate. *Fairfax* had made his Approaches to the *Lines*

Fairfax *beſieges* Briſtol, *which ſurrenders upon Terms.* Sep. 11. Ruſh. VI. p. 65.

* Sir *John Digby*, Brother to Sir *Kenelm Digby* on the King's Side, and on the Parliament's, Colonel *Lloyd* and Colonel *Richbel* were killed during this Siege. *Ruſh.* VI. p. 54.

1645. the 23d of *Auguſt*, and the Capitulation was ſigned the 10th of *September*, before the Beſiegers had approached the Walls. When the King heard that Prince *Rupert* had ſurrendered *Briſtol* in this manner, he was ſo enraged at it, that he ordered him by a Letter to depart the Kingdom, and revoked all his Commiſſions. The Prince publiſhed a *Manifeſto* in Vindication of his Conduct. But he did not ſufficiently make appear that he was under a Neceſſity to deliver up ſo ſoon a Place of ſuch Importance.

The King diſmiſſes Prince Rupert. Clarend. IV. p. 694.

Immediately after the taking of *Briſtol*, *Fairfax* marched again towards the *Weſt*, as well to relieve *Plymouth* which was ſtill blocked up, as to ſubdue all thoſe Counties to the Parliament. But to prevent the Inconveniencies which the Earl of *Eſſex* had fallen into the laſt Year, for want of an open Communication with *London*, he ordered *Cromwell* to go with a Party of Horſe, and take ſuch Places as might hinder this Communication. He detached likewiſe Colonel *Rainsborough* to beſiege *Berkley*-Caſtle, the only Garriſon the King had between *Glouceſter* and *Briſtol*. He went himſelf to *Bath* the 17th of *September*, and ſtayed there till his Orders were executed.

Fairfax's *Progreſs in the Weſt.* Ruſh. VI. p. 89.

Cromwell with his Party ſat down before the Caſtle of the *Devizes* in *Wiltſhire*, ſituate in the Road of Traffick betwen *London* and the weſtern Counties. The Governour [Sir *Charles Lloyd*] made a Show of defending himſelf, but however capitulated on the Morrow. The ſame Day *Cromwell* detached Colonel *Pickering*, who became Maſter of *Laycock*-Houſe, where was a Garriſon of the King's [kept by Colonel *Bovile.*] After that, *Pickering* came back to the Army, as did Colonel *Rainsborough*, *Berkley*-Caſtle having been ſurrendered [by the Governour Sir *Charles Lucas*] upon Articles.

September the 26th, the General called a Council of War, where it was reſolved that the Army ſhould march farther weſtward. But as the Prince of *Wales*, the King's eldeſt Son, was in thoſe Parts with *Goring*'s,

ring's, *Greenvil*'s, and ſome other Troops, which all together made a conſiderable Body, the General was apprehenſive of meeting many Difficulties in this Expedition; and therefore he thought it incumbent upon him to ſecure the Communication with *London*. To that purpoſe he detached *Cromwell* once more with Orders to endeavour to take the Caſtle of *Wincheſter* and *Baſing*-Houſe, which had been twice beſieged in vain. 1645.

Cromwell, with his wonted Briskneſs, marching ſtraight to *Wincheſter*, took the City and Caſtle upon Articles. A Complaint being made by ſome of the Garriſon that they were plundered at their marching out, he cauſed ſtrict Inquiry to be made after the Offenders, of whom Six were found and condemned to die. After Lots caſt for their Lives, he, whoſe Lot it was, was executed; and the other Five were ſent to Sir *Thomas Glemham* Governour of *Oxford*, to do as he pleaſed with them. But the Governour ſent them back with an Acknowledgement of *Cromwell*'s Juſtice and Civility.

From *Wincheſter*, *Cromwell* advanced to *Baſing*, the Houſe of the Marquiſs of *Wincheſter*, which he having fortified, kept Garriſon there for the King *. As he refuſed to ſurrender, he was ſo ſuddenly and briskly aſſaulted, that the Place was carried by Storm, and himſelf taken Priſoner and ſent to *London*. After that, *Cromwell* took *Langford*-Houſe [near *Salisbury*] which ſurrendered upon Articles.

In the mean time, *Fairfax* purſuing his March *weſtward*, came before *Tiverton*. It was reſolved in a Council of War to ſtorm the Town: but whilſt they were conſulting the manner how to order the Attack, a Round-Shot happened to break the Chain of the Draw-Bridge, which falling down, the Soldiers,

* He had withſtood ſeveral Sieges, declaring, that if the King had no more Ground in *England* but *Baſing-Houſe*, he would adventure as he did, and hold it out to the laſt Extremity. For which reaſon the Houſe was called *Loyalty*. Ruſh. VI. p. 93.

1645. diers, without waiting for Orders, poſſeſſed themſelves of the Town.

After that, the Army marched towards *Exeter*, the Head City of *Devonſhire*. But as this Place was of great Strength, had a numerous Garriſon, and the Seaſon permitted not to undertake a Siege of that Importance, it was reſolved to block it up till it could be beſieged in Form.

The Prince of Wales *aſſembles an Army in the* Weſt.

Whilſt the General was employed in ordering the Blockade, which held till *December*, only to run up neceſſary Forts on the Eaſt-ſide of the River *Ex*, the Prince of *Wales* had time to draw together all the King's Forces in thoſe Parts, with the Militia of *Cornwal*, and form an Army of Eight Thouſand Men.

Fairfax *marches towards him.*

Fairfax, having Intelligence that the Enemies were preparing to march againſt him, reſolved to prevent them, and advance himſelf towards them. He made ſuch ſpeed that he ſurprized a Brigade of their Horſe commanded by the Lord *Wentworth*, and took between Three and Four Hundred Horſes.

The Prince retires into Cornwal.

This obliged the King's General to proceed with more Caution, raiſe the Blockade of *Plymouth* for the ſake of ſtrengthning their Army, and paſs the *Tamar*, in order to retire into *Cornwal*.

Fairfax *takes* Dartmouth.

The Prince's Retreat into *Cornwal* gave *Fairfax* the better Opportunity to attack *Dartmouth*, a Sea-Port Town of great Conſequence, which he took by Storm, the Seaſon not allowing him to beſiege it in Form.

He compleats the Blockade of Exeter,

After having gained all theſe Advantages, *Fairfax* returned back to *Exeter*, and quite finiſhed the Blockade of that City. Shortly after, he left the Command of it to Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, and went himſelf to meet the Lord *Hopton*, who was marching to the Relief of *Exeter*, at the Head of Seven or Eight Thouſand Men. General *Goring* being withdrawn into *France*, the Prince of *Wales* had given the Command of his Army to the Lord *Hopton*. *Fairfax* drawing near the Enemies, heard that the Lord *Hopton* lay intrenched in *Torrington*, that he might oblige him either to attack him thus advantageouſly poſted,

poſted, or to keep the Field in a very rainy Seaſon, in a Country where there were few Villages to ſhelter his Army from the bad Weather. *Fairfax* having weighed the Inconveniencies of leaving the Enemies thus intrenched, reſolved to attack them. To that end he advanced within a Mile of *Torrington*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of ſome Poſts, with deſign to engage on the Morrow. But in the Night *Hopton*'s Troops attempting to diſlodge the Parliamentarians, and theſe laſt receiving Aſſiſtance from the Army, the Battle began inſenſibly, and held almoſt the whole Night. In ſhort, after fighting a long while in the Dark, the Lord *Hopton*'s Intrenchments were forced, and he ſaw himſelf obliged to retire with his Horſe, and Four or Five Hundred of his Foot only out of the Four Thouſand he had before the Battle. Thus all his Infantry were ſlain or taken, or ſo diſperſed, that it was not poſſible for thoſe that eſcaped to come and join their General again, who was retired into *Cornwal* *.

1645.

and defeats the Lord Hopton *at* Torrington. Ruſh. VI. p. 99. Feb. 18. 1645-6.

After this freſh Victory, *Fairfax* judged that his main Buſineſs was to deſtroy utterly the Enemy's Horſe that eſcaped at *Torrington*, conſiſting of Three Thouſand, and to hinder them from breaking through any where and joining the King. Inſtead therefore of returning to *Exeter*, he came to a Reſolution to march into *Cornwal* with his whole Army. He ſet out the 23d of *February*, and ſeizing the Paſſes of the River *Tamar*, he left Three ſtrong Guards, as alſo in all Places where he thought the Enemies might attempt to paſs, in caſe they intended to go and join the King, as it was likely. The Lord *Hopton* finding that *Fairfax* was advancing towards him, and not being able to fight him, quitted *Bodmin*, where he had poſted himſelf, and retired farther weſtward. Mean while *Fairfax* ſtill advanced, taking all poſſible care

He follows him into Cornwal. Feb. 18. 1645-6.

* There were not above Five Hundred ſlain, the greateſt Part were diſperſed. Among the Colours were taken the Lord *Hopton*'s own, with this Motto, *I will ſtrive to ſerve my Sovereign King.* Ruſh. VI. p. 103.

1645. care to guard all the Passes by which the Enemy might escape him.

The Prince of Wales *retires to* Scilly. The Approach of the Parliament-Army caused the Prince of *Wales* to resolve to secure his Person by retiring into *Scilly*, where he safely arrived. Mean while the Lord *Hopton* was in extreme Distress, and the more so, as the People of the County who before were devoted to the King began to alter their Minds, and even voluntarily offered themselves to General *Fairfax*, to block up the Passes, and hinder the King's Forces from escaping. At last, the Parliament-Army approaching *Truro*, where *Hopton* kept his Head-Quarters, *Fairfax* sent and offered him honourable Terms if he would capitulate. Whilst he waited for an Answer, he advanced towards the Enemies, and beat up one of their Quarters, and took Three Hundred Horses. In short, not to descend to unnecessary Particulars, I shall content my self with saying in few words, that the Lord *Hopton* seeing himself hemmed in on all Sides, and despairing of being able to escape, agreed to capitulate. By the Treaty which was signed the 14th of *March*, it was agreed that all the Forces under the Command of the Lord *Hopton*, should [within six Days] be disbanded, and have leave to go beyond Sea, or to their Homes. That all the Horses and Arms should be delivered up to General *Fairfax*, and upon Performance thereof each Trooper should receive Twenty Shillings or his Horse. That Passes should be given to such as desired to go beyond Sea, upon their binding themselves to promise not to bear Arms any more against the Parliament of *England**. There were several other Articles which it is needless to specify, as they concerned only the manner how the Treaty was to be exe-

1645-6. Rush. VI. p. 110. Hopton's *Army capitulates.* March 14.

* Those that stayed in *England*, as well Foreigners as others, were to bind themselves for ever, but those that went beyond Sea only for three Years, not to bear Arms against the Parliament. *Rush.* VI. p. 114.

executed *. The Lords *Hopton* and *Culpepper* retired to *Scilly* before the Treaty was ſigned. Thus the King's Army in the *Weſt* was entirely diſperſed. After that, *Fairfax* returned before *Exeter*, which was ſurrendered upon Articles the 9th of *April* 1646. With the taking of this City *Fairfax* ended his weſtern Expedition, which could not be more glorious for him, or more advantageous for the Parliament, ſince the King had neither Towns nor Forces left in the Country. 1645. Exeter *ſurrenders to* Fairfax.

It is Time now to ſee what paſſed in the reſt of the Kingdom, whilſt the Parliament Army was employed in reducing the weſtern Counties.

The *Scotch* Army having taken *Newcaſtle* in the Month of *October* 1644, divided themſelves into two Bodies, one whereof went and beſieged *Carliſle*, which ſurrendered upon Articles in the Month of *June* 1645. *What the* Scots *did in* England *in* 1645.

The other Part of the Army durſt not ingage in any Siege, becauſe the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, who ſerved the King in *Scotland*, having had great Succeſs there, it was to be feared the King would think of ſending him Reinforcements. Wherefore the *Scots* always kept in a readineſs to oppoſe him. This became ſtill more neceſſary after the Battle of *Naſeby*, there being great likelihood the King would reſolve to go and join the Earl of *Montroſs* with his Cavalry. Beſides, the *Scots* by keeping thus in the middle of the Kingdom, prevented the King from making new Levies in thoſe Parts. At laſt, after the taking of *Carliſle*, the two Bodies being joined again, they went and beſieged *Hereford* about the End of *July*. But after having in vain carried on the Siege for a Month and more, they raiſed it in the beginning of *September*. The Earl of *Leven* their General publiſhed, *They beſiege* Hereford, *but in vain.* Ruſh. VI, p. 133.

* Colonel *Trevanion*, then with his Regiment at *Perin*, ſent to deſire to be included in the Treaty, as did alſo the Governour of St. *Maw*'s Caſtle that commands *Falmouth*'s Haven. *Ruſh.* VI. p. 108.

1645-6. publiſhed, on this occaſion, a ſort of Apology, wherein he ſaid among other Things, that for ſix or ſeven Months paſt, they had received but one Month's Pay. That they had been promiſed to be ſupplied with all Things neceſſary for a Siege; in which they had been exceedingly diſappointed; having had but three Pieces of Cannon ſent them, with fifty Ball to each; that they had but few Horſe, and being informed that the King was marching towards them with three Thouſand Horſe, it was impoſſible for them to continue the Siege. That at the ſame Time General *Leſley* was obliged to go into *Scotland* with his whole Party of Horſe and Dragoons, to oppoſe *Montroſs*.

They ſit down before Newark.

After the Siege of *Hereford* was raiſed, the *Scotch* Army retired into *Yorkſhire*, complaining pretty openly of being entirely neglected. Whereupon the Parliament aſſigned them thirty Thouſand Pounds, provided they ſhould ſit down before *Newark* [upon the firſt of *November*,] and ordered that the eaſtern Aſſociation ſhould pay them fourteen Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Week. The *Scots* agreeing to theſe Terms, the Siege of *Newark* was begun about the end of *October* 1645, and held till *May* 1646.

Pomfret *and* Scarborough *ſurrender upon Articles.*

In the Month of *July*, *Pomfret*-Caſtle ſurrendered to the Parliament, and four Days after that of *Scarborough* capitulated alſo, having held out a long Siege [under Sir *Hugh Cholmley*] during which Sir *John Meldrum* was killed.

The King leaves Wales.

I left the King in *Wales* after the Battle of *Naſeby*, where he was employed in finding means to ſet a new Army on Foot. As to the diſpoſing of his Perſon, it was hardly poſſible for him to come to any Reſolution before he knew what his Enemies intended to do after their Victory. But when he ſaw General *Fairfax* ingaged in the weſtern Counties, with his Army, he departed from his Retreat with his Cavalry conſiſting of three Thouſand Horſe. As the Parliament had but very few Troops in the Midland Parts, the King came without any danger to *Lichfield*, and from thence entered the aſſociated eaſtern Counties,

He takes Huntington.

and took *Huntington*, where he met with good Booty, after which he came to *Oxford* *. From thence he departed in three Days, taking with him what Forces might be ſpared, and marched to *Cambden*. 1645.

He comes to Hereford.

The Parliament, thinking the King's Deſign was to relieve either *Briſtol* or *Hereford*, which were both beſieged at that Time, gave orders to Major-General *Pointz* and Colonel *Roſſiter* to draw what Forces they could together, and diligently attend the King's Motions. Accordingly they drew together about two Thouſand Horſe, and went and poſted themſelves between the King and *Oxford*. But at the ſame time the *Scots*, having raiſed the Siege of *Hereford* of their own accord, the King marched thither, and continued there till the 20th of *September*. Here he received the News of the Surrender of *Briſtol*.

The King marches to the Relief of Cheſter.

Much about the ſame time Colonel *Jones*, with Adjutant General *Louthian*, who ſerved the Parliament, beſieging *Beeſton*-Caſtle, drew off thence on a ſudden a Party of thirteen Hundred Men, and went to ſurprize *Cheſter*, in which they partly ſucceeded. But as they had not Forces enough to become Maſters of the reſt of the City, they were content to keep what they had got, till Sir *William Brereton* ſhould come who was to bring them a Supply. As the King expected then a Body af Troops from *Ireland*, which could land no where but at *Cheſter*, this City was of ſo great Moment to him, that he immediately marched that way to diſlodge the Enemies from that Part they had in their Power. He was no ſooner ſet out, but *Poyntz* was cloſe after him, and overtook him [on *Routon*-Heath] within two Miles of *Cheſter*, which obliged him to face about againſt thoſe that followed him. The Fight at firſt was pretty obſtinate; but as the King had about five Thouſand, and *Poyntz* only two Thouſand Men, *Poyntz* was briskly repulſed, and put into great Diſorder. Mean while, juſt as the King thought himſelf entirely victorious,

Ruſh. VI. p. 117.

He is routed,

* Where the Day before died the Lord Keeper *Littleton*.

1645. rious, *Jones* and *Louthian* came from *Chester* with eight Hundred Men, and falling upon the King's Rear, forced them to turn againſt them. This gave *Poyntz* time to rally his Men, and then charge the King's Army, who finding themſelves at once attacked before and behind, were in the end utterly routed, with the Loſs of ſix Hundred Men, and a Thouſand made Priſoners. The Earl of *Lichfield* and ſome other Officers of Quality were killed. It was with great Difficulty that the King, with the broken Remains of his Army got into *Wales*, where he continued ſome Time; after which, with a Party of about three Thouſand Men, he came to *Newark* in *Nottinghamſhire*. He ſtayed in that Town, till fearing to be beſieged by the *Scots*, who were drawing near, he went away by Night, and ſafely arrived at *Oxford* on the 6th of *November*, there being no other Remedy left than to make Peace with the Parliament.

and retires into Wales

He comes about to Oxford.

But this Peace was not eaſy to be made. The King would have freely granted, in the preſent Situation of his Affairs, ſomething of what he had before refuſed; but he did not care to yield up all. The Parliament on their Side were willing to make Peace, like Conquerors, and increaſed the Terms inſtead of making them more tolerable.

The King's Friends at London *put him in hopes of a Peace.*

Mean while, in ſpite of the Difficulties which were naturally to occur in the Concluſion of a Peace, the King's Friends at *London* made him hope that the Diſſentions between the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* might turn to his Advantage. It was intimated to him, that the Presbyterians were inraged to ſee the Independent Party daily increaſe and grow ſtronger, and that it was not doubted, but if he could obtain Leave to come and treat in Perſon with the two Houſes, the Presbyterian Members would find means to conclude a Peace that they might be rid of the Yoke of the Independents. That the City of *London* was almoſt wholly Presbyterian, the King had there alſo many Friends, and if the Parliament expreſſed an Inclination

clination to Peace, which was very likely it would not be in the Power of the Independents to prevent the Concluſion thereof. This was all mighty well; but they ſhould have firſt explained what was to be underſtood by the Word *Peace*. It is very evident, the Parliament or *Presbyterian*-Party, which ſtill prevailed, would have very gladly conſented to a Peace, if the King had been willing to give up two Points, which were looked upon by them as abſolutely neceſſary, namely, the Abolition of Epiſcopacy, and ſufficient Security for the Performance of his Promiſes. For in theſe two Points conſiſted the Scheme for Peace laid down by both Houſes. But this was not the King's Plan. He ever meant that ſuch a Peace ſhould be made as he deſired, and of which I have often given the Senſe. It is true, that in his preſent Circumſtances he was willing, with regard to the Security, to grant ſomething more than what he had yet offered: but nothing was capable to bring him to conſent to the Abolition of Epiſcopacy. So by keeping always to the Ambiguity in the Term *Peace*, he imagined that if he could obtain Liberty to come and treat at *London* with the two Houſes, it would not be impracticable, with the help of his Friends, to force the Parliament to make Peace with him, in his Senſe of the Word, though nothing was farther from the Intention of both Houſes. 1645.

The King tries in vain to bring the Parliament to a Peace.

In this Belief, on the 15th of *December* he demanded of the two Houſes a Safe-Conduct for the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Southampton*, *John Aſhburnham*, and *Jeffery Palmer*, who were to bring Propoſitions from him.

The 15th of the ſame Month he renewed his Demand, complaining of his having received no Anſwer. Ruſh. VI. p. 215, 216.

The 26th he ſent them a third Meſſage, wherein he ſaid:

"That conceiving the former Treaties had hither-
"to proved ineffectual, chiefly for want of Power in
"thoſe Perſons that treated, as likewiſe becauſe

1645. "thoſe from whom their Power was derived, could "not give ſo clear a Judgment as was requiſite; "if therefore he might have the Engagement of the "two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, the Commiſſioners of "the Parliament of *Scotland*, the Mayor, Aldermen, "Common-Council, and Militia of *London*; of the "Chief Commanders in Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Army, "as alſo of thoſe in the *Scots* Army, for his free and "ſafe coming to, and abode in *London* or *Weſtminſter* "for the ſpace of forty Days; he would come and "have a perſonal Treaty with the two Houſes of "Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and the Commiſſioners "of the Parliament of *Scotland*, upon all Matters "which might conduce to the reſtoring of Peace and "Happineſs to his Kingdoms.

"He declared beforehand, that he was willing to "commit the great Truſt of the Militia, for ſuch "Time and with ſuch Powers as were expreſſed in "the Paper delivered by his Commiſſioners at *Ux-*"*bridge*, to thirty Perſons he named. But if this did "not ſatisfy the Parliament, then he offered to "name the one half, and leave the other to the E-"lection of the two Houſes."

Before the two Houſes received this laſt Meſſage, they had ſent the following Anſwer to the two firſt:

Ruſh. VI. p. 217. "That finding that former Treaties had been "made uſe of for other Ends, under the pretence of "Peace, and had proved dilatory and unſucceſsful, "they could not give way to a Safe-Conduct accord-"ing to his Majeſty's Deſire. But both Houſes of "the Parliament of *England* having under their Con-"ſideration, Propoſitions and Bills for the ſettling "of a ſafe and well-grounded Peace, which were "ſpeedily to be communicated to the Commiſſioners "of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, did reſolve, after mu-"tual Agreement of both Kingdoms, to preſent "them with all ſpeed to his Majeſty."

The

The King replied the 29th of *December*. He complained that a Safe-Conduct was denied to those he would have sent. He insisted upon his Demand of a Personal Treaty, and desired an Answer to his Message of the 26th. He said, he should never have had the Thought of coming to *London*, if it was not his sincere Intention to make Peace. 1645.

The 15th of *January* 1645-6, he sent another Message to both Houses, wherein he complained of not having had an Answer: he said, "That what he earnestly desired was Peace, and the Means his "Personal Presence at *Westminster*; where the Government of the Church being settled as it was in "the Times of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, "and full Liberty for the Ease of their Consciences, "who would not communicate in that Service established by Law, and likewise for the free and publick Use of the *Directory*, to such as should desire "to use the same; and all Forces being agreed to "be disbanded, his Majesty would then forthwith "join with his two Houses of Parliament in settling "some way for the Payment of the publick Debts "to his *Scots* Subjects, the City of *London* and others. "And having proposed a fair Way for the settling "of the *Militia*, he would endeavour upon Debate "with his two Houses, so to dispose of it, as likewise of the Business of *Ireland*, as might give "them and both Kingdoms Satisfaction. Not doubting also but to give good Contentment to his two "Houses of Parliament in the Choice of the Lord-"Admiral, the Officers of State, and others.

The 19th of *January* 1645-6, two Days before the Date of the last Message, both Houses had returned an Answer to that of the 29th of *December*.

"That there had been a great deal of innocent "Blood of his Subjects shed in the War by his Ma-"jesty's Commands and Commissions.

1645. "That there had been *Iriſh* Rebels brought over "into both Kingdoms, and Endeavours to bring o- "ver more, as alſo Forces from Foreign Parts.

"That his Majeſty was in Arms in thoſe Parts, "and the Prince at the Head of an Army in the "*Weſt*; there were alſo Forces in *Scotland* againſt "that Parliament and Kingdom by his Commiſſion; "and the War in *Ireland* was fomented and prolong- "ed by his Majeſty.

"That until Satisfaction and Security was firſt "given to both Kingdoms, his Majeſty's coming to "the Parliament could not he convenient, nor by "them aſſented unto.

"That they could not apprehend it a Means con- "ducing to Peace, that his Majeſty ſhould come to "his Parliament for a few Days, with any Thoughts "of leaving it, eſpecially with Intentions of return- "ing to Hoſtility againſt it.

"That his Majeſty deſired the Engagement not "only of his Parliaments, but of the Lord-Mayor "of *London*, &c. which was againſt the Privileges "and Honour of the Parliaments, thoſe being join- "ed with them, who were ſubject and ſubordinate "to their Authority.

"That the only way for the obtaining an happy "and well-grounded Peace, was for his Majeſty to "give his Aſſent to thoſe Propoſitions that ſhould "be ſent to him.

"That there was not ſo much as any mention of "*Scotland*.

The King in a Reply to this Anſwer, heavily complained of the Aſperſions caſt upon him by both Houſes, and reproached them in his Turn. He inſiſted upon an Anſwer to his Meſſage of the 15th of *December*, ſaying, No rational Man could think their laſt Paper to be any Anſwer to his former Demands.

But the 24th of the ſame Month, he ſent a further Reply to every particular Article of that ſame Anſwer. The Subſtance whereof was:

1. That

1. *That a great deal of innocent Blood had been ſpilt.* That is the very reaſon why he preſſeth that there ſhould be no more (1.)

2. *That he had cauſed ſome* Iriſh *to repair to his Aſſiſtance.* He anſwered, That thoſe whom they called *Iriſh*, were indeed (for the moſt part) ſuch *Engliſh* Proteſtants as had been formerly ſent into *Ireland* by the two Houſes, and unable to ſtay their any longer, by the neglect of thoſe that ſent them thither, who ſhould have better provided for them (2.)

3. *That the Prince was at the Head of an Army.* The King anſwered, that it was no great wonder, ſince there was yet no Peace.

4. *That he deſired to come to his Parliament but for a few Days.* He anſwered by proteſting, that he ſought that Treaty to avoid future Hoſtility, and procure a laſting Peace (3).

5. *That*

REMARK (1.) *The meaning of this Objection of both Houſes was, that there having been a great deal of Blood ſpilt in the War, it was reaſonable the Authors thereof ſhould be puniſhed, and that the King continuing to protect them, it was neceſſary to proſecute the War till he ſhould be obliged to deliver them up to Juſtice. So the King's general Reply upon this Article anſwered not the Objection.*

REM. (2). *The Objection did not relate to the* Engliſh *Forces the King had ſent for from* Ireland. *The two Houſes were far from giving theſe Soldiers the name of* Iriſh. *But they meant the* Iriſh *Papiſts the King entertained in his Army, and particularly a Body of ten Thouſand Men which the Earl of* Glamorgan *was to bring over. The King made as if he did not underſtand the two Houſes, and made an evaſive Anſwer to this Objection.*

REM. (3). *The Parliament did not queſtion it: But they thought the King would come to* London *only to com-*

1645. 5. *That the Engagements which his Majeſty had deſired for his Security, were a Breach of Privilege.* The King anſwered, that whoſoever ſhould call to mind the particular Occaſions that enforced him to leave the City of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, would judge his Demand very reaſonable and neceſſary for his Safety. But he no way conceived how the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, *&c.* of *London*, were either ſubject or ſubordinate to the Authority of the two Houſes.

6. *That he had made no mention of* Scotland. He anſwered, that it was included in his former, and had been particularly mentioned in his latter Meſſage of the 15th.

Laſtly, He deſired a poſitive Anſwer to his former Meſſages.

The 29th of *January*, the King ſent another Meſſage to both Houſes, wherein he expreſsly diſavowed all that had been done by the Earl of *Glamorgan*, with regard to the Treaty he had entered into with the *Iriſh* Rebels. And ſaid, "That that Earl having made offer unto him to raiſe Forces in the "Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to Conduct them into "*England* for his Majeſty's Service, he had granted "him a Commiſſion to that Purpoſe, and to that "Purpoſe only: But that he had no Commiſſion at "all to treat of any Thing elſe, without the Privity and Directions of the Lord-Lieutenant. And "this clearly appeared by the Lord-Lieutenant's "Proceedings with the ſaid Earl, who had Orders to "call him to an Account (4).

The King added, "That if the two Houſes would "admit of his Repair to *London* for a Perſonal Treaty, ſpeedy notice ſhould be given him thereof,

pel, by means of his Friends, both Houſes to make ſuch a Peace as he deſired. So this general Anſwer was not capable of giving them Satisfaction.

REM. (4). *The Colour the King gives here to this Affair will manifeſtly appear in what will be ſaid preſently concerning this Treaty.*

"and

" and a Safe-Conduct with a Blank ſent, for a Meſ- 1645.
" ſenger to be immediately diſpatched into *Ireland*,
" to ſtop the Concluſion of the Peace, the Lord-Lieu-
" tenant being empowered to treat and conclude it.

" That he would leave the Management of the
" Buſineſs of *Ireland* wholly to the two Houſes,
" and make no Peace there but with their Conſent,
" in Caſe his Endeavours in the Treaty ſhould be
" bleſſed with Succeſs.

" That if his Perſonal Repair to *London* ſhould be
" admitted, and a Peace thereon enſue, he would
" then leave the Nominarion of the Perſons to be
" intruſted with the Militia, wholly to his two Hou-
" ſes, with ſuch Power and Limitations as were ex-
" preſſed in the Paper delivered by his Majeſty's
" Commiſſioners at *Uxbridge* the 6th of *February*
" 1644-5.

" That if the Peace ſucceeded, he would be con-
" tent, that *pro hac vice*, the two Houſes ſhould no-
" minate the Admiral, Officers of State, and Judges,
" to hold their Places during Life, or *Quamdiu ſe*
" *bene geſſerint*, to be accountable to none but the
" King and the two Houſes of Parliament.

" That as for Matter of Religion, he intended
" that all Proteſtants ſhould have the free Exerciſe
" of their Religion according to their own way.

" That upon the Concluſion of Peace there ſhould
" be a general Act of Oblivion and Free-pardon.

" And this to extend to *Scotland*.

The King had never made ſuch Advances before, and yet all his Endeavours to obtain a Safe-Conduct were fruitleſs. The two Houſes were ſo perſwaded of his Ability in the choice of his Expreſſions, which were commonly ambiguous and capable of a different Senſe from what appeared at firſt ſight, that they could not reſolve to treat with him upon his own Propoſitions. Beſides, they made no doubt but the Overture of a Perſonal Treaty was deſigned for a Snare to conſtrain them to ſuch a Peace as he de-

1645. fired. They ſent therefore to his ſeveral Meſſages no other Anſwer but that above-mentioned. So this ſort of Negotiation, which the King hoped to reap ſome Benefit by, had no other Effect than to leave his Affairs juſt as they were before.

The King's Project to make Peace with the Rebels. Ruſh VI. p. 238.

Both Houſes as we have ſeen, reproached the King that he was now endeavouring to bring a Body of *Iriſh* Troops into *England*; the King did not diſown the Thing, but denied the giving the Earl of *Glamorgan* any Power to treat with the Rebels upon any other Article. This was litterally true, but the King took Care not to make known the whole Extent of this Article, and yet both Houſes were perfectly informed of the ſame, as will appear hereafter. To underſtand fully the Objection and Anſwer, it will be neceſſary to relate what paſſed in *Ireland* upon this Subject. This is not one of the leaſt curious Points of the Reign of *Charles* I, though the Lord *Clarendon* has not thought fit to mention it.

Ruſh. VI. p. 895.

The Ceſſation the King had made with the *Iriſh* Rebels, had not entirely ſuſpended Hoſtilities in that Iſland. The Lord *Inchequin* who commanded in *Munſter* for the Parliament, and Major-General *Monro*, who was at the Head of the *Scots* in *Ulſter*, had refuſed to accept of the Ceſſation. On the other Hand, the *Engliſh* Forces that the King had drawn from *Ireland*, had been entirely ruined and diſperſed in *England*. Thus the King had reaped no Benefit from this Ceſſation, the Motives whereof he had concealed with all poſſible Care. He had pretended that he was indiſpenſably obliged to conclude it in order to ſave the *Engliſh* from the utter Deſtruction they were threatened with, by the Superiority of the Rebels, and the Parliament's Neglect to ſend Supplies into *Ireland*. But when theſe *Engliſh* Troops were ſeen to come into *England*, it was no hard Matter to gueſs the true reaſon of the Ceſſation.

The King though he reaped not from this Artifice all the Advantage he expected, gave not over the Deſign of making uſe of the Aſſiſtance of the *Iriſh*,

to

to proſecute the War againſt the Parliament. On the contrary, he formed the Project of a Peace with the Rebels, that he might employ, not only the reſt of the *Engliſh* Troops which were ſtill in *Ireland*, but alſo a good Body of *Iriſh*, whom he intended to ſend for into *England*. He ordered therefore the Marqueſs of *Ormond* Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland* to ſet about this Peace, wherein however Difficulties ſeemingly inſurmountable occurred. To make Peace with the *Iriſh*, they muſt neceſſarily be ſatisfied in Point of Religion. But this the King could not do without running-counter to all his Proteſtations concerning his great Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, and without confirming in ſome Meaſure the Suſpicions of thoſe that believed he had a Hand in the *Iriſh* Rebellion. In a Word, he could not take this Step without relinquiſhing the Intereſts of the *Iriſh* Proteſtants, and giving the Catholicks there ſuch Advantages as would render them very Superiour to the Proteſtants. He muſt likewiſe forſake the Intereſts of *England*, and cauſe her to loſe in great Meaſure the Dominion ſhe had always had over *Ireland*, ſince the Conqueſt of that Kingdom. Nay, he was in Danger by ſuch a Step of loſing many Friends in *England*. Thoſe who were ſincerely attached to him, and perſwaded that he acted upon Motives of Juſtice and Religion, muſt needs have had their Eyes opened, when they ſaw him manifeſtly betray the Intereſts of *England*, and the Proteſtant Religion, if he concluded with the *Iriſh* ſuch a Peace as they demanded. Theſe were great Difficulties which could not be got over but by one of theſe two ways; either by perſwading the *Iriſh* to ſit down with the general Promiſes he might make them, that he would content them at a better Seaſon, when it ſhould be more in his Power; or elſe by colouring with ſome ſpecious Prentenſe the Favours he ſhould be obliged to grant them for a Peace. As to the firſt way, the King omitted nothing that he thought proper to induce the *Iriſh* to truſt to his Promiſes, and herein the Marqueſs of *Or-*

1645.

1645. *mond* was long employed without any Effect. The *Iriſh* were immoveable, and would not take up with bare Words. The ſecond way was ſtill more impracticable: For what Colour could be put upon an entire relinquiſhing the Intereſts of Religion and *England*?

Nevertheleſs, as the King hoped that with the Aid he ſhould draw from *Ireland*, he ſhould be able to give Law to the Parliament, and then ſhould be obliged to uſe no farther Ceremony, he reſolved not to debar himſelf of ſuch an Advantage, but to grant the *Iriſh* whatever they demanded. However, to avoid the Prejudice ſuch a Step might do him in *England*, he choſe to conclude a private Peace with the *Iriſh*, without Solemnity, or the Intervention of the Lord-Lieutenant, and to bind himſelf to have it effectually executed, till it ſhould be in his Power to ratify it ſolemnly, with which the *Iriſh* were well content.

To this purpoſe, whilſt the Marqueſs of *Ormond* was ſeemingly labouring with great Earneſtneſs to make Peace with the Rebels, by trying to prevail with them to deſiſt from part of their Demands, the Earl of *Glamorgan*, authorized by the King, was treating ſecretly and more effectually with them. He granted them, on the King's Behalf, all their Demands, on Condition they would furniſh him with a Body of Ten Thouſand Men, who ſhould come into *England* under the Command of the ſame Earl of *Glamorgan*. But as this Lord's bare Word was not a ſufficient Security for the *Iriſh*, the King ſent him *full Powers*, the Tenour whereof was as follows:

CHARLES R.

Ruſh. VI. p. 239, 240, 243. "CHARLES by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender "of the Faith, *&c.* To our Truſty and Right "Well-beloved Couſin, *Edward* Earl of *Glamor-*"*gan*, Greeting. We repoſing great and eſpecial "Truſt and Confidence in your approved Wiſdom

"and

" and Fidelity, do by theſe (as firmly as under our 1645.
" Great-Seal, to all Intents and Purpoſes) authorize
" and give you Power to treat and conclude with
" the Confederate *Roman* Catholicks in our Kingdom
" of *Ireland*, if upon Neceſſity any be to be con-
" deſcended unto, wherein our Lieutenant cannot
" ſo well be ſeen in, and not fit for us at the preſent
" publickly to own: Therefore we charge you to
" proceed according to this Warrant, with all poſ-
" ſible Secrecy; and for whatſoever you ſhall engage
" your ſelf, upon ſuch valuable Conſiderations as
" you in your Judgment ſhall deem fit, we pro-
" miſe upon the Word of a King and a Chriſtian,
" to ratify and perform the ſame that ſhall be granted
" by you, and under your Hand and Seal; the ſaid
" Confederate Catholicks having by their Supplies
" teſtified their Zeal to our Service. And this ſhall
" be in each particular to you a ſufficient Warrant.
" *Given at our Court at* Oxford, *under our Signet*
" *and Royal Signature, the 12th Day of* March,
" *in the Twentieth Year of our Reign*, 1644."

The Date of this Warrant is remarkable, for it was at a time when the King's Affairs did not ſeem to require abſolutely his making uſe of the *Iriſh* Catholicks. In the foregoing Campaign, he had gained a ſignal Advantage over the Earl of *Eſſex* with all the weſtern Counties. He had fought a Battle at *Newbury*, which had not procured his Enemies any real Advantage; and on the contrary, he had ſhown in the Buſineſs of *Dennington*, that he believed he had no reaſon to fear them. It was juſt after the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, where he did not think himſelf under a Neceſſity of making any Conceſſions. In a word, it was at a time when the Parliament, by reaſon of the ill Succeſs of their Arms, were employed in new-modelling their Army. It cannot therefore be ſaid, it was through Deſpair that the King was driven to make uſe of the Aſſiſtance of the *Iriſh*. It is rather very

1645. very easy to perceive, it was solely to increase the Superiority he then had over the Parliament.

By virtue of this Warrant, the Earl of *Glamorgan* concluded a Treaty with the *Popish* Bishops, touching the Clergy-Livings. This was a Preliminary Treaty, upon which the Bishops made the following *Instrument*:

"Whereas by these Articles touching the Clergy-"Livings, the Right Honourable the Earl of *Gla-*"*morgan* is obliged in his Majesty's Behalf to secure "the Concessions in these Articles by Act of Parlia-"ment: We holding that manner of securing the "Grants as to the Clergy-Livings, to prove more "difficult and projudicial to his Majesty, than by "doing thereof and securing those Concessions other-"wise, as to the said Livings, the said Earl under-"taking and promising in the Behalf of his Majesty, "his Heirs and Successors, as hereby he doth un-"dertake to settle the said Concessions, and secure "them to the Clergy, and their respective Successors "in another secure way, other than by Parliament, "at present, till a fit Opportunity be offered for "securing the same, do agree and condescend there-"unto: And this Instrument by his Lordship signed, "was before the perfecting thereof intended to that "purpose as to the said Livings, to which purpose "we mutually signed this Indorsement: And it is "further intended, That the Catholick Clergy shall "not be interrupted by Parliament or otherwise, as "to the said Livings, contrary to the Meaning of "these Articles."

GLAMORGAN.

The Earl of *Glamorgan* added also the following Protestation or Oath:

"I *Edward* Earl of *Glamorgan* do protest and "swear, faithfully to acquaint the King's most ex-

"cellent

" cellent Majeſty with the Proceedings of this King- 1645.
" dom, in order to his Service, and to the Endear-
" ment of this Nation, and punctual Performance of
" what I have (as authorized by his Majeſty) ob-
" liged my ſelf to ſee performed; and in default, not
" to permit the Army intruſted into my Charge to
" adventure it ſelf, or any conſiderable Part thereof,
" untill Conditions from his Majeſty, and by his
" Majeſty be performed."

Sept. 3. 1645. *GLAMORGAN.*

The Subſtance of the Treaty between the Earl of Glamorgan, *and the Confederate* Iriſh *Catholicks.*

IT was ſaid in the Beginning of the Treaty, that much time had been ſpent in Meetings and Debates betwixt *James* Marqueſs of *Ormond* Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and the Commiſſioners of the Catholick Council of *Kilkenny*, for the treating and concluding of a Peace; and thereupon many Difficulties ariſing, the Earl of *Glamorgan* was entruſted and authorized by his Majeſty to grant and aſſure to the ſaid Confederate Catholicks, further Grace and Favours, which the ſaid Lord-Lieutenant had not as yet, in that Latitude as they expected, granted unto them; In purſuance therefore of his Majeſty's Authority, under his Signature Royal and Signet, bearing Date at *Oxon* the 12th Day of *March*, in the 20th Year of his Majeſty's Reign —— " It is accord-
" ed and agreed between the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan*,
" for and on the behalf of his Majeſty, and *Richard*
" Lord Viſcount *Mountgarret* Preſident of the ſu-
" preme Council at *Kilkenny*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount
" *Muskerry*, &c. Commiſſioners appointed by the
" Confederate *Roman*-Catholicks:

" I. That

1645. "I. That all the Professors of the *Roman*-Catholick Religion in *Ireland* shall enjoy the free and "publick Use and Exercise of their Religion.

"II. That they shall hold and enjoy all the "Churches by them enjoyed within that Kingdom, "or by them possessed at any time since the 23d of "*October* 1641, and all other Churches in the said "Kingdom, other than such as are now actually en-"joyed by his Majesty's *Protestant* Subjects.

"III. That all the *Roman*-Catholicks shall be ex-"empted from the Jurisdiction of the *Protestant* "Clergy, and that the *Roman*-Catholick Clergy "shall not be punished or molested, for the Exer-"cise of their Jurisdiction over their respective *Ca-"tholick* Flocks.

"IV. That the following Act shall be passed in "the next Parliament to be holden in *Ireland*. [*Here is inserted the Form of an Act for securing all the King's Concessions to the Catholicks.*]

"V. That the Marquess of *Ormond*, or any others, "shall not disturb the Professors of the *Roman*-Ca-"tholick Religion in the Possession of the Articles "above specified.

"VI. The Earl of *Glamorgan* engages his Ma-"jesty's Word for the Performance of those Arti-"cles.

"VII. The publick Faith of the Kingdom shall "be engaged unto the said Earl by the Commissio-"ners of the Confederate Catholicks, for sending "Ten Thousand Men, by Order of the General As-"sembly at *Kilkenny*, armed the one half with Mus-"quets, and the other half with Pikes, to serve his "Majesty in *England*, *Wales*, or *Scotland*, under the "Command of the Earl of *Glamorgan*."

Signed the 25th of August, 1645.

Moreover, the *Irish* Commissioners engaged their Word and the Faith of the supreme Council of *Kilkenny*, that two Thirds of the Clergy's Revenues should

ſhould be employed for the Space of three Years, towards the Maintenance of the Ten Thouſand Men, the other Third being reſerved for the Clergy's Subſiſtence. 1645.

This Treaty, though made very ſecretly, was however diſcovered by an extraordinary Accident. The Archbiſhop of *Tuam*, Preſident of *Connaught*, going into *Ulſter* about ſome Affairs, met with a Body of *Iriſh* Troops marching to beſiege *Sligo*, and joined with them, whether for Security ſake or ſome other Deſign *. When they came near *Sligo*, the Garriſon made a Sally, charged the Troops that were come to beſiege them, utterly routed them, and killed the Archbiſhop of *Tuam*. In his Pockets it was that authentick Copies, atteſted and ſigned by ſeveral Biſhops, were found, of the Treaty above-mentioned, and of the Full-Powers given to the Earl of *Glamorgan* by the King, which were ſent to the Parliament. Ruſh. VI. p. 239.

The Marqueſs of *Ormond*, the Lord *Digby* then in *Ireland*, and ſome others having ſoon heard that the Secret was diſcovered, found no better Expedient to clear the King, than to arreſt the Earl of *Glamorgan*, and charge him with having had the Boldneſs, worthy of a ſevere Puniſhment, to go beyond his Orders, and conclude a Treaty with the *Iriſh*. This is what the King inſinuated alſo in his Meſſage to both Houſes of the 19th of *January* 1645-6.

Ruſhworth has inſerted in his Collections two Letters from the Earl of *Glamorgan* which were intercepted, one to his Counteſs dated in *January*, acquainting her that his Impriſonment did not give him much Uneaſineſs. In the other of the 26th of *February*, directed to the King, he told him, that he was at *Waterford* providing Shipping to tranſport Six Thouſand Foot immediately, and that Four Thouſand more Ruſh. VI. p. 246, 249.

* He attended the Army at this Time to viſit his Dioceſe, and put in Execution an Order for the Arrears of his Biſhoprick granted to him by the Council of *Kilkenny*. *Ruſh.* VI. p. 239.

1645. more were to follow them by *May* *. These Troops came not however into *England*, probably, by reason of the Alteration in the King's Affairs, which were in a melancholy Situation after the Battle of *Naseby*. All his Towns were taken one after another. The *Scots* were now before *Newark*, and General *Fairfax* having reduced all the *West* to the Obedience of the Parliament, was preparing to come and besiege the King in *Oxford*.

1645-6. *The Court of* France *sends* Montreuil *to* London. Whilst the King was in this sad State, the Court of *France* sent *Montreuil* into *England*, on pretense of finding means to make Peace between the King and the Parliament: but their real Intention was, that *Montreuil* should endeavour to bring about a private Accommodation between the King and the *Scots*. This could not be done without the King's forsaking the Bishops entirely, and consenting to the Establishment of the Presbyterian Government in the Church of *England*. The Court of *France* and Queen of *England* were in hopes this Project would succeed the more easily, as it was agreeable to good Policy, and the King's Interests. The King would thereby have gained not only the *Scots*, who had a strong Army in *England*, but also the City of *London*, and the Majority of the Members of Parliament, who for the most Part insisted upon the other Points in dispute, only to get this the more easily passed. This was properly

He proposes to the King to join with the Presbyterians.

* This Letter to the King, with the Lord *Digby*'s Narrative of his Proceedings against the Earl of *Glamorgan*, &c. came to the Parliament's Hands in the following manner. Whilst *Fairfax* was in *Cornwal* hemming in the Lord *Hopton*, a Ship came into *Padstow* from *Ireland*, not doubting but to have been well received: Whereas the Town's People, with the help of some Parliament Dragoons, seized and boarded her. The Captain, one *Allen* of *Waterford*, had thrown a Pacquet of Letters over-board, which were found floating on the Water and carried to *Fairfax*, who found amongst others the Letter and Narrative above-mentioned. These Letters being showed and read to the People of the County, who were summoned to appear on the Downs by *Bodmin*, made great Impressions on them, so that many of them offered to assist in blocking up all Passages to prevent the Royal Cavalry from breaking through. *Rush.* VI. p. 104.

properly the ſole Means of balancing or ſurmounting the great Power of the *Independents*, who were in a manner Maſters of the Army. If the King had taken this Courſe, it is very evident it would have turned greatly to his Advantage: whereas, at the time it was propoſed to him, he was entirely without Remedy. But his Zeal for *Epiſcopacy* would not let him accept of any ſuch Overture, and he told *Montreuil* he would never conſent to it. About the ſame time the Queen ſent Sir *William Davenant* to perſuade the King to ſide with the *Presbyterians*, as the only Means to free himſelf from the ſad Condition he was in. The Moment *Davenant* offered to ſpeak to him, he commanded him to hold his Tongue, and never more to appear in his Preſence. 1645-6.

The King rejects the Propoſal.

Mean while, *Montreuil* at his Arrival in *England* being poſſeſſed with the Notion, that the King would not refuſe the Courſe which was to be propoſed to him, had made ſome Overtures to the *Scotch* Commiſſioners reſiding in *London*, and found them inclinable to treat with the King: but after he had ſpoke and writ to his Majeſty ſeveral times, he found him immoveable. The *Scots*, on their Part, being no leſs rigid, conſtantly refuſed to promiſe the King any Aſſiſtance, unleſs he conſented to the Abolition of Epiſcopacy.

Negotiation of Montreuil's between the King and the Scotch Army.

Whilſt this Affair was at a Stand by reaſon of this Difficulty, and *Montreuil* gone to the *Scotch* Army then before *Newark*, to try to find ſome Medium favourable to the King, *Fairfax* was advancing with his Army, ſo that the King was in Danger of being incloſed in *Oxford*. The King's main Concern was then to deliver himſelf from this Danger. Though he had till that time been in ſuſpenſe whether he ſhould go to the *Scotch* Army, on account of the fore-mentioned Difficulty, he ſaw however no other Remedy when the Danger drew nigh. The *Scotch* Officers had made him ſome general Promiſes, grounded probably upon their Hopes that he would in the End conſent to their Demands. He ſent them word

1645 & of his Intention to come to their Army, and they promiſed to receive him and provide for his Safety. He had no time doubtleſs to make a more particular Treaty with them. At leaſt, it is not known now upon what Terms the King put himſelf into the Hands of the *Scots*, and on what Conditions they received him. However this be, the King having no time to loſe, that he might not be incloſed in *Oxford*, departed privately, and came to the *Scotch* Army, *May* the 4th, 1646.*

The King goes to the Scotch Army.

1646. The King had on the 13th of *April* imparted by Letter to the Marqueſs of *Ormond* his Deſign to throw himſelf into the Arms of the *Scots*, in theſe words: *Having lately received very good Security that we and all that do or ſhall adhere to us, ſhall be ſafe in our Perſons, Honours and Conſciences in the* Scotiſh *Army; and that they ſhall really and effectually join with us, and with ſuch as will come in to us, and ſhall employ their Armies and Forces to aſſiſt us to the procuring of a happy and well-grounded Peace* ——— *If it ſhall pleaſe God that we come ſafe thither, we are reſolved to uſe our beſt Endeavour with their Aſſiſtance, and with the Conjunction of the Forces under the Marqueſs of* Montroſs, *and ſuch of our well-affected Subjects of* England

Ruſh. VI. p. 268.

as

* According to the Lord *Clarendon*, the King was not reſolved when he left *Oxford*, whether he ſhould go to *London* or the *Scotch* Army. He ſays, the King went away the 27th of *April*, attended only by *John Aſhburnham* and one *Hudſon* a Divine, who underſtood the By-ways. It was Nine Days after his leaving *Oxford* before it was known where the King was. It ſeems the King had waſted that time in ſeveral Places, purpoſely to be informed of the Condition of the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, and to find a ſecure Paſſage to get to him, which he exceedingly deſired. *Clarend.* III. p. 23.

Hudſon upon his Examination ſaid, that the King croſſed the Country, was at *Henley*, *Harrow* on the Hill, and at *Brentford*, and almoſt perſuaded to come to *London*, and then he went to St. *Albans*, and ſo to *Harborough*, where the *French* Agent was to have met him with ſome Horſe, but came not; from thence the King went to *Stamford*, from thence to *Downham* in *Norfolk*, where he lay at a petty Ale-Houſe; that he paſſed ſometimes by the Name of *Hudſon*'s Tutor, ſometimes Doctor, and ſometimes as *Aſhburnham*'s Servant. *Whit. Mem.* p. 214.

as ſhall riſe for us to procure, if it may be, an honourable and ſpeedy Peace. 1640.

The Marqueſs of *Ormond* ſent a Copy of this Letter to General *Monroe*, who commanded the *Scotch* Troops in *Ireland*, and *Monroe* communicated the ſame to the Commiſſioners of Parliament in *Ulſter*, by whom Copies of the Letter, as printed at *Dublin*, were ſent over to both Houſes, and it was read in the Houſe of *Commons* on *Saturday June* the 9th. Whereupon, on the *Monday* following, the *Scotch* Commiſſioners delivered in a Declaration to the Houſe of Peers, poſitively denying that their Army had made any Treaty with the King to aſſiſt him. Thus we ſee on one ſide, the King affirming he had received very good Security that the *Scots* would declare for him; and on the other, the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* denying that their Army had made any Treaty at all with the King to aſſiſt him. Ruſh. VI. p. 272.

In all probability the *Scotch* Commiſſioners and the general Officers of their Army had given *Montreuil* hopes they would declare for the King, but on Condition he would renounce Epiſcopacy; without which Condition, it is not eaſy to conceive that the Commiſſioners or Officers ſhould have made ſuch a Promiſe which was not in their Power; ſi nce they could not engage themſelves contrary to the expreſs Tenour of the *Covenant*, and without poſitive Orders from thoſe who governed *Scotland*. Wherefore it could only be Hopes, and thoſe Conditional, that the King improperly took for Aſſurances, and which *Montreuil*, it may be, confounded as well as he. It is true, the Earl of *Clarendon* cites a Paper ſigned by *Montreuil*, wherein he ſays, *I do promiſe in the Name of the King and Queen (my Maſter and Miſtreſs) and by Virtue of the Powers I have from their Majeſties, That if the King of* Great-Britain *ſhall put himſelf into the* Scotiſh *Army, he ſhall be there received as their natural Sovereign, and ſhall be with them in all Freedom of his Conſcience and Honour —— And that the* Scots *ſhall* Clarend. V. p. 18.

1646. *employ their Armies and Forces to assist his Majesty in the Recovery of his just Rights*, &c.

But it must be observed, that there is not in this *Paper* one single word to show that *Montreuil* was impowered to make this Promise, either by the Commissioners or the General Officers, or the Parliament of *Scotland*: Nay, it does not so much as appear that he was accepted for Mediator in this Affair; that besides, he could not engage the Authority of the King of *France* and Queen-Regent to make such a Promise, unless backed with a Treaty which however has never appeared. The Lord *Clarendon* hints, that *Montreuil* had the Word of the principal Officers of the *Scotch* Army, but that afterwards finding them grown cold, he writ to the King to dissuade him from venturing his Person among them. Indeed it is hard to conceive that *Montreuil* should sign such a Promise without being authorized thereunto. But then, in case he had a Treaty or other Warrant in his Hands, is it likely that he would not have mentioned it in his *Paper*?

But what seems still more impossible, is that the *Scots* should engage themselves without Conditions, as this Promise intimates, contrary to the Tenour of the *Covenant* between the two Nations, since the King would not so much as hear of the Abolition of Episcopacy. There must needs then have been some Mistake in the Negotiation carried on by *Montreuil*'s Mediation, and the King and Mediator must have taken, for positive Assurances, Promises which were conditional only, as appears by the King's Letter to the Marquess of *Ormond*, and the solemn Denial of the *Scots*. However this be, *Montreuil* was recalled and disgraced, and as there is reason to believe it was for engaging the Word and Honour of the King his Master and the Queen-Regent upon so trifling a Foundation. The Lord *Clarendon*, probably to hinder the King from being blamed for putting himself into the Hands of the *Scots* too hastily, and without good Security, hints that this Envoy's Disgrace was an Artifice

tifice of Cardinal *Mazarine*'s, who had a mind to conceal the Insincerity of the Court of *France*. I own I cannot comprehend the meaning of these Words. But if it be true, that *Montreuil* was not authorized to do as he did, as it does not appear that he was, I do not see any Occasion to seek for any other Cause of his Disgrace. 1646.

The King orders Newark *to be surrendered to the* Scots, May 6.

The King being come to the *Scotch* Army, which had been before *Newark* ever since the Month of *November*, the General represented to him that it would be proper for the Safety of his Person that the Army should march northward, in order to be near the Borders of *Scotland*. But as this could not be done before the taking of *Newark*, he desired him to order the Town to be given up. The King prevailed with by this Consideration, gave Orders to the Lord *Bellasis* the Governour to surrender *Newark*, which was done accordingly; and immediately after the Army began to march, and came to *Newcastle*, bringing the King along with them.

who carry him to Newcastle

The King's Message to both Houses. Rush. VI. p. 274.

May the 18th the King sent a Message to both Houses, recommending to them the speedy settling of Religion, and the taking to that end the Advice of the *Divines* of both Kingdoms assembled at *Westminster*.

Concerning the *Militia*, he agreed that the two Houses should name all the Commissioners for that Trust for the Space of Seven Years, and after the Expiration of that Term, a Regulation should be by the King and both Houses.

He offered the like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

Concerning the Wars in *Ireland* he said in general, He would do whatever was possible for him to give full Satisfaction therein.

In a Postscript, he offered to disband his Forces at *Oxford*, and consent that the Fortifications of the City should be demolished, provided honourable Terms were granted to the Garrison, which done, he would give the like Order to the rest of his Garrisons.

1646. *The King writes to the City of* London. Ibid

The next Day the King writ to the City of *London*, to acquaint them that he was ready to comply with the Parliament in every thing.

Another Message

June the 10th he preſſed the two Houſes by another Meſſage to ſend their Propoſitions for Peace, that he might give them all juſt Satisfaction; and deſired again the Liberty to come to *London* and treat in Perſon with them.

Ruſh. VI. p. 300.

The 25th of the ſame Month, the *Scotch* Commiſſioners preſented a Memorial to the Parliament, whereby they conſented that the Propoſitions for Peace which had been communicated to them ſhould be ſent to the King, with Proteſtation however that they were not all agreeable to their Sentiments. They deſired alſo that Money might be ſent to their Troops both in *England* and *Ireland*, their Accounts ſtated, and all Armies ſpeedily disbanded.

The Scots deny the having made a Treaty with the King. Ibid. P 303, 304.

Mean while, the *Scotch* Army which was at *Newcaſtle*, underſtanding that it was reported at *London*, that they had made a Treaty with the King to aſſiſt him againſt the Parliament, publiſhed a Declaration, proteſting that it was always their Intention to maintain the *Covenant* between the two Kingdoms, and that they abhorred all publick and private Ways tending to violate the ſame, or to create a Miſunderſtanding between the two Nations. At the ſame time, they preſented a Petition to the King, beſeeching him to take a ſpeedy Courſe for ſettling of Religion in *England*, according to the Example of the beſt Reformed Churches, and for eſtabliſhing the Liberties of his Kingdoms; expreſſing their great Grief for his not having yet authorized and ſigned the *Covenant* *. They alſo prayed him to comply with the Counſels of his Parliament. The King returned to this Petition a general Anſwer, without entering into Particulars.

The

* The Author's Words are, *they prayed him to ſign the Covenant*, but it is in the Petition as in the Tranſlation. *See* Ruſh. VI. p. 304.

The General-Assembly of the *Kirk* of *Scotland* writ likewise to the Parliament of *England*, the City of *London*, the Assembly of *Divines*, to desire them to promote the Work of Reformation, according to the Tenour of the *Covenant*. 1646.

July the 6th the House of *Commons* voted that *England* had no further need of the *Scotch* Army, and that the Commissioners of *Scotland* should be desired to withdraw their Forces. *Vote, that the* Scotch *Army is no longer necessary.*

Some Days after, the two Houses sent the Propositions for Peace to the King at *Newcastle*, which were much the same with those that had been debated at *Uxbridge*. Wherefore I do not think it necessary to repeat them here. I shall content my self with relating the Thirteenth Article, being an Addition to the former Claims of both Houses with respect to the *Militia*:

The Propositions of the two Houses to the King. Rush. VI. p. 311.

" That during the Space of Twenty Years the two " Houses of Parliament alone shall have power to " Arm, Train, and Discipline the Militia; and " that neither the King, or his Successors, shall, " during the said Space of Twenty Years, exercise " any Power over them.

" The like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, if the " Estates of the Parliament there shall think fit.

" That Moneys be raised for the Maintenance of " the said Forces for Land-Service, and of the Navy, " as the Lords and Commons shall, during the said " Space of Twenty Years, think fit; and that the " said Forces be employed, ordered and disposed, " as the two Houses shall appoint, and not other- " wise: That they shall have Power, 1. To sup- " press all Forces raised without their Authority " and Consent. 2. To suppress all foreign Forces " who shall invade any of the *English* Dominions. " 3. To conjoin the Forces of *England* with those " of *Scotland*.

1646. "That after the Expiration of the ſaid Twenty Years, "no Perſon, under any Pretence whatſoever, ſhall "any way diſpoſe of the *Engliſh* Forces, without the "Conſent of both Houſes.

"That after the ſaid Twenty Years, if any Bills "are paſſed by the Lords and Commons, for the "Safety of the Kingdom, and the Royal Aſſent is "not given to them within ſuch Time as the Houſe "of Peers ſhall judge convenient; That ſuch Bills "ſhall nevertheleſs be as valid to all Intents and "Purpoſes, as if the Royal Aſſent had been given "thereunto."

The Parliament's Commiſſioners preſented theſe Propoſitions to the King the 24th of *July*, and as they declared to him that they were limited not to ſtay above ten Days at *Newcaſtle*, the King gave them his Anſwer the firſt of *Auguſt*.

"That the Propoſitions tendered to him did im-"port ſo great Alterations in Government both in "the Church and Kingdom, that it was very dif-"ficult for him to return a particular and poſi-"tive Anſwer to them, before a full Debate; "wherein thoſe Propoſitions, and the neceſſary Ex-"planation, true Senſe, and Reaſons thereof were "rightly weighed and underſtood; which he found "the Commiſſioners were not authorized to admit, "nor able to give him. That he deſired to come "to *London* with Freedom, Honour and Safety, "where he might have thoſe Doubts cleared, and "thoſe Difficulties explained to him. *That he aſ-"ſured them, That as he could never condeſcend to what "was abſolutely deſtructive to that juſt Power which "by the Laws of God and the Land he was born unto,* "ſo he would chearfully grant and give his Aſſent "to all *ſuch Bills as ſhould be really for the Good and "Peace of his People, not having regard to his own "particular.*"

Before

Before the King delivered his Anſwer to the Parliament's Commiſſioners, the Earl of *Loudon* Lord-Chancellor of *Scotland* made a Speech to him to perſwade him to accept the Propoſitions. His Reaſons were the ſtronger and more preſſing, as drawn from the Neceſſity the King was in. But his Majeſty was not pleaſed to take his Advice. This Anſwer being read in the Parliament the 12th of *Auguſt*, was the Cauſe of great Joy to thoſe who were againſt Peace *.

1646. *The* Scots *preſs the King to accept the Propoſitions.* Ruſh. VI. p. 319.

The ſame Day the *Scotch* Commiſſioners preſented a Memoral to the Lords, offering to ſend back their Army into *Scotland*, reaſonable Satisfaction being given for their Pains, Hazards, Charges and Sufferings. They ſaid moreover, that ſince his Majeſty had not agreed to the Propoſitions preſented to him, it was neceſſary to conſult jointly with them what was next to be done, both in relation to the King's Perſon, and the Peace and Safety of the two Kingdoms. Both Houſes returned them Thanks, and appointed a Committee to examine their Accounts.

The Scotch *Army offer to return home.* Ruſh. VI. p. 322.

Some

* A little after the King's coming to *Newcaſtle*, a *Scotch* Miniſter preached boldly before him, and when his Sermon was done, called for the Fifty ſecond *Pſalm*, which begins, *Why doſt thou, Tyrant, boaſt thy ſelf, thy wicked Works to praiſe.* Whereupon his Majeſty ſtood up, and called for the Fifty-ſixth *Pſalm*, which begins, *Have Mercy, Lord, on me I pray, for Men would me devour.* The People waved the Miniſter's Pſalm, and ſung that which the King called for. *Whit. Mem.* p. 234.

Whilſt the King was at *Newcaſtle*, *Henderſon* came and much importuned his Majeſty to paſs the Propoſitions; but his Majeſty affirming he could not in Conſcience conſent to ſeveral Things therein, eſpecially to the Change of Church-Government from the antient Order of Epiſcopacy, ſeveral Papers paſſed between his Majeſty and him, which ſhew the King's great Abilities in thoſe Controverſies, being at a Time when he could not have the Aſſiſtance of any of his Chaplains. *Henderſon* returning to *Edinburgh* died ſoon after. He was, ſays *Whitlock*, a Perſon of a ſober Converſation and good Learning. *Whitlock* adds, ſome ſaid, *he died of Grief becauſe he could not perſwade the King to ſign the Propoſitions.* He was more moderate, ſays *Ruſhworth*, than many of them. *Ruſh.* VI. p. 321. *Whit.* p. 225.

1646. *Disputes about Arrears due to the* Scots.

Some Days after they delivered in an Account of Arrears, amounting to two Millions. The Parliament disputed several Articles, and deducted such Sums as the *Scots* had received. The *Scots* allowed the Justice of some of these Deductions, but could not agree to others. At last, after many Debates, the *Scots* offered to accept of a Sum in Gross for a full Discharge of their Arrears. Whereupon they were asked what Sum they demanded, and at first they insisted upon five Hundred Thousand Pounds. The House of *Commons* offered two Hundred Thousand; that not doing, they came to three Hundred Thousand. At length, the *Scots* abating one Hundred Thousand Pounds of their Demand, it was agreed to allow them four Hundred Thousand, one half to be paid down upon their going out of the Kingdom, and the other at certain Times. This is the fatal Bargain, whereby it is pretended the *Scots* sold the King to the Parliament of *England*, because indeed they delivered him up some Months after. But it must be observed that this is only a Suspicion, a bare Conjecture, and if it be true, that the *Scots*, when they agreed upon this Sum of four Hundred Thousand Pounds, obliged themselves to give up the King to the Parliament, which I will neither affirm nor deny, at least, they acted with so much Art and Cunning, that there appeared no plain and express Proof of it. No *Treaty*, no *Paper*, concerning this Matter ever came to the Knowledge of the Publick. This Sum was promised them for Arrears due to their Army from the 18th of *January* 1643-4, to the 10th of *September* 1646. If it could be proved that in all that Time the *Scotch* Army had been regularly paid, according to the Treaty between the two Nations, and that no Arrears were due to them, this no doubt would be a Confirmation of the forementioned Suspicion. But these Things cannot easily be made out. For if on one Side, the *Scots* in order to mount the Debt to five Hundred Thousand Pounds, inserted in their Accounts several unjust Articles

It is agreed to allow them 400,000 l.

Remark on its being said that the Scots *sold the King.*

which

which ought to have been abated, the *Engliſh* on their Side, acted with no leſs Injuſtice, by pretending to make unfair Deductions. This appears by the Particulars of the Accounts brought in by both Parties, which are to be ſeen in *Ruſhworth's Collections*. Nay, it ſeems that if the *Engliſh* had a Mind to conceal the ſecret Motive of this Bargain, they ſhould not have diſputed much about the Debt, ſince nothing would have been more proper to remove the Suſpicion of their giving this Sum to the *Scots* to engage them to deliver up the King, than to make appear that it was really due to them for Arrears. 1646. Ruſh. VI. p. 323. 324, 326.

Another Remark.

Another and no leſs important Remark may be made upon this Subject. The Thing that has rendered odious this pretended Sale of the King's Perſon, is the tragical Death of that Prince, of which it was the occaſion. But it muſt be conſidered it was ſo only by Accident. Nothing was at that Time farther from the Thoughts both of the Parliament and *Scots*, than the putting the King to Death. The *Independents*, mortal Enemies to the *King*, *Scots*, and *Presbyterians*, were the Men who took away the King twice from the Parliament, by means of the Army, and cut off his Head at the very Time the Parliament and *Scots* were heartily labouring to reſtore him, as will be ſeen hereafter. If therefore this pretended Sale, ſuppoſing it real, was the Occaſion of the King's Death, it may be affirmed, that it was the innocent Occaſion, and its Effects ought not to be imputed to the Parliament, ſuch as it was at that time, ſince it is certain, neither both Houſes nor the *Scots* did then carry their Views ſo far, nor could poſſibly foreſee what fell out afterwards. But as I ſaid before, it can by no means be proved that the *Scots* did indeed ſell the King to the *Engliſh*. We ſhall ſee preſently the Reaſons why the *Scots* would not take Charge of the King's Perſon.

Hamilton preſſes the King to yield to the Propoſitions.

In the beginning of the Month of *September*, the Duke of *Hamilton*, who had been releaſed out of his Impriſonment in *Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall*, upon the Parliament's

1646. Parliament's taking that Place, came to *Newcaſtle* with ſome other *Scotch* Commiſſioners, and earneſtly preſſed the King to yield to the Propoſitions for Peace. If the *Scots* had bargained, by a ſecret Treaty, to give up the King to the Parliament, this Step ſeems to have been prejudicial to them, ſince the King's Compliance would have voided their Bargain with the *Engliſh*, and deprived them of the Sum agreed upon.

The King's Anſwer. Ruſh. VI. p. 327. The King anſwered the Duke and the other Commiſſioners, "That he only deſired to be heard, but "could not obtain his Deſire. That he did not give "a Denial to the Propoſitions, but only deſired to "be rightly informed of what was demanded, and "that his Reaſons might be heard."

p. 328. In another Anſwer given them in Writing the next Day, he ſaid, "he ſhould be content to reſtrain "Epiſcopal Government to ſome few *Dioceſes*, as "*Oxford*, *Wincheſter*, *Briſtol*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and "*Exeter*; leaving all the reſt of *England* fully to "the *Presbyterian*-Government, with the ſtricteſt "Clauſes they ſhould think upon againſt *Papiſts* and "*Independents*. In a Poſtſcript, he required them "to give a particular Account of this Offer to the "General-Aſſembly in *Scotland*, aſſuring them, that "he would punctually make good his laſt Letter to "them. And hoped that they as Church-men would "not preſs him to comply with what was againſt his "Conſcience, till he ſhould have Leiſure to be better "informed."

This Anſwer was a plain Intimation that when the King ſaid he deſired *to be heard*, it was only a Pretenſe to have Liberty to come to *London* to cauſe, if poſſible, the Propoſitions to be altered. We ſee alſo by this Anſwer, that he looked upon the Buſineſs of Church-Government as the main Point, and the Thing where the greateſt Difficulty lay. In a Word, his Offer ſhows that he was very hard preſſed, ſince he agreed that Presbyterial-Government ſhould be eſtabliſhed throughout the whole Kingdom, a few *Dioceſes* excepted.

Some

Some Time after he ſent a Letter to the Duke of *Hamilton* [who was now retired, finding the King immoveable] telling him, that the two Houſes thought of getting him into their Hands, by ſaying, they did not intend to make him a Priſoner, but only to give him an honourable Guard: But for his part, he would not be left in *England* when the *Scotch* Army retired, without a viſible Force upon his Perſon. Probably therefore when he demanded leave to come to *London* to treat in Perſon with both Houſes, he meant that he ſhould remain at perfect Liberty *. Perhaps he intended to eſcape into *France* or elſewhere. But how could he imagine that he ſhould be left at perfect Liberty, on the bare Preſumption that a Negotiation with him would have a good Iſſue? 1646.

Conferences about the manner how to diſpoſe of the King's Perſon.

At laſt, on the 18th of *September*, it was voted that the King's Perſon ſhould be diſpoſed of as both Houſes of Parliament ſhould think fit. But as he was not properly in their Power, they appointed a Committee to confer with the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* upon that Head.

In one of theſe Conferences the Lord *Loudon*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, endeavoured to ſhow that one of the two Kingdoms had no more Right than the other to diſpoſe of the King's Perſon, becauſe he was equally King of both, and that beſides they were united in the ſame Intereſt by their *Covenant*. The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners anſwered, That the King being in *England*, it belonged to the *Engliſh* to diſpoſe of his Perſon, and though he had retired to the *Scotch* Army, this Army being only Auxiliaries, and in the Pay of *England*, it was juſt the ſame as if he had retired to the Parliament's Army, whereof the *Scotch* Forces were a Part.

In

* His Words in the Letter to *Hamilton* are, *unleſs I may remain a Free-man, and that no Attendant be forced upon me upon any Pretence whatſoever.* See the Letter, *Ruſh.* VI. p. 329.

1646. In another Conference, the ſame Lord ſtrenuouſly proceeded to prove the Principle he had before laid down, *viz.*

Ruſh. VI. p. 331. "That the diſpoſing of his Majeſty's Perſon did "belong to both Kingdoms, and therefore that he "ought not to be diſpoſed of by any one of the "Kingdoms, but by joint Advice of both. He ex- "plained the Word *diſpoſe*, which was liable to be "miſunderſtood: And ſaid, he meant thereby, ei- "ther that his Majeſty ſhould be put under Re- "ſtraint, or be at Freedom with Honour and Safety. "As for the way of Reſtraint, he ſaid he lookt upon "it as a Remedy more dangerous than the Diſeaſe, "and as a Means to draw the War of foreign Kings "upon the Nation (eſpecially the Prince being in o- "ther Kingdoms) rather than to quiet the Troubles "at Home. And therefore he concluded, that he "would lay aſide the way of Reſtraint, and ſpeak of "the way which might be with Freedom, Honour, "and Safety; and that could be no other, but that "his Majeſty ſhould go into *Scotland*, or come to his "Parliament, or ſome of his Houſes about *London*. "His going into *Scotland*, he obſerved, was full of "Dangers and Inconveniences to both Kingdoms: "For the *Iriſh*, banded with a Crew of Malignants, "poſſeſſed the Mountains and High-Lands, which "were the ſtrong-holds, and never conquered Parts "of that Kingdom. That they had not laid down "their Arms, but kept in a Body together; and "they were ſo near *Ireland*, as the Forces of the "Rebels there might in two or three Hours ſpace "come over and join with them; and *Scotland* not "being able to keep and entertain Armies long, the "King being there, might raiſe ſuch Forces in that "Kingdom, as might make Way quickly into *Eng- "land*. Aud therefore his Majeſty's going into *Scot- "land* being of moſt dangerous Conſequence to both "Kingdoms, he offered to their Lordſhip's Conſide- "ration, his Majeſty's coming to *London*, or ſome

"of

" of his Houſes thereabouts. The main Reaſon on 1646.
" which he grounded his Opinion, was the ſame as
" the King himſelf had alledged. That he had not
" refuſed his Aſſent to the Propoſitions, but only de-
" ſired to have his Doubts cleared, and Difficulties
" explained."

But in this Reaſoning there was a material Defect, which muſt needs have been viſible to all the World. And that is, the Chancellor ſuppoſed that the King ſhould not be put under Reſtraint, but be left at full Liberty in *Scotland*, at *London*, or ſome one of his Houſes, which certainly was very far from the Thoughts of the Perſon that ſpoke, of the *Scots*, and of the Parliament of *England*. In building therefore upon ſo wrong a Foundation, the Lord *Loudon* could not expect that his Reaſoning ſhould be conſidered as of much Force, if he had not been to deal with Men whoſe Intereſt it was to feign that they thought it very ſolid.

Nothing ſeems more apt to confirm the Suſpicion of the *Scots* being ingaged to give up the King to the Parliament, than this cunning Fetch of the Lord *Loudon*'s to that End. For though he ſuppoſed the King would be in one of his Houſes with Honour and Safety, he knew the contrary, and that the Parliament would always be Maſter of his Perſon. Conſequently it was the ſame Thing as delivering him up to the Parliament, the Condition that he ſhould be there *with Honour and Safety*, being only deceitful Terms, to which the Parliament might always give what Senſe they pleaſed. But it muſt be conſidered that this is not a real Proof, but a bare Conjecture, which even ſeems to be deſtroyed by what happened ſhortly after. The Commiſſioners of *Scotland* having cauſed an Account of what paſſed at theſe Conferences to be printed, with the Speeches to prove that *England* had no more Right than *Scotland* to diſpoſe of the King's Perſon, the *Commons* were ſo offended at it, that they ordered all the Copies to be

1646. be ſeized, and the Printer committed. They made likewiſe a long Anſwer to the Account of the *Scots*, and ſent it to the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, who refuſed to receive it, becauſe it came only from one of the two Houſes; but the *Commons* ordered it to be printed and publiſhed. If it be true that the *Scots* had engaged to deliver up the King to the Parliament for the Sum of four Hundred Thouſand Pounds, nothing was more prepoſterous than this Diſpute, which was carried on with great Bitterneſs, unleſs it is ſuppoſed that the Parliament and *Scotch* Commiſſioners were agreed together to act this Kind of Comedy.

This Diſpute, real or feigned, hindered not the *Scotch* Army from being willing to return Home. But as they were to be paid down two Hundred Thouſand Pounds, before they began marching, they might have ſtaid ſeveral Weeks yet in *England*, had not the City of *London* ingaged to advance that Sum. It was not however but upon two Conditions, the firſt, that the Lenders ſhould have 8*l. per Cent.* Intereſt for their Money, and that the Payment of the Principal ſhould be ſecured out of the Receipts of the Grand Exciſe, and the Sale of Biſhops-Lands *. For this Reaſon both the two Houſes made haſte to ſequeſter theſe Lands, and appoint a Committee to expoſe them to Sale.

Debates in Scotland *about the King's Perſon. Reſolution of the Parliament thereupon.*

The 16th of *December*, the Parliament of *Scotland* took into Conſideration what was to be done with the King's Perſon. After great Debates on this Matter, it was at length reſolved that the Commiſſioners reſiding at *London* ſhould demand of both Houſes, from the Parliament of *Scotland*, that the King might return to *London* with Honour and Safety. That they ſhould declare to them, that the Parliament of *Scotland* was reſolved to ſupport Monarchy in the Perſon of the King and his juſt Title to the Crown of *England*.

* The other Condition was, that ſuch as had formerly contributed upon the Propoſitions for Horſe, Moneys, and Plate, might advance the like Sum upon this Propoſition, and be ſecured as above. *Ruſh.* VI. p. 326.

England. This Reſolution ſeems directly contrary to the Engagement to give up the King to the Parliament. 1646.

But the next Day the Commiſſioners of the General-Aſſembly preſented to the Parliament a Paper, intitled, *A ſolemn and ſeaſonable Warning to all Eſtates and Degrees of Perſons throughout the Land*, wherein, they repreſented the heinous Crime of forſaking the *Covenant*, and taking any Step towards a Breach with *England*. They maintained that ſuch Projects were infuſed into ſome by the Devil, and that they who attempted to ſow Diviſion between the two Nations, and violate the *Covenant*, which was their chief Strength, could not but be Enemies to the State. Then as to the diſpoſal of the King's Perſon, they ſaid, that as long as his Majeſty did not approve in his Heart, and ſeal with his Hand, *the League and Covenant*, he could not be received in *Scotland* without expoſing the Kingdom to freſh Troubles. That on the other Hand, to diſpoſe of the King's Perſon without the Conſent of the Parliament of *England*, was to break the *Covenant* openly, and incur the Guilt of Perjury. That it was very true, they were engaged by the *Covenant* to defend the King's Perſon, but it was no leſs true, that the End and Intent of the Union between the two Nations, was to ſettle Religion in both Kingdoms, according to the Tenour of the *Covenant*, and that theſe two Engagements could not be ſeparated. That for theſe Reaſons they deſired that freſh Endeavours might be uſed to prevail with his Majeſty to give Satisfaction to both Kingdoms, that he might return to his Parliament of *England* as a reconciled Prince to his ſatisfied Subjects, in order to eſtabliſh a happy Peace.

The General-Aſſembly are againſt it. Ruſh. VI. p. 391.

This *Paper* being read in the Parliament, the Matter was again taken into Conſideration, and at laſt after great Debates it was reſolved, "That his Ma- "jeſty ſhould be deſired to grant the whole Propo- "ſitions; and in Caſe of Refuſal, the Certifications "given to his Majeſty ſhould be put in Execution, "*namely*,

The Parliament alter their Reſolution. Ruſh. VI. p. 392.

1646. "*namely*, To ſecure the Kingdom without him;" and it was declared, "That the Kingdom of *Scotland* "cannot lawfully ingage themſelves for his Majeſty: "He not taking the *Covenant*, ſatisfying as to Reli- "gion, *&c.* Nor would they admit him to come "into *Scotland*, unleſs he gave a ſatisfactory Anſwer "to the whole Propoſitions lately preſented to him "in the Name of both Kingdoms".

The King's Meſſage to both Houſes for a perſonal Treaty. ibid. p. 209.

The King having notice of this Reſolution [from the Earl of *Lanerick*] ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes at *Weſtminiſter*, to deſire again to come to *London*, or any of his Houſes thereabouts, upon the Publick Faith and Security of his Parliament and the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, that he ſhould be there with Honour, Freedom, and Safety, in order to have his Doubts cleared and Difficulties explained. Aſſuring them that he would moſt willingly condeſcend to them in *whatſoever ſhould be really for their Good and Happineſs.* Praying them to conſider, it was their King who deſired to be heard, the which if refuſed to a Subject by a King he would be thought a Tyrant for it.

Upon this Meſſage the Lords voted, That the King might come to *Newmarket*, there to remain with ſuch Attendants about him, as both Houſes ſhould appoint: But the *Commons* voted, that *Holmby*-Houſe in *Northamptonſhire* would be the fitteſt Place for his Majeſty, to which the Lords conſented. Then it was reſolved, *That his coming to* Holmby *ſhould be with reſpect to the Safety and Preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon, and in Defence of the true Religion, according to the* Covenant *.

The 5th of *January* 1646-7, a Committee of both Houſes was appointed to go down and receive the King from the *Scots* *1. For though both Houſes had declared

* It was put to the Queſtion, whether theſe Words *according to the Covenant*, ſhould be paſſed, and it was carried in the Affirmative. *Whit.* p. 236.

*1, For the Lords, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Denbigh*, and the Lord *Montague*; for the *Commons*, Sir *William Armyne*, Sir *John Holland*.

declared he ſhould be at *Holmby* with Honour and Safety, they meant not to leave the manner to his Choice, and what Expreſſions ſoever they might uſe, it was to be in effect a real Impriſonment. 1646-7.

Some Days after, the two Houſes received from the Parliament of *Scotland*, the following Declaration.

The Declaration of the Parliament of Scotland. Ruſh. VI. P. 395.

" THat the King's Majeſty came to their Quar-
" ters before *Newark*, and profeſſed he came
" there with a full and abſolute Intention to give all
" Satisfaction to the joint Deſires of both Kingdoms,
" and with no Thought either to continue this unna-
" tural War any longer, or to make Diviſion be-
" twixt the Kingdoms; but to comply with his Par-
" liaments, and thoſe intruſted by them, in every
" Thing for ſettling of Truth and Peace; and that
" he would apply himſelf totally to the Counſels and
" Advices of his Parliament: Which he did not on-
" ly profeſs verbally to the Committee of Eſtates
" with the *Scottiſh* Army; but alſo in his ſeveral Let-
" ters and Declarations under his Hand, to the Com-
" mittee of Eſtates of *Scotland*, and to the two Hou-
" ſes of Parliament of *England* reſpectively. In Con-
" fidence whereof, and of the reality of his Intenti-
" ons and Reſolutions, which he declared did pro-
" ceed from no other Ground, than the deep Senſe
" of the bleeding Condition of his Kingdoms; the
" Committees of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and Ge-
" neral Officers of the *Scottiſh* Army declared to him-
" ſelf, and to the Kingdom of *England*, their receiv-
" ing his Royal Perſon to be on theſe Terms (which
" is Truth, notwithſtanding what may be ſuggeſted or
" alledged to the contrary, by any within or without
" the Kingdoms) and repreſented to him, that the only
" way to his own Happineſs and Peace of his King-
" doms, under God was, to make good his Propoſi-

Holland. Sir *Walter Earle*, Sir *John Cook*, Mr. *John Crew*, and Major-General *Brown*, but Sir *William Armyne* not being well, Sir *James Harrington* went in his room. *Ruſh.* VI.

1646-7. "tions of Peace, (which after ſerious and mature "Deliberation were agreed upon) tendered to him in "the name of both his Kingdoms for his Royal Aſ-"ſent thereto; but alſo the Chief Judicatories of "this Kingdom, both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, made "their humble and earneſt Addreſſes to his Majeſty, "by Supplications, Letters, and Commiſſioners for "that End; and did freely repreſent all the Preju-"dices and Inconveniencies of the Delay or Refuſal "of his Aſſent, and in particular, that this Kingdom "would be neceſſitated to join with the Kingdom "of *England*, conform to the League and *Covenant*, "in providing for the Security of both Kingdoms, "and ſettling the Government of both, as might "conduce moſt to the Good of both. And the Par-"liament of *Scotland* being now to retire their Ar-"my out of *England*, have again, for their further "Exoneration, ſent Commiſſioners to repreſent "their renewed Deſires to his Majeſty, with the "Danger may enſue by his Delay or Refuſal to grant "the ſame; and that till then, there was no Danger "to the Cauſe, to his Majeſty, to this Kingdom, and "to the Union betwixt both the Kingdoms, by his "coming to *Scotland*; and that therefore there would "be a joint Courſe taken by both the Kingdoms con-"cerning the Diſpoſal of his Perſon. And conſider-"ing that his Majeſty by his Anſwer to the Propo-"ſitions of Peace in *Auguſt* laſt, and alſo by his late "Meſſage ſent to the two Houſes, and by his War-"rant communicated to the Eſtates of this King-"dom, hath expreſſed his Deſires to be near to "his two Houſes of Parliament: And ſeeing alſo "the Parliament of *England* have communicated to "the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners at *Newcaſtle*, and by them "to this Kingdom their Reſolution, that *Holmby-"Houſe* in the County of *Northampton*, is the Place "which the Houſes think fit for the King to come "unto, there to remain with ſuch Attendance about "him as both Houſes of Parliament ſhall appoint, "with Reſpect had to the Safety and Preſervation of

"his

" his Royal Perſon, in the Preſervation and Defence 1646.
" of the true Religion and Liberties of the King-
" doms according to the *Covenant*. Therefore, and
" in regard of his Majeſty's not giving a ſatisfactory
" Anſwer to the Propoſitions as yet, and out of
" their earneſt Deſire to keep a right Underſtanding
" betwixt the Kingdoms, to prevent Troubles within
" the ſame, to ſatisfy the Deſire of his Majeſty, of
" the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*,
" and of this Kingdom, for his Reſidence in ſome of
" his Houſes near the Parliament of *England*: The
" Eſtates of the Parliament of the Kingdom of *Scot-*
" *land*, do declare their Concurrence, for the King's
" Majeſty's going to *Holmby*-Houſe, or ſome other
" of his Majeſty's Houſes in or about *London*, as
" ſhall be thought fit, there to remain until he give
" Satisfaction to both his Kingdoms in the Propoſi-
" tions of Peace, and that in the Interim there be no
" Harm, Prejudice, Injury nor Violence done to
" his Royal Perſon: That there be no Change of
" Government other than hath been theſe three
" Years paſt: And that his Poſterity in no Ways be
" prejudiced in their lawful Succeſſion to the Crown
" and Government of theſe Kingdoms."

The King is delivered to the Committee and conducted to Holmby.

January the 23d the Parliament's Commiſſioners came to *Newcaſtle*, and on the 30th of the ſame Month the King was delivered to them. That very Day the *Scotch* Army began to march towards *Scotland*, and the King arrived at *Holmby* the 16th of *February*.

Presbyterians and Independents begin to ſeparate.

Thus far the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* had gone Hand in Hand, becauſe it was equally advantageous to them, or rather neceſſary that it ſhould be out of the King's Power to hurt either. From the time that the King was reduced to this Condition, in the Hands of a Parliament conſiſting of two Parties which had alike contrived his Ruin, theſe two Parties, who had ſeemed till then to be united, began to fall at open Variance, each plainly perceiving that this

1646 7. was the critical Time to make the Advantages gained upon the King in common, to turn to their own Account. The *Presbyterians* were ſuperiour in the Parliament and in *London*: but the *Independents* were in a manner Maſters of the Army, and by that their Party was grown very conſiderable. The *Presbyterians* main Buſineſs thereſore was to disband the Army, under colour of its being no longer neceſſary, ſince the War was ended; and the *Independents* grand Affair was, to hinder this ſame disbanding, which could not but be fatal to their Party. It is certain the Parliament, being almoſt wholly *Presbyterian*, conſidered in good Earneſt to get rid of the *Independents*, and particularly of the Generals and Officers of that Party. As they were obliged to ſend an Army into *Ireland*, their Project was to take for that Service ſuch Soldiers out of the Foot, Horſe and Dragoons as ſhould be willing to go thither, form them into Companies, and give them ſuch Officers as they ſhould believe they could confide in. After that, their Intent was to caſhier the reſt of the Forces, keeping only as many as ſhould be neceſſary for the Garriſons. Had this Project ſucceeded, the Independent-Party would have been ruined paſt Redemption. But the Parliament had to deal with Men who were too wiſe to give them time to lay all their Meaſures. *Oliver Cromwell*, a Perſon of uncommon Valour, great Parts, and profound Diſſimulation, was then the Head of the *Independents*, though he affected ſtill to paſs for a rigid *Presbyterian*. He was preſent at the Sermons of the *Presbyterians* with a ſeemingly extraordinary Devotion. He made uſe of certain Scripture-Expreſſions after the manner of the *Presbyterians*, and ſpoke not a Word which might betray him to be *Independent*, either as to Religion or Policy. In ſhort, he had found means to perſuade General *Fairfax*, that he had no other End but to promote the Glory of God, and the Welfare of Religion and the Kingdom. He had in the Army a good Number of Officers who acted as directed by him,

Cromwell's Diſſimulation.

him, inſomuch that when he did all, he ſeemed to do nothing. Among theſe Officers were *Ireton* his Son-in-law, *Rainsborough*, *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Harriſon*, and ſeveral others who took care to ſtrengthen the *Independent*-Party, by means of many ſubaltern Officers, by whoſe Endeavours Proſelytes were made among the Soldiers, and who were ſo many Emiſſaries in every Regiment. *Cromwell* was Member of Parliament*, and withal Lieutenant-General of the Army, notwithſtanding *the Self-denying* Ordinance, which he had been exempted from. After the War was over, he conſtantly attended the Houſe, and thereby might be informed of the Project againſt the Army, or rather againſt the *Independent*-Party in general. He ſeemed to approve of the Meaſures the *Commons* were taking, namely, of forming an Army for *Ireland*, and disbanding the Reſt of the Forces. But at the ſame time, by help of his Emiſſaries, he raiſed in the Army a Spirit of Diſcontent and Mutiny. This was the more eaſy for him, as the Officers and Soldiers perceived they were going to be diſcarded, and as they were for the moſt part badly able to return to their old Profeſſions, after four or five Years ſpent in War. There were in the Army many Officers, who before the Wars had been only Tradeſmen, and ſaw with regret they were going to be forced to quit their Employs which gave them Authority, and take up again their former Trades, which would mix them, as before, with the meaner ſort of People. Theſe Men, as well as thoſe whom the *Independents* had drawn to their Side, were ready for any Undertaking, rather than be obliged to alter a Courſe of Life they had now led for ſome Years. *Cromwell* therefore, and the Officers of his Party, made good uſe of this Diſpoſition, and diligently inſpired the Army with Diſcontent againſt the two Houſes, wherein they ſucceeded but too well, *1

1646-7.

He inſpires the Army with Diſcontent at their going to be diſbanded.

* For the Town of *Cambridge*.

*1 The Earl of *Eſſex*'s Death which happened on the 14th of *September*,

1646-7. *Project of a Petition from the Army.*

The first Spark of this Flame broke out in the Month of *March* 1647, at the time when the Parliament was seriously thinking of executing the Project before-mentioned. The *Commons* had notice that some Officers of the Army had prepared a Petition to be presented to the General, and communicated to the House. In this Petition was set forth the sad Condition most of the Officers and Soldiers would be in, upon disbanding the Army. The Articles desired were, *Indemnity for Actions as Soldiers. Satisfaction for Arrears. No pressing for Horse or Foot. Relief of Widows and maimed Soldiers. Pay till disbanded.* This Petition flew from Regiment to Regiment, and there were Officers very diligent to get Hands to it. Whereupon the *Commons* sent an Order to the General to make strict Inquiry after the Authors of this Petition, and put a stop to the Conferences held in the Army to sow Discord and Division. The General answered, that in Obedience to the Order of the House, he had assembled the Officers, and questioned them about the Petition: That they had expressed a very deep Sense of their Unhappiness, in being misunderstood in their clear Intentions, which as they had protested were no other than by way of Petition to represent to him their General those Inconveniences which would necessarily befal most of the Army after disbanding; but withal had assured him, that they would wholly acquiesce in whatsoever he should judge reasonable to offer, or the House to grant on their behalf. The General added, that to the End the House might be better informed, he had sent up Lieutenant-General *Hammond*, Colonel *Hammond*, Colonel *Lilburn*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Pride*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Grimes*, who he hoped would give a full and candid Account of the whole Matter.

Order of the Commons to the General about the Petition. Rush. VI. p. 445.

The General's Answer.

Accord-

September, 1646. made it the easier for *Cromwell* to carry on his Designs. For doubtless, had he lived, he would have given some Check to the Fury that was going to prevail. On the 27th of *November* following, the Earl's Horse and Effiges were cut to pieces and defaced in *Westminster*-Abbey, and the like barbarous Action was done to *Camden*'s Tomb there. *Whitlock*, p. 233.

Accordingly these Officers were examined before the House; after which, the Speaker acquainted them what Sense the Houses had of the Petition, and desired their Care for suppressing the same, or any other of the like Nature for the future, and then they were dismissed. The same Day the House ordered the General to publish a Declaration at the Head of every Regiment, importing, that the Petition tended to the putting the Army into a Mutiny, and obstructing the Relief of *Ireland*; and that the Promoters thereof should be proceeded against as Enemies to the State and Disturbers of the publick Peace. * 1646-7. *Declaration of the Commons published at the Head of the several Regiments.* Rush. VI. p. 447.

The *Commons* could not do any thing more pleasing to those who had formed the Project of sowing Division between the Army and the Parliament. This Declaration gave occasion to the Officers and Soldiers to complain openly, "That they who had fought "for the Liberty of the Subjects of *England*, *were* "*denied the Liberty* of the Subject *to Petition*, though "it were to their General, and merely in Things re"lating to them as Soldiers, meddling neither with "Church nor State Affairs, and withal submitting it "to the General's Judgment for Approbation or "Correction as he saw Cause." *The Army's Discontent increases.*

Mean while, the two Houses intending to execute their Resolution of sending Forces into *Ireland* in the manner they had projected, appointed a Committee for that purpose, and gave them Power to form the Regiments of this Army, and commission such Officers as they should think fit. At the same time they resolved to encourage those that voluntarily offered to serve in *Ireland*, and ordered the Commissioners to set out forthwith to put their Charge in Execution. *The Parliament sends a Committee to form the Army for* Ireland. Rush. VI. P. 452.

The

* *Rapin* has confounded here two different Things. What he says was published at the Head of the Regiments, was a Declaration and Vote of both Houses of the 30th of *March*. The Declaration sent to the General to be published to the Regiments was to require them *to desist from going on in that Petition they were about to present to him*. Rush. VI. p. 446, 447.

1646-7. *The Commissioners find the Army disinclined to obey them.* Rush. VI. p. 457.

The Commissioners * being come to *Saffron-Walden*, the General's Head-Quarters, gave notice to the Officers to meet together the next Day. Then the Earl of *Warwick*, Head of the Committee, made a Speech, exhorting them to accept of the Terms offered by the two Houses. When he had done speaking, Colonel *Lambert* answered in the Name of all the Officers, and desired to know what Satisfaction should be given them concerning four Articles, namely, Arrears, Indemnity, Maintenance in *Ireland*, and Conduct? Sir *John Clotworthy* replied, That the Parliament had taken care of all, except the Point of Indemnity, for which an Ordinance would be ready within a few Days. The Officers demanded what Generals were to command them in *Ireland*? It was answered, *Skippon* and *Massey* were named for General and Lieutenant-General; but for other Commanders, the Parliament had not yet come to any Resolution. Then the Officers cried out with one Voice, that if the Command was given to *Fairfax*, *Cromwell* and *Skippon*, they were ready to march. The Commissioners seeing the Officers insisted upon a Thing not agreeable to the Intentions of the Parliament, desired such as would go for *Ireland* upon the profered Terms, to come to their Lodgings in the Town, where they would give them farther Satisfaction; but there were very few that came. At the same time the rest prepared a Declaration, which was presented to the Commissioners, wherein they said, "They had reason to complain that they had "received no positive Answer to their Desires: "That however, those who in their own Persons did "not

Declaration of the Officers. Rush. VI. p. 459.

* The Earl of *Warwick*, Lord *Dacres*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, and Major-General *Massey*. The Establishment agreed on by the *Commons* then was; Officers of Horse: A Colonel 12 *s.* a Day, and for four Horses 8 *s.* A Captain 10 *s.* and two Horses 4 *s.* A Lieutenant 5 *s.* 4 *d.* and one Horse 2 *s.* A Provost Marshal 3 *s.* 4 *d.* and two Men 4 *s.* Corporals and Trumpeters each 2 *s.* 6 *d.* Foot Officers: A Captain 8 *s.* a Day. A Lieutenant 4 *s* An Ensign 2 *s.* 6 *d.* Serjeants, Drummers, Corporals, each 1 *s.* Rush. VI. p. 454.

" not engage for *Ireland*, would be ready to pro- 1646-7.
" mote the Service: That if the ſame Conduct un-
" der which the Army had been ſo proſperous in
" *England* was continued, it would conduce much
" to their perſonal Engagement in the Service of
" *Ireland*: That this was the general Senſe of the
" Officers of the Army."

The General, who ſeemed hitherto to be very deſirous to ſerve the Parliament, ordered the Officers who had a mind to ſerve in *Ireland*, to draw out as many of their Men as would engage in the ſame Service. But the Number was very ſmall, and the Parliament was informed that there were Officers who took great Pains to diſſuade the Soldiers from this Service, and cheriſh the Diſcontent of the Army.

At laſt, their Boldneſs went ſo far, that ſome of the 1647.
principal Officers ſcrupled not to appear at the Head *Another Declaration.*
of the Mutineers, in a Declaration which was preſented to both Houſes. They ſaid, " That the Miſ- Ruſh. VI.
" repreſentations of their harmleſs Intentions to the p. 469.
" *Houſe*, having occaſioned hard Thoughts and Ex-
" preſſions of the *Houſe*'s Diſpleaſure againſt them,
" they humbly craved Leave to offer ſome Reaſons
" to clear their Proceedings in thoſe Paſſages, which
" they found moſt obvious to Exceptions in their Pe-
" tition, whereby they hoped to make it evident,
" That the Means they uſed, and the Method they
" took, was as they conceived moſt orderly and in-
" offenſive; proceeding not in the leaſt from Diſ-
" temper, and aiming in no meaſure to put Condi-
" tions on the Parliament; and that from hence
" might be diſcovered the Corruptions of thoſe
" Men's Hearts, who have been the evil Inſtruments
" of occaſioning the late Declaration againſt them.
" And,

" 1. For the Liberty of Petitioning, they hoped
" the Honourable Houſe of *Commons* would never
" deny it unto them, there being not any thing more
" eſſential to Freedom; and particularly ſince they
" had juſtified and commended it in their Declara-

" tion

2647. "tion of the 2d of *November* 1642. in these words: "*It is the Liberty and Privilege of the People to petition unto us for the Ease and Redress of their Grievances and Oppressions, and we are bound in Duty to receive their Petitions.*

"2. They presented not their Petition to the "House, but with the Approbation, and by the "Mediation of their General, and consequently that "it could not be represented as seditious.

"3. The Report of their forcing Subscriptions "was not true. For the Petition had taken its first "Rise from amongst the Soldiers, and the Officers "had engaged but in the second Place to regulate "the Soldiers Proceedings, and remove as near as "they could all occasion of Distaste.

"4. They were forced to desire an Act of In"demnity for such Actions as they had committed "during the Exigency of the War, not warranta"ble by Law, since they were liable to be indicted "for them in time of Peace.

"5. As to their desiring the Royal Assent, they "never intended thereby to lessen the Parliament's "Authority; but only used it as a provident Cau"tion for their future Safety. And they observed, "That the Parliament itself had, by offering Pro"positions, judged the desiring the King's Assent "convenient.

"6. As to the Desire of their Arrears, Necessity "enforced them thereto: That their Wages had been "hardly earned, and the Desire of them could not "argue them guilty of the least Discontent or Inten"tion of Mutiny.

"7. For what concerned the Relief of *Ireland*, "they thought it hard, that those who had volun"tarily served in the Wars, and left their Parents, "Trades and Livelihoods, and without any Com"pulsion engaged of their own Accords, should, "after all their free and unwearied Labours, be for"ced and compelled to go out of the Kingdom."

This Declaration was signed by *Thomas Hammond*, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, Seven Colonels, Seven Lieutenant-Colonels, Six Majors, and One Hundred and Thirty Officers, Captains and Subalterns. 1647.

Vote to disband the Army.

The same Day this Declaration was read in the House, the *Commons* voted that the Army should be disbanded, and the Soldiers have Six Weeks pay when they were dismissed.

Petition of some Regiments of Horse.

Some Days after, Major-General *Skippon*, who was to command in *Ireland*, and [being returned for *Barnstable*] had taken his Seat in the House, notwithstanding the *Self-denying* Ordinance, which was quite thrown aside, reported, that a Letter was presented to him the Day before by some Troopers, in the behalf of Eight Regiments of Horse, and produced the same, which was immediately ordered to be read. These Regiments complained of the many Scandals and false Suggestions that were of late against the Army and their Proceedings, and alledged the Reasons why they could not engage in the Service of *Ireland* under the Conduct of the intended Generals. The Troopers, [*Sexby*, *Allen*, and *Sheppard*] who brought the Letter, were called in and examined concerning the Meaning of some Expressions in the Petition, to which they replied, That the Letter being a joint Act of those several Regiments, they could not give a punctual Answer, being only Agents; but if they might have the Queries in writing, they would carry them to the Regiments, and return their Answers. Rush. VI. p. 474.

Votes in favour of the Army.

Though the Declaration of the Officers was reasonable enough in itself, it looked however more like an insolent Accusation against the Parliament than an humble Apology. And this made the *Commons* sensible, that the Evil wss greater than was at first imagined; wherefore they passed several *Votes* to give some Satisfaction to the Army, and to hinder the Increase of their Discontent. At the same time, *Skippon*, *Cromwell*, *Ireton* and *Fleetwood*, were ordered to go down and acquaint the Army with what

New Commissioners.

the

1647. the House intended to do for the Troops, and that a considerable Sum was preparing for their Pay before they were disbanded. Hitherto the *Commons* seem not to have perceived the true Intent of the Army's Complaints, but hoped to appease them by some Compliance.

Answer of the Officers to the Commissioners.

The Generals sent down by the Parliament being come to the Army, and calling the Officers together, read to them the Votes passed in their Favour, after which, *Skippon* made a Speech to engage them to serve under him in *Ireland*. The Officers answered, That as this Affair concerned the Soldiers as well as the Officers, it was necessary to inform them of it, in order to know their Resolution.

Mean while the Parliament passionately desiring to cashier the Army, after that which was to serve in *Ireland* was formed, ordered that a Fortnight's Pay more should be added to the Six Weeks Pay formerly voted, upon disbanding, and that Six Weeks Pay more should be given to those who would go for *Ireland*.

The Soldiers desire to consult among themselves

The Troopers and Soldiers having been informed of what the Generals, sent down by the Parliament, had reported to the Officers, answered, That as the Matter in Hand concerned the whole Army, they desired to consider of the same in common: that to this end, Deputies from each Regiment should be charged to know the Sense of their Body, and report it to a Committee of Officers chosen out of every Regiment, who should make an Extract of such Opinions as were unanimous, and the Result thereof should be presented to both Houses. It is easy to perceive in this Answer a secret Direction of some of the leading Male-contents, who had a mind by this Means to have with ease the Management of the Soldiery, and compose a sort of Parliament in Opposition to the two Houses. This Demand, the Consequences whereof were not foreseen perhaps by many, being granted, the Soldiers made Choice of Two out of every *Company* who were called *Agitators*, to

It is granted them. They set up the Council of Agitators.

Rush VI. p. 485.

confer

confer together about Matters which were to be brought to the Council of Officers, called *the Council of War*, conſiſting of Generals, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors and Captains. Among the *Agitators* there were few or none above the Degree of an Enſign. Theſe two Councils were continued afterwards, to the great Prejudice of the Parliament, and great Advantage of the Heads of the *Independent*-Party, who eaſily found means to admit none but ſuch as were devoted to them, or not able enough to dive into the Bottom of their Deſigns. 1647.

The Parliament perſiſt in their Deſign to diſband the Aemy. Ruſh. VI. p. 491.

Mean while, the two Houſes perſiſted in the Reſolution to disband the Army, excepting thoſe who would engage to ſerve in *Ireland*. To do this the more eaſily, it was ordered that their Arrears ſhould be ſpeedily audited, and good Security given them for ſo much as ſhould not be paid off upon disbanding: That none that had voluntarily ſerved in the Wars ſhould be *preſſed* for any Service beyond Sea: That an Ordinance ſhould be drawn for providing for Widows, maimed Soldiers, and Orphans. After that, the two Houſes ſettled the manner of disbanding the Army, namely, that the Regiments ſhould be disbanded at different Times and Places, and that the Money to pay them what was promiſed ſhould be ſent to the ſeveral Rendezvous. But the Army openly complained of the Intention to put them off with two Month's Pay only upon disbanding, when there was no leſs than Fifty-ſix Weeks Pay due to them.

The Army openly complain.

Reaſons why the Votes are thought unſatisfactory. Ruſh. VI. p. 497.

Shortly after, the General called a Council of War at *Bury*, at which were preſent above Two Hundred Officers, and communicated to them the *Votes* of both Houſes, adviſing them to a Compliance with the Order of Parliament. But the Officers anſwered, That they did not think theſe *Votes* ſatisfactory as to the Soldiers; 1. Becauſe Eight Weeks Pay was not a conſiderable Part of their Arrears. 2. Becauſe no viſible Security was given for what

1647. what ſhould not be paid. 3. Becauſe nothing was done for their Vindication, and they being *declared Enemies* and ſent home, might hereafter be proceeded againſt *as Enemies*, unleſs the Declaration were recalled.

The Soldiers threaten. Ibid. p. 498.

At the ſame Council a Petition was produced and read, which had been that Morning preſented to the General, in the Name of the private Soldiers of the Army, complaining, "That it was intended to diſ-"band them without redreſſing their Grievances, and "in a ſtrange, unheard of Manner, one Regiment "apart from another, which Poſture could not but "render them ſuſpicious to the Kingdom. And "therefore they deſired the General would be pleaſed "to appoint a Rendezvous for the Army, and uſe "his utmoſt Endeavours that they might not be diſ-"banded before their Grievances were heard and "fully redreſſed, which if not done, they ſhould be "neceſſitated, though unwillingly, to do Things "that might be prevented, by granting their juſt "Deſires."

The General contracts the Quarters of the Army.

The Council of War having examined this Petition, believed, or feigned to believe, it was abſolutely neceſſary to take notice of it, for fear, in caſe they ſaw all their Deſires rejected, they ſhould have a Rendezvous without their Officers. It was therefore reſolved, that the Quarters of the Army ſhould be contracted to prevent Diſorders, and for the greater Readineſs to ſuppreſs them. It was manifeſt that the Deſign of the Petition and Reſolve of the Council of War, was to break the Parliament's Meaſures. It had been ordered to ſeparate the Army, and disband them at different Times and Places, to the end it might be done the more eaſily, and the Army, on the contrary, drew nearer together, ſo that they could Rendezvous in a very ſhort Space, and the Parliament would not have it in their Power to prevent it.

The

The General failed not to acquaint the two Houſes with the Reſult of what had paſſed in the Council of War, intreating them withal to proceed with caution, that the Army might not be incenſed, and a Breach made which would be very dangerous. He writ the ſame Day to the Speaker of the Houſe of *Commons*, that he was much perplexed in his Thoughts with regard to the Diſpoſition of the Army, and wiſhed with all his Heart that ſome means could be thought of to appeaſe the Diſtractions, which it was not in his Power to do. That he was forced to yield to many things to prevent worſe Inconveniences. 1647. *The Parliament recall their Commiſſioners,*

Whereupon, the two Houſes recalled the Commiſſioners, who were now gone to disband the Army, and ſent for the Money back which had been lodged in ſeveral Places to pay the Soldiers. But Three Thouſand Five Hundred Pounds that were carrying to *London* was ſtopped by Colonel *Rainsborough*'s Men at *Woodſtock*. It was very evident that the Army was not willing to be disbanded; but the Parliament not being in a Condition to command Obedience, ſaw themſelves forced to ſtay till a more convenient Seaſon, without departing however from their Deſign. Their Intention was to divide the Army, under colour of the neceſſity of ſending Forces into *Ireland*, and in order to engage the Soldiers to leave the Army, it was voted that a Month's Pay ſhould be given to thoſe that would quit their Regiments and ſerve in *Ireland*. They hoped by this means to be able to form an Army equal or ſuperiour to that which refuſed to obey, wherein they were much miſtaken. Mean while, to give ſome Satisfaction to the Army, it was ordered by the *Commons*, that the ſubordinate Officers and Soldiers ſhould have all their Arrears, deducting for free Quarters according to the uſual Rules of the Army. That the Commiſſion-Officers ſhould have one Month's Pay more added to the two Month's Pay formerly voted. Laſtly, that the Declaration againſt thoſe that drew up the firſt Petition ſhould be *and form the Project to divide the Army.*

1647. razed out of the Journal of the Houſe *. But all this was not enough to content the Army, who were reſolved not to be ſatisfied. They who were at the bottom of theſe Commotions, had a mind the Army ſhould be continued, that they might be able to oppoſe the *Presbyterians*, who were ſuperiour in the Parliament. So, the Reaſons alledged by the Army being only ſo many Pretences, had they received full Satisfaction, they would have invented others to hinder their disbanding. And indeed, we ſhall ſee preſently, that for fear all their Deſires ſhould be granted, they added new Demands, which the Parliament could not acquieſce in.

The Diviſion between the Parliament and Army increaſes.

It was eaſy to perceive that every thing tended to a Breach between the Parliament and Army. The Parliament accuſed the Army of Mutiny and Sedition, and the Army pretended that the Parliament under colour of ſending Forces into *Ireland*, thought of forming a new Army to bring the Kingdom into Subjection, when the old one ſhould be caſhiered, or to kindle a freſh War, in caſe the Troops ſhould refuſe to obey. But they were far from being upon an equal Foot. The Army had the Sword in their Hands, and though ſome Officers and Soldiers had quitted their Regiments for the Service of *Ireland*, their Number was inconſiderable: all the reſt remained united, and were ſupported by moſt of the Generals, who being againſt the Parliament, privately cheriſhed the Diſcontent of the Officers and Soldiers. The Parliament had actually no Forces to compel the Army to Obedience, and therefore were in great Perplexity. They durſt not drive the Army to Extremities; and on the other Hand, they plainly perceived that the Diſcord was kept up by the Leaders of the *Independents*, who ſought the Deſtruction of the

* Here, ſays *Whitlock*, the Parliament began to ſurrender themſelves and their Power into the Hands of their own Army. *Whit. Mem.* p. 253.

the Parliament, for fear the Parliament ſhould deſtroy them, as indeed both Houſes intended. 1647.

This then was a critical Seaſon, the Point being to know who ſhould be Maſter, the Parliament or the Independent Party. But theſe laſt had the Army on their Side, and that alone counterbalanced the Power and Authority of the Parliament. They had ſo well laid their Meaſures, by help of the *Agitators*, that the Army was become a ſort of Commonwealth, where the Suffrages of the common Soldiers were upon a Level with thoſe of the Generals; nay, the Soldiers did not think themſelves obliged to follow the Advice of their Officers, or ſo much as to ask it. Hence ſprang Confuſion, which was ſuffered to prevail. Every Thing was done in the name of *the Army*, a looſe Term which ſignified, ſometimes the Council of War alone, ſometimes the Council of *Agitators*, now both Councils together, then again, the *Agitators* of ſome particular Regiments. In this laſt Senſe muſt be underſtood, the Enterprize of the *Agitators* of ſome Regiments of Horſe, of carrying away the King by Force, in the Army's Name, from *Holmby*-Houſe to *Newmarket*.

The King is carried away by Force from Holmby

To execute this Deſign, they pitched upon one *Joyce* a Cornet, one of the *Agitators* of his Regiment, who, from a Taylor before the War, was become an Officer, and had ſignalized himſelf for his Bravery. *Joyce* being put at the Head of a Detachment of fifty Horſe, marched directly to *Holmby*, and came there in the Night, after the King was in Bed. Having ſecured the Avenues, he went up with two or three more to the King's Chamber, and cauſed the Door to be opened. The King getting up, asked him what he meant. *Joyce* anſwered, that he intended to carry him to the Army, for they had received certain Advice that there was a Deſign to convey him away by Force. The King asked him, whether he had the General's Orders. He replied, no, but that he was anthorized by the Army, and as he held a Piſtol in his Hand, he hinted that it was by that he was chiefly

Ruſh. VI. p. 545, 549.

1647. empowered. The Parliament's Commiſſioners who were at *Holmby* to take Care of the King, would have oppoſed this Violence: But the King's Guard refuſed to make any Reſiſtance, and the Troops that were in the neighbouring Villages to relieve the Guard every Day, would not come. At laſt, after many Diſputes, all the King could obtain was to ſtay till Morning. That ſame Night he writ a Note, which he intruſted with the Earl of *Dumfarmling*, to acquaint the two Houſes that he was carried away from *Holmby* againſt his Will, and that they ſhould not give any Credit to what he writ afterwards, whilſt he ſhould be under Reſtraint. The next Morning he went into the Coach, and was conducted by *Joyce*, who carried him that Night to Colonel *Montague*'s, and the next Day to *Newmarket*.

The King is conducted to Newmarket.

The Army's Petition to the General.

Whilſt theſe Things paſſed, the General having appointed a Rendezvous of the Army at *Newmarket*, for the 4th and 5th of *June*, the ſeveral Regiments preſented a Petition to him, complaining of the Votes paſſed in Parliament the 21ſt and 25th of *May*, as not being ſatisfactory for the following Reaſons.

Ruſh. VI. p. 505.

" 1. That eight Weeks Arrear to be paid at diſ-
" banding, was but a mean Reward for all their La-
" bours, and a very ſlender Supply to carry them to
" their Homes, and ſet them up again in their for-
" mer Callings and Conditions.

" 2. That in the Orders given for the ſtating of their
" Accompts, they found no Conſideration or Re-
" gard had of their Arrears incurred in the former
" Army commanded by the Earl of *Eſſex*, which to
" the moſt of them were much greater than thoſe
" under the new Model.

" 3. That three Shillings a Week was to be abat-
" ed to Foot-Soldiers for Quarter, which was more
" than they ſhould have paid for themſelves, if they
" timely had their Pay.

" 4. That

" 4. That there was no Proviſion or Allowance 1647.
" made in relation to any Quarters diſcharged by
" them.

" 5. That contrary to Cuſtom, no Trooper was
" capable of Allowance for Arrears, unleſs he de-
" livered in his Horſe and Arms.

" 6. That the viſible Security for what Arrears
" ſhould not be paid at disbanding, appeared to them
" inſufficient.

" 7. That the Ordinance voted to exempt from
" Preſſing for the Service of *Ireland*, ſuch as had
" ſerved as Volunteers in the Army, was defective;
" becauſe after their Diſcharge, it was very difficult
" for them to obtain a Teſtimonial of their paſt Ser-
" vices.

" 8. That the Ordinance for the Maintenance of
" maimed Soldiers, *&c.* had not yet paſſed in Par-
" liament.

" 9. That the Ordinance for Indemnity ſeemed to
" make but ſlender Proviſion for their Safety.

" 10. That no Reparation had been made to thoſe
" Officers of the Army that had been at ſeveral
" Times ſent for to attend the Parliament as Delin-
" quents, though they had been found innocent.

" 11. That there had been yet nothing declared by
" the Parliament, to clear them as to their Right of
" petitioning.

(*There was in this Article heavy Complaints againſt the Parliament's Arbitrary Power.*)

" 12. That the Declaration made againſt the Ar-
" my was yet ſtanding in Force.

" 13. That nothing had yet been done towards
" the Diſcovery or Cenſure of thoſe that had wrong-
" ed the Army, and abuſed the Parliament, ſo as to
" procure the Proceedings againſt them, with rela-
" tion to their Petition."

Engagement ſigned by the Army. Ruſh VI. p. 510.

It is eaſy to perceive, theſe Complaints were but mere Pretences, or at leaſt, if the Army had not been reſolved to be ſatisfied upon no Terms, theſe Differences

1647. rences might possibly have been adjusted. But these Things were only to prepare the way for what they had resolved to do. Next Day, being *June* the 5th, the Officers and Soldiers subscribed a *Paper*, which they called, *a solemn Engagement*, whereby they consented to disband, when required by the Parliament; but on Condition, *That they should first have such Satisfaction in relation to their Grievances, and such Security as to their Persons, as should be agreed unto by a Council to consist of those General Officers (who had concurred with the Army) with two Commission-Officers, and two Soldiers to be chosen for each Regiment; and declared that without such Satisfaction, and such Security they would not willingly disband, nor suffer themselves to be disbanded or divided.*

This *Engagement* was backed with *Petitions* from the Inhabitants of the Counties of *Essex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*, intreating the General not to suffer the Army to be disbanded till every Thing relating to the Government was settled.

The General's Letter about the carrying away the King. Rush. VI. p. 545.

June the 7th, both Houses received a Letter from the General, acquainting them, that the Soldiers had caused the King to be carried away from *Holmby* with his Majesty's Consent, having thought proper to secure his Person, from an Apprehension of Forces gathering to fall upon them and force him out of their Hands. That as soon as he knew it, he sent Colonel *Whaley*'s Regiment to guard the King; after which, for prevention of Danger, he had sent two Regiments more to reinforce Colonel *Whaley*. That *Whaley* had desired the King, and the Commissioners, in his Name, to return to *Holmby*, but that his Majesty was not willing to go back. That upon this, he had sent Sir *Hardress Waller*, and Colonel *Lambert*, to desire the Commissioners to think of returning to *Holmby*, but that the Commissioners refused to act in disposing the King. He affirmed moreover that neither himself nor the Officers about him, nor the Body of the Army had any Hand in removing the King, protesting that it was his as well as the Army's Desire,

ſire, to ſtudy to ſettle a firm Peace. That they had no Intention to oppoſe *Presbytery*, or ſet up the *Independent*-Government, but to leave all to the Wiſdom of the Parliament, without advancing any particular Party or Intereſt. 1647.

It was a very ſtrange Thing that the King ſhould be carried away from *Holmby* by fifty Troopers, without any Orders from the General or the Officers about him, and without the Conſent of the Body of the Army; and that the General Officers ſhould ſuffer him to be in the Center of the Quarters of the Army, without inquiring after thoſe who gave, or thoſe who executed ſuch an Order. This was a clear Evidence that there was ſome Myſtery in it, which it was not thought proper to diſcover to the Parliament, and that *Joyce* knew he ſhould be protected in Caſe he were called to an Account. On the other Hand, though the King had ſent Word to both Houſes, that he was removed againſt his Will *, it appears by the General's Letter, that his Majeſty conſented to it, and was unwilling to go back to *Holmby*, when it was in his Power. All this ſeems very Myſterious, and I do not believe the Publick was ever fully informed of what paſſed before the carrying away of the King. What followed makes it conjectured, that ſome of the General Officers believed it to be abſolutely neceſſary for their Intereſt to have the King in their Hands, at a Time when they thought there was reaſon to fear that the Parliament would come to an Agreement with him, and that they cauſed him to be taken away from *Holmby* by Perſons without Warrant, well-knowing they ſhould

* At a Conference *June* the 5th, between the *Scots* Commiſſioners, and the Committee of both Houſes, the Lord *Dumfarmling* acquainted them, that the King commanded him to tell them, *That his Majeſty was unwillingly taken away by a Party of the Army, and that he deſired both Houſes to maintain the Laws of the Land; and that though his Majeſty might ſign many Things in this Condition, yet he would not have them believed, till farther notice from him.* Whit. Mem. p. 254.

1647. be powerful enough to hinder any ſtrict Inquiry into the Matter. It may be, the King himſelf had a Hand in it, ſince he was unwilling to return to *Holmby*, and ſince it appeared for ſome Time, that he was much more at Eaſe in the Hands of the Army, than when he was in the Parliament's Power.

Votes of the Commons. The *Commons* ſeeing the Army Maſter of the King's Perſon, and that they would not be disbanded, had a Mind at leaſt to ſhow the Publick by their *Votes*, that the Imputations laid to their Charge by the Army were without Ground, and that they were not ſwayed by Self-intereſted Motives. Wherefore *June* the 10th, they confirmd the *Self-denying* Ordinance, aud "declared to be void all Places held by Mem-"bers of Parliament." They voted, "That the "Lands and Eſtates of all Members of the Houſe "ſhould be liable to the Law for Payment of "their Debts," They appointed a Day to hear Informations againſt Members, and ordered that no Member ſhould hereafter receive any Reparation for Damages, till the publick Debts were firſt ſatisfied.

The Army marches towards London. Nevertheleſs the Army began their March and advanced as far as St. *Albans* within twenty Miles of *London*. At the ſame Time, the General ſent to both Houſes the Reſult of the late Council of War held at *Newmarket*, and intreated them to think of ſome way to ſatisfy the Troops.

The Complaints of the Army againſt ſome of the Commons The Approach of the Army threw the Parliament and City into great Conſternation, and an Ordinance was paſſed to enable the Committee of the *Militia* of *London* to raiſe Horſes. They ſeemed to intend to put themſelves in a Poſture of Defenſe againſt the Army. Within a few Hours after, the City received a Letter ſigned by the General, and all the other General Officers, complaining that there were certain Members of Parliament who endeavoured to engage the Kingdom in a new War, as having no other way to protect themſelves from the Puniſhment they juſtly deſerved. Adding, that they deſired no Alteration of the Civil Government, nor in the leaſt to hinder the ſettling of *Presbyterianiſm*,

Presbyterianism, neither did they intend any Evil to the City, if they appeared not to assist that wicked Party, who would embroil them and the Kingdom. That they were ready to remove at a farther Distance, if once they were assured that a speedy Settlement of Things were in Hand. That if after all, the City should be seduced to take up Arms against the Army, Ruin and Destruction would ensue. 1647.

This Letter was communicated to the Parliament, who writ to the General to desire that the Army might not come within Twenty-five Miles * of the City; but it was already advanced as far as St. *Albans*. The same Day, the *Commons* ordered that the Sum of ten Thousand Pounds should be paid to such Officers and Soldiers as should come off from the Army and engage in the Service of *Ireland*, with which the Army was highly displeased, plainly perceiving the Parliament's Design was to divide them. *The Parliament tries to divide the Army.*

The next Day, upon a false Rumour of the Army's near Approach to the City, the Militia of *London* ordered all the Trained-bands to be raised on Pain of Death. But presently after the Order was revoked. However, Soldiers were listed by order of Parliament. *and put themselves in a posture of Defence.*

In the mean Time, the Common-Council of *London* sent a Letter to the General and Officers in Answer to theirs, wherein they said, the City intended no Evil to the Army, but only to defend the Parliament and themselves against any unlawful Violence. That they did not take up Arms with intent to hinder the obtaining of the Army's just Demands. That on the contrary, they had presented their Addresses to the Parliament for the obtaining thereof; and desired only that they would demand no more than what should be just and reasonable. *The Common-Council's Letter to the General.*

The same Day, the Parliament sent Commissioners to the Army, to know what their Desires were. The General answered in Letters to both Houses, that the Army Rush. VI. p. 560.

* *Whitlock* says fifteen Miles. *Whit.* p. 255.

1647. Army offered for a Month's Pay not to draw their Quarters nearer *London*, without first giving notice of it to the Parliament's Commissioners.

Mean while, the Army continued to render themselves formidable, as well by their Nearness as by their Demands, which daily rose higher. At first, they protested, that they would not meddle in any Thing not relating immediately to themselves, and that their Intent was to leave the Care of the Government to the Wisdom of the two Houses. But when they found that the Parliament gave way and wanted Power or Resolution, they advanced one Step farther, and by a Declaration presented to both Houses, demanded:

The Representation of the Army. Rush. VI. p. 566.

"1. That the Houses might be purged of such "Members, as for their Delinquency, or for Cor- "ruptions, or undue Elections ought not to sit "there.

"2. That those Persons who had appeared against "the Army, might speedily be disabled from doing "the like; and for that purpose, might be made "incapable of being the Soldiers Judges, when dis- "banded.

"3. That some determinate Period of Time might "be set for the Continuance of that and future Par- "liaments, beyond which none should continue; that "the Members of the House might not have the "Temptation or Advantage of an unlimited Power "to perpetuate Injustice or Oppression, but might "be in a Capacity to taste of Subjection as well as "Rule.

"4. That Parliaments might not be adjournable "or dissolvable any other ways, than by their own "Consent.

"5. That the Right and Freedom of the People "to present Petitions to the Parliament might be "cleared and vindicated.

"6. That

" 6. That the large Powers given to Committees 1647.
" or Deputy-Lieutenants, might be taken away, or
" regulated.

" 7. That the Kingdom might be righted and pub-
" lickly ſatisfied in Point of Accounts for the Sums
" that had been levied and paid.

" 8. That after publick Juſtice was firſt ſatisfied
" by ſome few Examples on Delinquents, a general
" Act of Oblivion ſhould be paſſed."

After theſe Demands, the Army proteſted, " That
" their Deſign was not to overthrow Presbytery,
" and to have the Independent Government ſet
" up: But they only deſired that there might be
" ſome effectual Courſe taken, that ſuch who upon
" conſcientious Grounds differed from the eſtabliſhed
" Forms, might not for that be debarred from the
" common Rights, Liberties, or Benefits belonging
" equally to all, while they lived ſoberly and inof-
" fenſively towards others, and peaceably and faith-
" fully towards the State."

The Army accuſes eleven Members. Ruſh. VI. P. 570.

It was no hard Matter to perceive that the Army did no longer content themſelves with meddling in their own Affairs, and that they wanted to have a Share in the Civil Government. There were in the Houſe of *Commons* very able Men, who knew the Deſigns of the *Independents*, and would have baffled them, had they been backed with Power. To this End it was that they had projected the forming, out of the old, a new Army for *Ireland*, and to caſhier the reſt of the Forces. This Project tended directly to the Ruin of the *Independent*-Party. Accordingly *Cromwell* and his Aſſociates laid out all their Pains in countermining the Artifices of their Enemies, by inſpiring the Army with Diſcontent, and cheriſhing it in the manner above-mentioned. In ſhort, having tried the Parliament, they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to ſtrike a bolder Stroke, by making uſe always of the Army's Name, which they had molded to their Purpoſes. To that End, they cauſed it to be reſolved in a Council

1647. a Council of War, that the Army ſhould prefer a Charge againſt the ableſt and moſt powerful Members of the *Commons*, who in a manner governed and directed the Houſe. Theſe were the Men the *Independent*-Party ſtood in greateſt fear of. This Reſolution being taken, the Army deputed ſome Officers to carry in their Name, to the Parliament, a Charge againſt eleven Members, namely, *Hollis*, *Stapleton*, *Lewis*, *Clotworthy*, *Waller*, *Maynard*, *Maſſey*, *Glyn*, *Long*, *Harley*, and *Nichols*.

The general Articles of the Charge were:

The Articles of their Accuſation. Ruſh. VI. p. 570.

" 1. That the Perſons above-named had, in an " arbitrary and violent manner, infringed the Rights " and Liberties of the Nation, and endeavoured by " indirect and corrupt Practices to delay and obſtruct " Juſtice.

" 2. That the Army being, until the middle of " *March* laſt, in an orderly Condition, and ready ei- " ther quietly to have disbanded, or elſe to have en- " gaged in the Service of *Ireland*, thoſe Members " had endeavoured by falſe Informations to beget " Miſunderſtandings and Jealouſies in the Parliament " againſt the Army.

" 3. That whereas the Parliament might have had " out of the Army, an intire Force for the Reduc- " tion of *Ireland*, thoſe Perſons had attempted to " pull the Army in pieces, and to put the Kingdom " to the trouble and expence of raiſing a new Force " for that Service.

" 4. That they had diverted the Forces engaged " for the Service of *Ireland*, and endeavoured to ap- " ply them to carry on deſperate Deſigns of their " own in *England*; and had alſo raiſed new Forces " under pretence to guard the Parliament, and pri- " vately liſted Officers and Soldiers, for the embroil- " ing the Kingdom in a new and bloody War.

" 5. That they had invited and encouraged di- " vers Reformado's, and other Officers and Soldiers " tumultuouſly

" tumultuouſly to gather together at *Weſtminſter* to 1647.
" affright and aſſault the Members of Parliament."

The very next Day, the Army ſent Propoſals to the *Commons*, wherein they deſired :

" That the Perſons impeached might be forthwith *The Army's Demands.*
" ſuſpended from ſitting in the Houſe.
" That there might be a Month's Pay immediate- ibid.
" ly ſent to the Army. p. 572.
" That if the Officers and Soldiers of the Army
" who had engaged for *Ireland*, or thoſe who had
" deſerted the Army and come to *London*, had ſince
" then received more than a Month's Pay, there
" might be ſo much more Money ſent down to the
" Army.
" That during the Debate and Tranſaction be-
" twixt the Parliament and the Army, about raiſing
" and liſting new Forces, the Parliament would not
" ſuffer any new Forces to be raiſed within the King-
" dom."

Theſe Demands troubled the Parliament exceedingly. They could not reject them without furniſhing the Army with a Pretence to march to *London*, where was nothing ready to oppoſe againſt them, and by granting them, they gave them a handle to make further Demands. Their Perplexity was the greater, as ſeveral Counties took the Army's Part, and pretended that it was abſolutely neceſſary to continue them, in order to ſtop the Progreſs of the arbitrary Power aſſumed by the Parliament. We have *Some Counties are for the Army.* already ſeen that the Counties of *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*, had in ſome Meaſure declared for the Army. *Buckinghamſhire* and *Hertfordſhire* followed this Example, and *Glamorganſhire* openly complained, by Deputies ſent on purpoſe, that the People were oppreſſed by the Parliament and by the *Committees* ſettled in the ſeveral Counties *.

Whereupon

* It was ſtrange (ſays *Whitlock*) to ſee how ſeveral Counties and the

1647. *The Parliament resolves to satisfy the Army.* Rush. VI. P. 574.

Whereupon the two Houses thought proper to lay the impending Storm, by giving Satisfaction to the Army, that all Pretence of Complaint might cease: For it was easy to perceive that was the Thing they wanted. It was resolved therefore, that the Order for listing of Forces, and the Permission given to the Committee of the Militia of *London* to augment the Train'd-bands should be void: That the Army should have a Month's Pay, and that the General should be required to retire with his Army forty Miles from *London*. Some Days after a Month's Pay was also granted to the Forces in the *North*, and to let the Army see there was no Design to disband them, the Parliament passed an Ordinance for raising Sixty Thousand Pounds a Month for the Maintenance of the Army, and for the Service of *Ireland* *. Lastly, the House of *Commons* writ to the General that they were ready to receive from him any particular Charge against the Eleven accused Members.

The Army is not contented.

This Compliance might have begot Peace between the Parliament and the Army, if Peace had been the Thing the Army wanted. But instead of being obliged to the Parliament for this Condescension, they were rather incensed at it, as being sensible the Intent of it was only to break their Measures, by taking away all Pretence of Complaint. They had much rather all their Demands had been denied, in order to have an Excuse to do themselves Justice. They were afraid the Parliament, by endeavouring to gain time, would privately take Measures, the Effects whereof would not appear perhaps till it should be too late to prevent them. Wherefore, far from being contented, they presented a Remonstrance to the Parliament, whereby they sufficiently discovered that

the Citizens of *London* began to make all their Application to the General and the Army, omitting the Parliament, and all looked upon the Army in the chief Place, and were afraid of doing any thing contrary to them. *Whit. Mem.* p. 257.

* This monthly Sum was raised by rating each County at so much. *Essex* paid the Sum of 4547 *l.* 9 *s.* 5 *d.*

that they were not very desirous to end the Dispute. This Remonstrance contained the following Complaints of the Officers and Soldiers: 1647.

Other Demands of the Army. Rush. VI. p. 585.

" That they had yet received no Answer or Reso-
" lution about the Eleven accused Members. This
" Point they largely insisted upon, and pretended
" they could not expect they should be called to an
" Account, so long as they continued in such Power
" both in the House, and in all the Committees of
" the highest Trust, as they actually did.

" That the Army was commanded to Forty Miles
" distance from *London*, and his Majesty's Person de-
" manded immediately to *Richmond*-House, within
" Eight Miles of *London*, to put his Majesty within
" reach of those Men's Power.

" That it was industriously published, that his
" Majesty was kept a Prisoner in the Army, and
" barbarously and uncivilly used; but all Suggesti-
" ons of that sort were most false.

" Lastly, after many Complaints of publick and
" private Grievances, they said, That they should
" be enforced, by the Parliament's affected Delays,
" to take extraordinary Courses to put things to a
" speedy Issue, unless by *Thursday* Night next they
" received Assurance and Security on the following
" Articles:

" 1. That the Declaration inviting Men to desert
" the Army, be recalled and annulled.

" 2. That the Army may be presently paid up,
" equally to those that have deserted it.

" 3. That his Majesty's coming to *Richmond* may
" be suspended, and in the mean time, no Place may
" be appointed for his Majesty's Residence any nearer
" to *London*, than the Parliament will allow the
" Quarters of the Army to be.

" 4. That the Members charged may be forth-
" with suspended the House.

" 5. That

1647. " 5. That those that have deserted the Army may " be instantly discharged, and receive no more of " their Arrears till the Army be first satisfied.

" 6. That both Parliament and City may be freed " from those Multitudes of Reformadoes and other " Soldiers, that flock together about *London*.

" 7. That all Listings or Raisings of new Forces " may be effectually suppreſt.

" 8. That the perplexed Affairs of the Kingdom- " and those concerning the Army, may be put into " some speedy way of Settlement and Composure. *"

The Parliament send Deputies to the Army to treat with them.

It was very visible that the Army sought a Pretence to quarrel, and as it was their Interest to break very soon, for fear Measures might be taken against them, so was it the Parliament's Business to gain time. And to that purpose, they empowered their Commissioners in the Army to treat with them touching all the Points in dispute.

The Eleven Members desire leave to absent themselves Rush. VI. p. 553.

Mean while, the *Commons* voted, " That by the " Law no Judgment can be given to suspend the " Eleven Members from sitting in the House, upon " the Papers presented from the Army, before the " Particulars be produced and Proofs made. " But an Expedient was found to soften this Refusal, which was that the Parties accused should of their own accord desire leave to absent themselves from the House, which was granted, and the Army remained satisfied *1.

About

* In these Declarations and Transactions of the Army, Colonel *Ireton* was chiefly employed, or took upon him the Business of the Pen. And having been bred in the Middle-Temple, and learned some Grounds of the Law of *England*, and being of a working and laborious Brain and Fancy, he set himself much upon these Businesses, and was therein encouraged and assisted by Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, his Son-in-law, and by Colonel *Lambert*, who had likewise studied in the Inns of Court, and was of a subtle working Brain. *Whit. Mem.* p. 257.

*1 *Hollis*, *Stapleton* and *Long* went together in a Ship to *France*, where *Stapleton*, that gallant *English* Gentleman (says *Whitlock*) died

About the ſame time, the Army having drawn a little nearer *London*, probably with deſign to awe the Parliament, the General writ to the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, that they had nothing to fear from the Army, who intended not in this their Approach any Prejudice to the City. And indeed, it was reſolved in a Council of War, that there ſhould be no farther Advance of the Army than to *Uxbridge*. 1647. *The General's Letter to the City.*

It is certain there were many in the City and Parliament that wiſhed to ſee a Breach between the two Houſes and the Army. Some imagined, without doubt, that ſuch a Breach would turn to the King's Advantage, and that one or other of the two Parties would join with, and be directed by him. Nay, the King flattered himſelf with theſe Hopes. The Army ſhowed great Regard for him, and ſome of the Officers even took care to hint to him, that they were labouring for his Reſtoration. For this Reaſon the two Houſes thought it very neceſſary to avoid a Breach, which could not but be attended with many ill Conſequences. Both Houſes therefore voted that they owned the Army commanded by General *Fairfax* as their Army, and would make Proviſion for their Maintenance. It was farther ordered, that they ſhould have a Month's Pay; that no Officer or Soldier ſhould leave the Army without Licence from the General; that all Reformadoes ſhould remove from *London*; that the King ſhould reſide no nearer *London* than the Army. Theſe *Votes* being communicated to the Army, they ſeemed ſo well pleaſed with them, that they reſolved to remove at a greater Diſtance from *London*, to ſhow they intended to uſe no Force upon the Parliament, and the Head-Quarters were at *Wickham*. *The Parliament contents the Army.*

died within two or three Days landing at *Calais*, as ſome ſuſpected of the Plague. Others of the Eleven Members went into other Parts, and ſome of them retired into their Countries, and there lived privately; Mr. *Hollis* continued divers Years after in *Bretagne*. Whit. Mem. p. 259.

1647. *Plot at London against the Army.*

Whilst the Parliament was endeavouring to content the Army, a Plot was contriving in *London* to compel the two Houses to take other Measures and oppose the Army*. The *Presbyterians* were not pleased to see the *Independents* gain so much ground, and censured the Parliament for their mean and cowardly Resolution to comply with the Army. The Magistrates of *London* came into this Plot, as well as the most zealous *Presbyterian* Members of Parliament, who had not been able to hinder the passing of the late Votes for preventing a Breach with the Army. The Authors of this Plot had even sent private Agents into *Scotland* to desire Assistance. Nay, it was whispered about in *London*, that *Scotland* was going to declare against the Army.

Petition of the Common-Council to the Parliament. Rush. VI. p. 597.

The first Step the Conspirators took, was to present to the Parliament a Petition from the Common-Council of *London*, wherein they expressed some Suspicion of their Conduct. This was doubtless in order to prepare the Way for more open Complaints afterwards, and to begin to lessen the People's Prepossession in favour of the Parliament. In this Petition the City complained of the arbitrary Power exercised by the Parliament's *Committee*'s, as well as of the Ill-management of the Publick-Money, and desired:

1. "That present Command be given, that no "Officer of War or Soldier, do enter *London*, un- "der Pretence of receiving their Arrears.

"2. That such Officers and Soldiers as are already "paid, if their usual Habitation and Employment "have been within *London*, be enjoyned forthwith "to betake themselves to their Calling; and such as "have Dwellings in the Country, be required to de- "part within two Days after Publication.

"3. That

* It was chiefly carried on by the Eleven Members and their Friends. *Whit. Mem.* p. 264.

" 3. That all who have been in Arms againſt the 1647.
" Parliament, be enjoined upon Pain of Impriſon-
" ment, within Twenty-four Hours after Publicati-
" on, to repair to their ſeveral Habitations.

" 4. That ſuch Commanders and Soldiers as have
" come in from the Army, and received their Monies,
" may be otherwiſe diſpoſed of as the Parliament
" ſhall think fit.

" 5. That all Perſons whatſoever that are poſſeſſed
" of any Monies or Goods belonging to the Publick,
" may be enjoyned to bring the ſame within one
" Month after Publication, into ſome publick Trea-
" ſury.

" 6. That all Revenues be managed under ſuch
" Commiſſions, and by ſuch Perſons, as notwith-
" ſtanding any Privilege of Parliament, may be
" held to ſuch Rules as are or ſhall be preſcribed
" therein.

" 7. That the Parliament would for the preſent
" lay aſide all Buſineſſes of leſſer Conſequence, and
" improve their Time and utmoſt Endeavour, that
" ſuch Laws may be prepared for his Majeſty's Con-
" currence, as may ſettle the Government of the
" Church, ſecure the People from all unlawful and
" arbitrary Power whatſoever in future, and reſtore
" his Majeſty to his juſt Rights and Authority, ac-
" cording to the Covenant.

" 8. And that the People may be the better ſecu-
" red to enjoy the intended Effects of ſuch Laws, as
" ſhall be ſo made with the Royal Aſſent, that eſ-
" pecial Care be taken that all Officers of State, and
" other Miniſters of Juſtice, may be Perſons of Ho-
" nour, of conſiderable Intereſt, and of known In-
" tegrity.

" 9. That the Parliament would pleaſe to provide
" for the carrying on of the Affairs in *Ireland*.

" 10. That by juſt and good Means the Correſ-
" pondence with *Scotland* may be maintained and
" preſerved.

1647. "11. That the House of Commons would please "to give Order for a speedy Examination of all un- "lawful Elections and Returns of the Members "thereof.

"12. That some speedy Course may be taken "for the deciding of all Causes formerly determina- "ble in the Court of Admiralty.

"13. That Satisfaction being made by Delin- "quents, an Act of Oblivion may be passed."

To incense the People of *London* against the Army, it was rumoured about that they designed to declare for the King: Nay, a Pamphlet was dispersed in *London*, entitled, *Heads presented by the Army to the King's Majesty.* But the Army disown it by a publick Declaration.

Difference between the Parliament's and Army's Commissioners.

The Parliament having given Power to their Commissioners to treat with the Army, they nominated on their part, *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, *Fleetwood*, *Rainsborough*, *Harrison*, Sir *Hardress Waller*, *Rich*, *Lambert*, *Hammond*, and Major *Rainsborough*, all *Independents*, and Heads of the Party in the Army. It appears by Memoirs inserted in *Rushworth*'s Collections, that the Army's Commissioners would not begin to treat before the Parliament should have granted some Things they demanded, and really performed them. They complained that the Parliament seemed indeed by their *Votes* to comply with the Army's Desires, but delayed to put them in Execution. The Parliament's Commissioners endeavoured on their Side to avoid having these Points considered as Preliminaries to be granted, and insisted upon their being made part of the Negotiation.

Different Sentiments in the Parliament.

This shows the Parliament sought to gain Time, and that they seemed inclined to give the Army Satisfaction only because they could not help it. The *Commons* were almost all *Presbyterians*, and consequently were heartily vexed to see themselves obliged to stoop to the *Independents*, who were Masters of the Army. Among the *Presbyterian* Members, there were

were a good Number who, being exceeding warm, would have gladly hazarded a Breach with the Army, rather than be forced to receive Law from them. But the reſt, being the Majority, though no leſs Enemies to the *Independents*, thought it more adviſeable to have Patience, and try to amuſe the Army till ſome Aid might be ſecured, rather than furniſh them with a Pretence to march to *London*, and ruin at once the *Presbyterian*-Party and Parliament. Accordingly, theſe prevailing in both Houſes, every thing ſeemed to tend to an Accommodation, which could not however but be fatal to the *Presbyterians:* Nevertheleſs, there was no way to avoid it. For this Reaſon the Parliament forbid the Reformado-Officers to come into *London* for two Months, and gave very ſtrict Orders againſt liſting of Soldiers, which was carrying on under-hand in the City. 1647.

The Continuance of the Plot.

Mean while, the Project above-mentioned of raiſing Forces in *London* to oppoſe the Army ſtill continued, though with the utmoſt Secrecy, and the Agents in *Scotland* cauſed great things to be expected from the *Scots*, as being concerned to ſupport the *Presbyterian*-Party. But the Authors of this Project could hardly flatter themſelves that the *Scots* could be ready time enough to aſſiſt them, ſince the Parliament and Army were upon Terms of Accommodation. They found therefore that they muſt either break off this Accommodation, or reſolve to ſee all their Hopes vaniſh, and ſuffer *Presbyterianiſm* to be trampled upon by the *Independents*. To ſucceed in the Deſign of preventing a Peace between the Parliament and Army, they found no better way than to ſpirit up the People to force the Parliament, to run-counter to the Meaſures they were taking. They got therefore the Apprentices and *London*-Mob to preſent Petitions that the *Presbyterian* Government might be firmly eſtabliſhed: The Inſolence of *Sectaries* curbed: The Army paid off and disbanded, and other Things of the like Nature deſtructive of the Accommodation in hand.

1647. *Forces in the North adhere to the Army.* Rush. VI. p. 621.

On the other Side, the Forces in the *North*, and the Horſe quartered at *Nottingham*, publiſhed Declarations to let the Publick know that they adhered to the Army commanded by General *Fairfax*.

About the ſame time, the Parliament, at the Army's Requeſt, ordered that the Four Regiments that came from the Army, *under Pretence* of Engagement for *Ireland*, but remaining ſtill in this Kingdom, be disbanded. They permitted likewiſe the Eleven accuſed Members to go beyond Sea for Six Months, hinting to them by this Permiſſion, that they would do well to take this Courſe of their own Accord. But as probably, they were deeply concerned in the Plot formed at *London*, if not the Authors, they thanked the Houſe for this Favour, without being in haſte to take the Benefit of it*.

The Commons permit the Eleven Members to abſent themſelves for ſix Months. Ib. p. 628.

The Army's Petition to the Parliament. Rush. VI. p. 629.

Mean while, the Army hearing that ſome thing more than ordinary was going forward in *London*, and that there was Talk of Succours coming from *Scotland*, ſent a Petition to the Parliament, with theſe farther Demands: "That a Declaration be publiſhed "againſt the bringing in of any foreign Forces: "That the Army be paid up equal with the De- "ſerters thereof, and put into a conſtant Courſe of "Pay: That the Committee of the *Militia* of *Lon-* "*don* that had been changed by Ordinance of the "4th of *May* laſt, be reſtored, and the *Militia* of "the City ſpeedily returned into thoſe Hands who "formerly gave large Teſtimonies of their Fidelity "to the Parliament and Kingdom". Whereupon the Parliament declared, that whoſoever ſhould bring in foreign Forces without the Conſent of both Houſes, ſhould be deemed Traitors. It was voted likewiſe,

* *Hollis*, *Stapleton* and *Long* went to *France*. See Note above. *Ruſhworth* ſays, that the Eleven Members, finding that the Army declared, the Proceeding upon particular Proofs to make good the Charge, would probably take up much time, and hinder the ſettling of greater Matters, petitioned the Houſe that they might abſent themſelves for Six Months, to go about their particular Affairs, or if they deſired it, beyond Sea. *Ruſh.* VI. p. 628.

wiſe, that the *Militia* of *London* ſhould be put into the old Hands again, and an Ordinance was paſſed for that purpoſe. To underſtand this Matter fully, it muſt be obſerved, that in the Beginning of *May* laſt, both Houſes perceiving that the Army began to ſtir, thought proper to make ſure of the Militia of *London*, and put it into ſuch Hands as they could confide in. To that end, they paſſed an Ordinance on the 4th of *May*, for the chuſing a new Committee of the *Militia* of *London*, by which means none were admitted into this Committee, or any Office of the Militia but *Presbyterians* entirely devoted to the Party. This Change it was that both Houſes repealed at the Army's Requeſt, and reſtored the former Committee. 1647.

The *Presbyterian* Party, who had great Credit in the City, and were in Poſſeſſion of all the Poſts, could not, without extreme Regret, behold the Parliament's Condeſcenſion to the Army, that is to ſay, to the *Independents*. They ſaw that Party daily grow more powerful, and in Condition to give Law to the Parliament itſelf. For this Reaſon, the rigid *Presbyterians*, backed with the Common-Council of *London*, formed an Engagement to ſtand by one another, and oppoſe the Army with all their Power, upon a Suppoſition that the Army intended to ſubvert all that had been hitherto done to ſettle the Peace of the Kingdom. The Engagement that was publickly ſubſcribed in *London*, ran thus:

1647.

A Solemn Engagement of the Citizens, Commanders, Officers and Soldiers of the Train'd-bands and Auxiliaries, the Young Men and Apprentices of the Cities of London *and* Weſtminſter, *Sea-Commanders, Seamen and Watermen; together with divers others, the Commanders, Officers and Soldiers, within the Lines of Communication, and Pariſhes mentioned in the weekly Bills of Mortality.*

Ruſh. VI. p. 639.

" WHEREAS we have entered into a ſolemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happineſs of the Kingdom, and the Peace and Safety of the Three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; all which we do eminently perceive to be endangered, and like to be deſtroyed: We do therefore in Purſuance of our ſaid Covenant, Oath of Allegiance, Oath of every Freeman in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and Proteſtation, ſolemnly engage our ſelves, and vow unto God Almighty, that we will, to the utmoſt of our Power, cordially endeavour, that his Majeſty may ſpeedily come to his own Houſes of Parliaments, with Honour, Safety and Freedom, (and that without the nearer Approach of the Army) there to confirm ſuch things as he has granted in his Meſſage of the 12th of *May* laſt, in Anſwer to the Propoſitions of both Kingdoms; and that by a perſonal Treaty with his two Houſes of Parliament, and the Commiſſioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, ſuch things as are yet in Difference, may be ſpeedily ſettled, and in a firm and laſting Peace eſtabliſhed; for the effecting hereof, we do proteſt, and re-oblige our ſelves, as in the Preſence of God, the Searcher of all Hearts, with our Lives and Fortunes, to endeavour what in us

" lies, to preſerve and defend his Majeſty's Royal 1647.
" Perſon and Authority, the Privileges of Parlia-
" ment, and Liberty of the Subject, in their full and
" conſtant Freedom, the Cities of *London* and *Weſt-*
" *miniſter*, Lines of Communication, and Pariſhes
" mentioned in the Weekly-Bill of Mortality; and
" all others that ſhall adhere with us to the ſaid Co-
" venant, and Oath of Allegiance, Oath of every
" Freeman of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and Proteſta-
" tion: Nor ſhall we by any means admit, ſuffer,
" or endure any Neutrality in this common Cauſe of
" God, the King, and Kingdom, as we do expect
" the Bleſſing of God Almighty, whoſe Help we
" crave, and wholly devolve our ſelves upon, in
" this our Undertaking."

The Parliament forbids the ſigning it.

The two Houſes had no ſooner Advice of this Engagement, but they publiſhed by Beat of Drum, and Sound of Trumpet, a Prohibition to ſign it. On the other Hand, the General loudly complained to the Parliament's Commiſſioners, and deſired them to put a ſpeedy Stop to the Agitations in *London*, which tended to renew the War. At the ſame Time, he ordered a ſtrict Inquiry to be made in the Army after all Cavaliers, and ſuch as had born Arms for the King, or were ſuſpected to be of his Party, and to diſmiſs them forthwith.

Commotion in London. Ruſh. VI. p. 640.

For two or three Days there was a great Commotion in *London*: Aſſemblies were held, Soldiers liſted, and Orders given them to be ready upon the firſt Notice. The Common-Council received two Petitions, one from a great Number of ſubſtantial Citizens, the other from the young Men and Apprentices, to deſire, " That the *Militia* might be continued, as ſet-
" led by Ordinance of the 4th of *May*." Whereupon the Common-Council repreſented to the *Commons* in a Petition, " That having taken notice of the
" Pleaſure of both Houſes for conſtituting, by Or-
" dinance dated the 23d of *July*, a new Committee
" for the *Militia* of the City of *London*, and for de-

Two Petitions concerning the Militia.

" termining

1647. "termining of a former Ordinance for the ſame, dated the 4th of *May* laſt, they could not but call to "Mind, how far both Houſes of Parliament had formerly honoured the City, when they firſt eſtabliſhed the Committee for the *Militia*, to take the "Senſe of this Court before they finally reſolved "thereupon; which Confidence the Petitioners are "not conſcious to themſelves to have forfeited. And "next being ſenſible, what a general Diſtemper this "ſudden Change hath already made and is like to "make in the City, they could not but earneſtly "pray, that the *Militia* which was eſtabliſhed by "Ordinance of the 4th of *May* laſt may be reſtored."

The Parliament's Perplexity.

The Parliament was in great Perplexity in the preſent Juncture, conſidering the impoſſibility of contenting at the ſame Time, the Army and City, who demanded Things ſo diametrically oppoſite. It is certain that moſt of the Members were *Presbyterians*, and conſequently ill-affected to the Army. Had it been in their Choice, they would have declared againſt and disbanded the Army, as they had intended. But after the Army had ſhown their Teeth, and approached the City, the wiſeſt, who were the Majority, had thought it proper to comply, not ſeeing how the Army could be withſtood in Caſe they proceeded to Violence, as was very likely. But there were a good Number of others who were for running all Hazards rather than ſee the *Independents* triumph. Mean while, theſe laſt privately cheriſhed the Commotions in the City, imagining that the Aid they might draw from *London*, was ſufficient to reſiſt all Attempts of the Army. This was likewiſe the Opinion of the Common-Council, the Populace, and ſome General Officers, as Sir *William Waller*, *Poyntz*, and *Maſſey*, who were turned out by the new Model, and were then in *London*. They only wanted therefore to induce the Parliament to ſide with them, and take vigorous Reſolutions againſt the Army. But as there was no likelihood of prevailing by fair Means, it was reſolved to uſe Force.

To

To that End *July* the 26th, a vaſt Number of young Men, and Apprentices came to *Weſtminſter*, and preſented a Petition to the Houſe of *Commons*, deſiring : 1647.

The young Men and Apprentices come and petition the Parliament; Ruſh VI. p. 642.

1. That the Ordinance of the 23d of *July* for Change of the *Militia* of *London*, be immediately repealed.

2. That the City may be vindicated againſt a late pretended Declaration, that thoſe are Traitors who ſhall act to get Subſcriptions, and that it may be revoked.

3. That both Houſes do preſently make an Order for calling in all abſent Members, eſpecially the Eleven late accuſed Members, againſt whom there has been nothing proved to this Day.

and conſtrain both Houſes to grant their Deſires.

Theſe Demands were of ſuch a Nature, conſidering the preſent Juncture, that it was no wonder much Time was ſpent in this Buſineſs by both Houſes. But the People without, growing impatient, and perceiving that all this Time was ſpent in Debates only to amuſe them, made a great Noiſe in the outer Rooms. Some knocked at the Door of the Houſe. Others threw Stones in at the Windows of the Houſe of Peers. In a Word, they very plainly gave to underſtand, they would not ſuffer the two Houſes to riſe, before they had Satisfaction given them. At laſt both Houſes ſeeing it would be in vain to reſiſt the Multitude, who threatned to tear them in Pieces, voted, "That the Ordinance of the 23d of *July*, for ſet- "tling the *Militia* of *London*, and the Declaration of "the 24th of the ſame Intent, be null and void." This done, the Houſe of *Commons* adjourned till next Day. But the Multitude conſtrained the Speaker and Members to reſume their Places, and deſired them to vote that the King ſhould come to *London*; which was done accordingly. On the Morrow both Houſes being met, adjourned to the 30th.

On

1647. *The General's Letter to the City.* Rush. VI. p. 645.

On the 28th, the Common-Council received a Letter from the General, setting forth his good Affection and tender Care of the City, but withal showing his great Dislike of the Petition, and the Means used to promote the same. At the same Time many young Men and others attended the Common-Council, expressing their Readiness to stand up for the just Privileges of the City [*against all Opposers.*] Whereupon a Letter was dispatched by a Messenger to the General, and Six Commissioners appointed to go the next Morning. In the Letter, "They declared their "Inclination to Peace, intreating him, *that the Army might not advance*, nor intermeddle with the "Rights and Privileges of the City, conceiving that "their strengthening the City for the Safety thereof, "*was no just Cause to provoke the Soldiers:* And as "for the Petition, the Parliament had already de-"clared their Sense of it, and therefore it was need-"less for them to do it, and the rather for that it "had never been formally presented to them.

The Common-Council's Answer.

The City put themselves in a posture of Defence.

Mean while the Common-Council, having received Intelligence that the Army was upon the March, and advancing towards *London*, Orders were given for the Trained-Bands to go to the Works, and for all to appear the next Morning at several Places that were able to bear Arms.

The two Speakers absent themselves

Both Houses metting the 30th of *July*, the two *Speakers* did not appear, which obliged them to chuse others in their Room. With the *Speakers*, a good Number of Members of both Houses were also gone from *London*, without any one's knowing whither. The Absence of these Members who were all Friends to the Army, rendered the contrary Party so Superiour, that the *Commons* voted the same Day, that the King should come to *London*. That the *Militia* of the City should have full Power to raise such Forces as they should think fit, for the Defense thereof. That they should make choice of a Commander in Chief to be approved of by the House, and such Commander to present other Officers, to be approved

Votes of the Commons *to resist the Army.* ibid. p. 646.

of

of by the *Militia*. After that the Committee made choice of Major-General *Maſſey* to command in Chief, and ordered that all *Reformadoes* and other Officers ſhould the next Day appear to be liſted in St. *James*'s Fields, and the Forces already liſted to be put into a Regimental way. 1647. *Maſſey made Commander in Chief.*

The ſame Day the Common-Council received a Letter from General *Fairfax*, dated the Day before, wherein he ſpoke very ſharply of the Tumult of the 26th, and of the Violence put upon the Parliament. He ſaid, the Guard ſent from the City, did not only neglect their Duty, but that divers of the Common-Council gave great Encouragement to the Seditious. That they had not kept their Word with the Army, which upon their Aſſurance to ſecure the Parliament from any Attempt, had removed to that Diſtance from the City. That he could not but look on the Council as reſponſible to the Kingdom for the preſent Interruptions of the hopeful way of Peace and Settlement Things were in, except by their Care and Induſtry the chief Actors in the late Tumults were detected and given up to Juſtice. *The General's Letter to the City.* p. 647.

On the other Hand, the City publiſhed an Apology in form of a Declaration or *Manifeſto*, ſetting forth, "The Army's ſurpriſing of the King at *Holmby* without its being known by what Authority, "and under what Pretences, and their keeping his "Royal Perſon ever ſince, notwithſtanding his Surpriſal was diſowned by the General or himſelf and "all the Officers about him, and for the Body of the "Army. That the Privileges of Parliament had "been violated by the Army's cauſing the Eleven "Members to withdraw, and the *Militia* of *London* "now demanded, which was ſubject to no other Cognizance but of the King and Parliament." There were ſeveral other Things in this *Manifeſto* which inſinuated that it was but too evident that the Army had ill Deſigns. They concluded with proteſting, that "they ſincerely deſire a happy and ſpeedy "Peace *The City's Declaration againſt the Army.* Ruſh. VI. p. 648.

1647. "Peace by the Settlement of true Religion, by re-
"eſtabliſhing his Majeſty's juſt Rights, by upholding
"all lawful Privileges of a free Parliament, by main-
"taining the Fundamental Laws of the Land, by
"reſtoring the Subject to his juſt Liberty, and by
"freeing this long-oppreſſed Kingdom from all Tax-
"es, and inforced free Quarter towards the Main-
"tainance of an Army, which for a long Time hath
"had no viſible Enemy to encounter."

The Parliament orders the General to remove the Army farther from London.

Both Houſes writ likewiſe to the General, that although he had given them no Account of the Motion of his Army, yet they underſtood that he had ordered his Forces to march towards *London*, on pretence of defending the Houſes from the danger of Tumults; upon which account they thought fit to let him know, that as they could not but have a deep Senſe of the undue Liberty which ſome Apprentices and others had taken to themſelves to violate the Freedom of Parliament, ſo they doubted not but the Senſe of ſo great an Offence would at laſt ſtrike thoſe that were acceſſary thereto with a Deteſtation of any ſuch Practices for the future: And that as the Houſes could not imagine that theſe Diſorders had the Allowance of the City of *London*, ſo they had ſince received full Satisfaction by the ſtrict Orders iſſued out by the Common-Council for the preventing and ſuppreſſing of Tumults, and by their Declaration that they ſhould ſit with much Freedom and Security from any Diſturbances for the future. And therefore they ſaw no Cauſe to command the Army to march up for their Defenſe, but rather judged (by the Diſtractions raiſed at the News thereof) that the Army's Approach was like to produce great Miſchiefs and caſt the whole Kingdom into Confuſion. That for prevention of theſe Dangers, they had ſent him an expreſs Order to withdraw his Army, requiring him to give exact Obedience thereto.

Vote to receive the Eleven Members.

The ſame Day the *Commons* voted that the Eleven accuſed Members ſhould be received into the Houſe; purſuant

purſuant to which Reſolve, moſt of them came and took their Places on the Morrow *. 1647.

Preparations in London. Ruſh. VI. p. 655.

On the 31ſt the two Houſes publiſhed an Ordinance, enabling the Committee of the *Militia* of *London* to puniſh ſuch as did not repair to their Colours, and to chuſe a Major-General, or any other Officer for the Forces raiſed or to be raiſed within the City of *London*; and *Maſſey*, *Waller*, and *Poyntz* were buſy in forming Regiments and Companies.

The Army marches towards London.

Though the Parliament and City made great Preparations, the Army were not under much Concern about it. They knew that two or three Days ſpace was not ſufficient to diſcipline an Army levied in haſte in the City, and put it in a Condition to withſtand Twenty Thouſand victorious Troops, well ſupplied with Arms, Ammunition, and Ordnance. They continued therefore their march to the general Rendezvous at *Hounſlow-Heath*, within twelve Miles of *London*. Mean while the General delivered to the Parliament's Commiſſioners, certain Propoſals to be treated on between the Parliament and Army, in order to the ſettling the Peace of the Kingdom. At the ſame Time, he put into their Hands a Declaration by the Council of War, ſhewing, that although the late Violence done to the Parliament rendered all Proceedings in the way of Treaty vain and hopeleſs, till the Parliament ſhould be reſtored to a Condition of Freedom, yet they had thought good to make this publick Tender of Propoſals to the Conſideration of the Kingdom, wherein all Men might ſee the Integrity of their Intentions, and the Bottom of their Deſires. Theſe Propoſals related entirely to the Publick, without any mixture of the private Views of the Army.

The General delivers to the Parliament's Commiſſioners Propoſals for Peace, with a Declaration. Ruſh. VII. p. 731, 738.

Mean

* It was likewiſe declared that the Ordinance of the 19th of *July*, which put under the Command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* all the Land Forces, did not give him any Power over the Train'd-Bands, Garriſons, *&c.* And this Declaration was ordered to be printed and publiſhed in *London* by Sound of Trumpet. *Whit. Mem.* p. 261.

1647. *The two Speakers and the reſt of the abſent Members caſt themſelves upon the Army's Protection.*

Mean while, the two *Speakers*, and the reſt of the Members of both Houſes that had abſented themſelves to the Number of Sixty-ſix, came to the General, deſiring his Protection, and ſaying, that as there was no free ſitting for them in the Parliament, they had quitted the Houſes for fear of being torn in Pieces by the Mob. Nothing could be more agreeable to the Army than this Requeſt, which authorized them, without their being forced to ſeek other Pretences, to march to *London* to re-inſtate the Members that were ſuppoſed to be driven from the Parliament by the Populace. From that Time they would no more own the two Houſes for the Parliament, but paid to the Speakers and Members who attended them, the ſame Reſpect as they would have done to the Parliament itſelf.

Reaſons of the Conduct of the Speakers and the reſt.

It was a very ſtrange Thing, that zealous *Presbyterians*, ſuch as were moſt of the Members that had quitted the Parliament, ſhould have recourſe to the Army's Protection, againſt the Endeavours of their Brethren in both Houſes and the City, to prevent the *Independents* from trampling upon *Presbyterianiſm*. The moſt probable Reaſon of this Proceeding, in my Opinion, is, becauſe theſe Members imagined that their Brethren and the Common-Council of *London* were taking wrong Meaſures, and would be infallibly oppreſſed by the Army. It was therefore very natural for Men who believed this, to endeavour to avoid being involved in the Ruin their Party was threatned with, and to chuſe rather to continue to diſſemble their Sentiment, as they had done for ſome Time, than be expoſed in vain to inevitable, as they thought, Calamities. To this may be added, that among theſe Members there were ſome *Independents* who earneſtly laboured to perſwade the reſt to take this Step, as we are informed by *Ludlow*'s Memoirs, who was of this Number and Party. The Lord *Clarendon* gives another Reaſon, which does not ſeem to me ſo natural. He pretends that theſe Members believed the Army deſigned to reſtore the King to all

Vol. V. p. 63.

his

his Rights, and ſeeing there were not Forces ſufficient to hinder it, they were willing to avoid the Effects of his Vengeance, by concurring with the Army in his Reſtoration. But beſides, that the Event ſhowed that the *Independents* had no ſuch Intention, it is certain that hitherto they had not expreſſed it, unleſs ſome Civilities paid the King after he was in their Hands, are to be deemed real Proofs of this Intention. Moreover, the Army had juſt given a ſenſible Proof that their Deſign was not to reſtore the King to all his Rights, by the Propoſals lately delivered to the Parliament's Commiſſioners, whereby the King's Prerogatives were entirely ſubverted, as will be ſeen hereafter. 1647.

However this be, the Army made good uſe of the Deſertion of theſe Members to juſtify their advance towards *London*, and to ſhow that their Aim was only to prevent a new War which the Members at *Weſtminſter*, and the Common-Council of *London* had a Mind to ſtir up. To this Purpoſe, they publiſhed a *Manifeſto*, containing the Reaſons of their marching to *London*; the Subſtance whereof was to this Effect:

The Army's Manifeſto. Aug. 2. Ruſh. VII. p. 744.

" That the Army was formerly led by the Grounds " then declared, to advance towards the City of *Lon-* " *don*; but having received from the Parliament " and City ſome Hopes of Satisfaction, they yielded " a ſpeedy Compliance to their Deſires for their Re- " moval to a farther Diſtance. And being in this " ſecure way, and labouring after the ſudden Settle- " ment of the Kingdom, they had even brought to " Perfection, particular Propoſals to be ſent to " the Parliament for a final Concluſion of all their " Troubles; but the Kingdom's Enemies being moſt " vigilant to fruſtrate thoſe good Intentions of theirs, " had endeavoured to caſt the Kingdom into a new " and bloody War: And for that end had procured " the under-hand Liſting of ſeveral Reformadoes, " and others, and contrived a wicked and treaſona-

1647. " ble Combination; as it was sufficiently manifested " by a Declaration passed thereupon by both Hou- " ses of Parliament the 23d of *July* last, for the Pre- " vention of the Disturbances that were like to en- " sue thereupon; from which kind of Disorders the " City had been well preserved, during the Space " of almost four Years, whilst the *Militia* was in the " Hands of the old Commissioners, whereby it ap- " peared there was Cause for the Army to intreat " the Parliament, that the *Militia* might be return- " ed into the Hands it was in before.

" That those old Commissioners of the *Militia* " were not only Persons without all Exception, but " also Men of whom the Kingdom had had above " four Years Experience in the faithful Discharge of " their Trust, and that were always most desirous of " a Peace. Yet on a sudden this Trust which they " had so faithfully discharged so long, was taken out " of their Hands, and put into the Hands of others, " some whereof had been very cool in the Service of " the Parliament; and this was pressed, and in a " manner forced upon the Parliament, with the ut- " most Importunity. These Things ministred great " Cause of Suspicion, that that Alteration of the *Mi-* " *litia* was in order to make the Terms of the Peace, " and Agreement with the King, more suitable to " the private Undertakings of some Men, than to the " publick Welfare of the whole Kingdom. But this " Design discovered itself more clearly, in that at the " same Time that the Alteration of the *Militia* of " *London* was set on Foot, the same Persons with as " much earnestness pressed for the disbanding of the " Army, before any Thing was settled for the Se- " curity and Liberty of the Kingdom. At the same " Time the Common-Council was new modellized, a " Lord-Mayor chosen that might suit with the pre- " sent Design, and divers Persons were left out of " the Common-Council and *Militia* of eminent De- " serts and Fidelity, and others brought into their " Rooms, that had either testified an ill Affection,

" or

" or little Affection to the Parliament and their Cauſe. 1647.
" That the Honour of the Parliament was continually
" trampled under Foot, and their Authority affront-
" ed by every rabble of Women, Apprentices, Re-
" formadoes and Soldiers, till at length it was riſen
" to the height of monſtrous Violence againſt the
" Parliament, that they might ſet themſelves on
" Work, and the Kingdom on Fire again. That at
" length, the Deſign appeared open-faced, and
" though the *Militia* was made the principal Ground
" of the Quarrel, yet the preſſing ſo much the King's
" coming to *London* to confirm the ſame, ſhewed
" that the *Militia* was deſired but in order to that
" Deſign, and to force the Parliament to ſuch Terms
" of Peace as they pleaſed.

" That the Intereſt of the Common-Council, in
" their Change of the *Militia* was claimed as the
" Birth-right of the City of *London*; but ſuch a
" Claim could not juſtly be held up againſt both
" Houſes of Parliament: For then who ſhould be
" Maſters of the Parliament's Freedom and Reſolu-
" tions? And who ſhould be Maſters of the Birth-
" rights of the whole Kingdom, when there ſhould
" be no Army on Foot?

" That the Army diſcerning how intimate ſome
" of the new *Militia* were with ſome of the eleven
" accuſed Members, and how forward they were to
" comply and act with them in their Endeavours to
" raiſe a new War, found it neceſſary to deſire,
" That the *Militia* might be put into the Hands
" wherein it was formerly, that the Army being ſe-
" cured by that means from Danger, might with the
" more Confidence retire further from the City.
" Which according to their Deſire, being reſtored a-
" gain into the Hands of the old Commiſſioners, ſe-
" veral Petitions were preſented to the Common-
" Council of the City of *London*, in the Name of
" the Apprentices and others, importing their De-
" ſires, that the *Militia* of the City might continue
" in the Hands of the former Commiſſioners, ac-

1647. " cording to the Ordinance of the 4th of *May* laſt;
" Whereupon the Common-Council of the City pre-
" ſents their Petitions to both Houſes for changing
" the *Militia*, wherein the Houſe of Lords refuſe
" to alter their Reſolutions; the Houſe of *Commons*
" anſwered, they would take it into Conſideration
" the next Morning; notwithſtanding which, the
" City and Kingdom could not be ignorant with
" what Rage and Inſolency the Tumult of Appren-
" tices the ſame Day forced both Houſes; they
" blocked up their Doors, threatning them, if they
" granted not their Deſires; and in this outragious
" manner continued at the Houſe eight Hours toge-
" ther; after which, the Houſe riſing, the Speaker,
" and many Members going out, they forced them
" back again into the Houſe. And during the Time
" of that Violence, *Weſtminſter-Hall* and the *Palace-*
" *Yard*, was filled with Reformadoes, and other ill-
" affected Perſons deſigned to back them. After
" that, the Houſes being adjourned, the Apprentices
" printed and poſted a Paper in ſeveral Places of the
" City, requiring all their Fellows to be early at the
" Parliament the next Morning, for that they in-
" tended to adjourn by ſeven of the Clock, and that
" for a Month. Thus the Speakers, with many of
" the Members were driven away from the Parlia-
" ment. All Men therefore might judge of the juſt-
" neſs of the Cauſe the Army had engaged them-
" ſelves in. And if after ſo much Blood and Trea-
" ſure ſpent, all that they were to hope for, and reſt
" in, was only what the King had granted in his
" Meſſage of the 12th of *May* laſt, what muſt be-
" come of the Kingdom? *&c.* (*a*).

" Laſtly, the Army declared that they would ſtand
" by all ſuch Members of either Houſe of Parlia-
" ment as were forced to abſent themſelves from
" *Weſtminſter*, and uſe their utmoſt and ſpeedy En-
" deavours

(*a*) This entirely deſtroys the Reaſon of the Members abſenting themſelves, alledged by the Lord *Clarendon*.

" deavours that they might with Freedom and Secu- 1647.
" rity ſit there again. They likewiſe declared a-
" gainſt the Choice of a new Speaker, and againſt
" all Orders, Votes, or Reſolutions forced from the
" Houſe on the 26th of *July* laſt, and ſuch as ſhould
" be paſſed till thoſe Members were reſtored again:
" That they thought themſelves bound to bring to
" condign Puniſhment the Authors and Fomenters
" of the Violence done to the Parliament, and ex-
" pected that the People of *London* would deliver
" up to them the Eleven Members impeach-
" ed. But if any in the City ſhould engage them-
" ſelves to protect thoſe Members, and ſo put the
" Kingdom again into a War, the Blood muſt be
" laid to the Account of ſuch Perſons.

" And whereas ſome had poſſeſſed the Minds of
" Men, that they gaped only after the Plunder of
" the great and wealthy City of *London*; they de-
" clared from their Hearts, that they abhorred the
" Thought thereof: But as they were informed that
" the City of *Weſtminſter*, and the Borough of *South-*
" *wark*, were brought into a hard Condition, by
" claiming a Right not to be ſubjected to a Militia
" without their own Conſent, they promiſed to aſſiſt
" them for the obtaining of their juſt Deſires and
" Immunities.

" That when theſe things were duly ſettled, they
" ſhould be as ready to aſſure unto the King his juſt
" Rights and Authority, as any that pretended it
" never ſo much."

The Common-Council alter their Reſolution.

The next Day, the Army being drawn together on *Hounſlow-Heath* *, the Common-Council of *London*

* At this Rendezvous were preſent the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Salisbury*, *Kent*; the Lords, *Grey* of *Werk*, *Howard*, *Wharton*, *Say* and *Mulgrave*, and others about Fourteen Lords; the Speaker, and about a Hundred Members of the Houſe of *Commons*. The Army, conſiſting of Twenty Thouſand Horſe and Foot, being drawn up in Battalia with Reſerves, the General accompanied with theſe Lords and Commons, and other Gentlemen, rode along and took

1647. *don* began to fear the Danger the City would be exposed to, if the Army should force the Lines, which was but too likely, and this Apprehension put them upon coming to more moderate Resolutions *. So taking occasion from the Army's late Declaration, they writ to the General, that understanding by the Declaration that the Army's Intent was only to restore the absent Members to their Places in the Parliament, the City was ready to concur with them in their Design. That accordingly, he should find all Ports and passes open, and for taking away all Misunderstanding, they had recalled their late Declaration. The General answered, That he would have them deliver up to him all the Forts on the *West*-side of the City, which was done immediately. After that, he writ to the Common-Council, that the Preserving of the Privileges of the Parliament, and the Securing the Members from Violence, that they might sit with Freedom, had been the sole Cause of his near Approach to their City.

and try to appease the Army. Rush. VII. p. 751.

The Forts about London *are delivered up to the General.*

He comes to London *and restores the Speakers and the rest of the Members.* Rush. VII. p. 756.

The 6th of *August*, the General, preceded by some Regiments of Horse, and attended by the two old *Speakers* and the Members of both Houses that had withdrawn themselves, came to *Westminster*, and alighted at Sir *Abraham Williams*'s House in *New Palace-Yard*. He stayed there some time, whilst the two *Speakers* *1 and the rest of the Members repaired to their respective Houses.

Immediately

took a View of the Army, from Regiment to Regiment, who received them with great Acclamations of the Soldiers, crying, *Lords and Commons, and a free Parliament.* The Prince Elector Palatine came also and viewed the Army, being received by the General with great Respect. *Whit. Mem.* p. 265.

* When a Scout came in, whilst the City *Militia* and Common-Council were sitting and brought News *that the Army made a Halt*, or other good Intelligence, they cry, *One and All.* But if the Scouts brought Intelligence that the Army advanced nearer to them, then they would cry as loud, *Treat, treat, treat.* At last they agreed to send the General an humble Letter. *Whit. Mem.* p. 265.

*1 The Earl of *Manchester* for the Lords, and *Lenthall* for the Commons.

Immediately after the Houſe of Peers paſſed an Ordinance for making General *Fairfax* Conſtable of the *Tower*, with Power to name a Deputy, to which the *Commons* conſented. After that, the General was deſired to come to the Parliament, where he received the Thanks of both Houſes. The ſame Day, the Parliament ordered that the 12th ſhould be a Day of *Thankſgiving* to God, for reſtoring the Members of both Houſes to their juſt Privileges without the Effuſion of Blood, and that a Gratuity of a Month's Pay ſhould be given to the Non-commiſſioned Officers and Soldiers for this great Service. The following Days were ſpent in approving and ratifying what the Army had done. But they did not ſtop there. The Lords demanded two things, which the *Commons* were very much againſt. The firſt was, *the making null all Acts* done from the 26th of *July* to the 6th of *Auguſt*. The *Commons* were ready to give their Conſent to it, provided it was without declaring them illegal. This Diſpute held till the 20th, when the *Commons* paſſed at length the Ordinance demanded by the Peers, but with this Reſtriction: *That no Perſon ſhall be impeached or puniſhed for his acting by or upon the ſaid Votes, Orders or Ordinances, unleſs he ſhall be found Guilty of contriving or abetting the viſible Force put upon the Parliament, or of entering into or promoting the late Engagement for the bringing the King to the City, upon the Terms and Conditions expreſſed in his Majeſty's Letters of the 12th of* May *laſt.*

1647. *He is made Governour of the* Tower, *and thanked.*

The Parliament approves of what the Army had done. Diſpute between the Lords and Commons.

The ſecond Thing deſired by the Lords was, that it ſhould be declared that the Parliament was forced from the 26th of *July* to the 6th of *Auguſt*, and that the Members who aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* in the Abſence of the Speakers, ſhould be expelled the Parliament and puniſhed. This Queſtion being debated a whole Day in the Houſe of *Commons*, was carried in *the Negative* but by three Voices *. The Lords inſiſted

Ruſh. VII. p. 782.

* The Queſtion put was, *Whether it ſhould be declared what was done from the 26th of* July *to the 6th of* Auguſt *to be forced, and that*

1647. ſiſted upon this Point merely out of Compliance to the Army, who by a Remonſtrance to the Parliament, had demanded the ſame thing, declaring they could not ſuffer ſuch Members as ſate and voted during the Abſence of the Speakers, to intrude themſelves into the Parliament before they had given Satisfaction to their reſpective Houſes. Nevertheleſs, this Affair was carried no farther. Only Seven Lords*, with the Lord-Mayor, ſeveral Aldermen, and ſome Officers of the Militia were accuſed of High-Treaſon for being concerned in the Tumult of the 26th of *July*, which was termed having a Deſign to ſtir up a new War.

The King's State and Condition.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed between the Parliament and Army, the King was not only very quiet, but even entertained great Hopes from this Diviſion, and flattered himſelf that the Army would declare for him. Their Civility and Complaiſance to him ſeemed to promiſe him a happier State than when he was in the Hands of the Parliament. Three of his Chaplains were allowed to come to him, and celebrate Divine Service after the Church of *England* manner, and all his old Servants and Domeſticks had Liberty to ſee and ſpeak with him. *Berkley*, *Aſhburnham*, *Capel*, the Marqueſs of *Ormond* himſelf, who had at laſt delivered up *Dublin* to the Parliament, ſaw him as often as they pleaſed in publick or private, and the two firſt were now in his Service. The *Scotch* Commiſſioners reſiding at *London*, frequently viſited him, and expreſſed a great Deſire to ſerve him. As they knew that the *Independents* were ſworn Enemies of their Nation, they began to perceive it was their Intereſt to join with the King againſt their common Enemies. Mean while, the Civilities and Reſpect ſhown the King

He is flattered by the Army.

that Sitting no free Parliament? Which was carried in the Negative. The other Part of the Queſtion, as put by the Author, was not debated at this time.

* The Earl of *Suffolk*, the Lords *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Hunſden*, *Mainard*, *Berkley*, with the Earls of *Lincoln* and *Middleſex*. Whit. Mem. p. 271.

King were the pure Effect of the Policy of *Cromwell* and his Aſſociates. They were not ignorant how the Parliament and City of *London* ſtood affected to them, and were perſuaded that when the worſt came to the worſt, the *Presbyterians* would chuſe rather to agree with the King, than ſee the *Independents* triumph. To prevent this Union it was that they had cauſed the King to be carried away from *Holmby*, without either the General-Officers, or the Body of the Army appearing in it, and to be removed to a Place where his Perſon was in their Power. On the other Hand, they gave the King all imaginable Demonſtrations of Kindneſs, even to the putting him in hopes of a ſpeedy Accommodation with the Army, as well to divert him from the Thoughts of uniting with the Parliament, as to deprive the *Presbyterians* of all hopes of ſuch an Union. In every Declaration and Remonſtrance of the Army, there was always ſomething inſerted to expreſs their Deſire that the King might be reſtored to his juſt Rights. But it was ever with this Reſtriction, *when the Affairs of the Government ſhould be fully ſettled*, that is to ſay, in the manner they deſired, and they knew that then it would be no hard matter to find occaſion to quarrel with the King, and retract what they ſeemed to promiſe him. 1647.

He conceives great hopes, but is overreached by Cromwell

The King was deceived by this Policy. As he ſaw himſelf courted by both Parties, he imagined they could not do without him, and that he ſhould be in Condition to incline the Scale to which Side he pleaſed. Nay, he fancied for ſome time that the two Parties would accept him for Mediator. In this Imagination he carried it very fair with Both, and told them by Turns, though very ſecretly, that he would be guided by their Counſels. Mean while, as he mortally hated the *Presbyterians*, he was much more deſirous to join with the Army, if they would but have granted him tolerable Conditions, as they made him expect. Nevertheleſs, he liſtned to the Propoſals of the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, to put himſelf under the Protection of the *Presbyterians* and *Scots*, and thereby hoped to be

1647. be upon a good Foot, however the Conteſts between the Parliament and Army might end. In the mean time, he ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed by *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, who, on pretence that they were ſuſpected by both Houſes, ſeldom viſited him, but however, let him know their Minds, by help of ſome Officers who might converſe more freely with him, or thoſe he truſted. Though he was uſed very civilly, yet was he ſtrictly watched, and at the very time he was pleaſing himſelf with the Thoughts of being Arbiter of the two Parties, he was really a Priſoner. After he was taken from *Holmby* he followed the Motions of the Army, and reſided ſometimes in a Town, and ſometimes at a Country-Houſe, according as the Army thought fit. At laſt, when the Army had their Rendezvous on *Hounſlow-Heath* in order to march to *London*, he was conducted to his Palace at *Hampton-Court* *.

After the Army was uppermoſt the King had not the ſame Reſpect paid him.

The Revolution, which happened within a few Days after, and which brought the Parliament in Subjection to the Army, proved fatal to the King. He had quickly cauſe to perceive that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had only amuſed him with vain Hopes. The Army was no ſooner Maſter of the Parliament and City, but the King ſaw himſelf not only neglected, but even treated more hardly than hitherto. The ſame Reſpect was no longer paid him, and his Guards would ſcarce ſuffer his Servants to confer with him in private. In ſhort, to ſay all in a word, he was left a long while at *Hampton-Court*, without mention of any Accommodation, whilſt his Words, his Actions, and the Perſons that came to viſit him were narrowly watched.

* Whilſt the King was at *Caverſham*, a Houſe of the Lord *Craven*'s near *Reading*, his Children, now under the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Care, were permitted to dine with him at *Maidenhead*, and afterwards to go and ſtay with him two Days at *Caverſham*. Prince *James* had been in the Parliament's Hands ever ſince the Surrender of *Oxford*. This Favour was denied him whilſt he was at *Holmby*, as well as that of having any of his Chaplains, of whom he had now Four, *Sheldon*, *Morley*, *Sanderſon*, and *Hammond*.

watched. Nay, the *Scotch* Commiſſioners had the Affront put upon them of being hindered to ſee him, of which they complained to no purpoſe. But before I proceed to ſpeak of the King, and the State he was in, it will be neceſſary to relate what paſſed in the Army and Parliament, whilſt the King was left at *Hampton-Court* almoſt forgotten, though he ſerved ſometimes for Pretence to ſeveral *Papers*. 1647.

When the Army reſolved to oppoſe the Parliament's Deſign to disband them, they pretended they would meddle only in their own Concerns, without having any thing to do with the Government in Church or State. The Demand of Arrears was at firſt the only Point whereon they grounded their Refuſal of being caſhiered. After that, finding it was not impoſſible to give them Satisfaction upon that Article, they demanded Reparation for their Honour, and a full Vindication from the pretended Crimes on which the Parliament had grounded their Declaration againſt the Authors of the firſt Petition. Then they required that the Parliament ſhould ſolemnly declare that it was the Privilege of all the Subjects, and of the Army in particular, to preſent Peritions. After which they formed the Councils of War and *Agitators*, who not content with deſiring things relating to the Army, inſerted in their Remonſtrances ſundry Articles concerning the Government. Laſtly, the King was taken from *Holmby*, and that by the Authority of the Army as was pretended, though the General affirmed that neither himſelf nor the other General-Officers, nor the Body of the Army had any Hand in it; and by this ſame Authority, how chimerical ſoever it appeared, was the King kept in their Quarters.

As ſoon as the Army had the King in their Power, they pretended to a Right of ſettling the Government of the Kingdom with the Parliament. They nominated Commiſſioners to treat upon that Subject, with thoſe of the Parliament. In ſhort, juſt as they were preparing to march to *London*, the General delivered

1647. livered to the Parliament's Commissioners Propositions from the Army to settle the Government, of which not so much as one related to the Concerns of the Army. The Propositions were these:

ARTICLES proposed by the Army, to be treated on by the Parliament's Commissioners.

Rush. VII. p. 731. "I. THAT (things hereafter proposed being "provided for by this Parliament) a cer-"tain Period may by Act of Parliament be set for "the ending of this Parliament, such Period to be "put within a Year at most, and in the same Act "Provision to be made for the Succession and Con-"stitution of Parliaments in future, as followeth:

"1. That Parliaments may biennially be called "and meet at a certain Day.

"2. Each biennial Parliament to sit a Hundred "and Twenty Days certain, and no Parliament to "sit past Two Hundred and Forty Days from their "first Meeting, or some other limited Number of "Days; upon the Expiration whereof each Parlia-"ment to dissolve of Course, if not otherwise dis-"solved sooner.

"3. The King, in the Intervals betwixt biennial "Parliaments, to call a Parliament Extraordinary, "provided it meet above Seventy Days before the "next biennial Day, and be dissolved at least Sixty "Days before the same.

"4. That this and each succeeding biennial Par-"liament at or before Adjournment or Dissolution "thereof, may appoint Committees during the Inter-"val for such Purposes as are in any of these Propo-"sals referred to such Committees.

"6. That all Counties may have a Number of "Parliament Members allowed to their Choice, "proportionable to the respectives Rates they bear

"in

" in the common Charges and Burthens of the King- 1647.
" dom; and that the Election of Burgeſſes for poor
" decayed or inconſiderable Towns be taken off.

" 6. That effectual Proviſion be made for future
" Freedom of Elections, and Certainty of due
" Returns.

" 7. That the Houſe of Commons alone have the
" Power from time to time to ſet down further Or-
" ders and Rules for the Ends expreſſed in the two
" laſt preceding Articles.

" 8. That there be a Liberty for entering Diſſents
" in the Houſe of Commons with Proviſion that no
" Member be cenſurable for ought ſaid or voted in
" the Houſe, further than to Excluſion from that
" Truſt; and that only by the Judgment of the
" Houſe itſelf.

" 9. That the judicial Power, or Power of final
" Judgment in the Lords and Commons may be
" cleared: And that no Officer of Juſtice, Miniſter
" of State, or other Perſon adjudged by them, may
" be capable of Protection or Pardon from the King
" without their Advice or Conſent.

" 10. That the Right and Liberty of the Com-
" mons of *England* may be cleared and vindicated as
" to a due Exemption from any Judgment, Tryal,
" or other Proceeding againſt them by the Houſe of
" Peers, without the concurring Judgment of the
" Houſe of Commons: As alſo from any other
" Judgment, Sentence or Proceeding againſt them,
" other than by their Equals, or according to the
" Law of the Land.

" 11. The ſame Act to provide, That the Choice
" of Grand-Jury-Men may not be as now, at the
" Diſcretion of an Under-Sheriff; and that ſuch
" Grand-Jury-Men for their reſpective Counties,
" may at each Aſſize preſent the Names of Perſons
" to be made Juſtices of Peace from time to time, as
" the Country hath need for any to be added to the
" Commiſſion; and at the Summer Aſſize to preſent
" the Names of Three Perſons, out of which the

1647. " King may prick one to be Sheriff for the next " Year.

" II. For the Militia in general, That it be pro- " vided by Act of Parliament,

" 1. That the Power of the Militia by Sea and " Land, during the Space of Ten Years next enſuing, " ſhall be ordered and diſpoſed by ſuch Perſons as the " Lords and Commons ſhall nominate and appoint.

" 2. That the ſaid Power ſhall not be ordered or " exerciſed by the King's Majeſty, or by any Per- " ſons by Authority derived from him, during the " ſaid Space, or at any time hereafter, without the " Advice and Conſent of the ſaid Lords and Com- " mons.

" 3. That during the ſame Space of Ten Years, " the ſaid Lords and Commons may by Bill or Or- " dinance raiſe and diſpoſe of what Monies, and for " what Forces they ſhall from time to time find ne- " ceſſary; as alſo for Payment of the publick Debts " and Damages, and for all other the publick Uſes " of the Kingdom.

" 4. That no Subjects that have been in Hoſtility " againſt the Parliament in the late War, ſhall be " capable of bearing any Office of Power or publick " Truſt in the Commonwealth during the Space of " five Years, without the Conſent of Parliament; or " to ſit as Member of either Houſe, until the ſe- " cond biennial Parliament be paſt.

" III. For the preſent Form of diſpoſing the Mi- " litia, in order to the Peace and Safety of this " Kingdom, and the Service of *Ireland*,

" 1. That there be Commiſſioners for the Admi- " ralty, with the Vice-Admiral and Rere-Admiral, " with Power for the forming, regulating, appoint- " ing of Officers, and providing for the Navy.

" 2. That there be a General for Command of the " Land-Forces.

" 3. That

" 3. That there be Commiſſioners in the ſeveral 1647.
" Counties for the ſtanding Militia, with Power for
" the proportioning, regulating, training and diſci-
" plining of them.

" 4. That there be a Council of State, with Power
" to ſuperintend and direct the ſeveral and particular
" Powers of the Militia laſt mentioned.

" 5. That the ſame Council may have Power as
" the King's Privy-Council, for and in all foreign
" Negotiations; provided that the making of War
" or Peace with any other Kingdom or State, ſhall
" not be without the Advice and Conſent of Par-
" liament.

" 6. That the ſaid Power of the Council of State
" be put into the Hands of truſty and able Perſons
" now to be agreed on, and the ſame Perſons to con-
" tinue in that Power (*ſi bene ſe geſſerint*) for a cer-
" tain Term not exceeding Seven Years.

" 7. That there be a ſufficient Eſtabliſhment now
" provided for the ſalary of the Forces both in *England*
" and *Ireland*, the Eſtabliſhment to continue until two
" Months after the Meeting of the firſt biennial Par-
" liament.

" IV. That an Act be paſſed for diſpoſing the
" great Offices for Ten Years by the Lords and Com-
" mons in Parliament; or by ſuch Committees as
" they ſhall appoint for that purpoſe in the Inter-
" vals (with Submiſſion to the Approbation of the
" next Parliament) and after Ten Years they to no-
" minate Three, and the King out of that Number
" to appoint One for the Succeſſion upon any Va-
" cancy.

" V. That an Act be paſſed for reſtraining of any
" Peers, made ſince the 21ſt Day of *May* 1642, or
" to be hereafter made, from having any Power to
" ſit or vote in Parliament without Conſent of both
" Houſes.

" VI. That

1647. " VI. That an Act be passed for recalling and " making void all Declarations and other Proceed- " ings against the Parliament, or against any that " have acted by, or under their Authority in the " late War, or in relation to it; and that the Ordi- " nance for Indemnity may be confirmed.

" VII. That an Act be passed for making void all " Grants, *&c.* under the Great-Seal, since the time " that it was conveyed away from the Parliament, " (except as in the Parliament's Propositions) and " for making those valid that have been or shall be " passed under the Great-Seal, made by the Autho- " rity of both Houses of Parliament.

" VIII. That an Act be passed for Confirmation of " the Treaties between the two Kingdoms of *Eng-* " *land* and *Scotland*; and for appointing Conserva- " tors of the Peace betwixt them.

" IX. That the Ordinance for taking away the " Court of Wards and Liveries be confirmed by Act " of Parliament; provided his Majesty's Revenue " be not damnified therein, nor those that last held " Offices in the same, left without Reparation some " other way.

" X. An Act to declare void the Cessation of *Ire-* " *land*, &c. and to leave the Prosecution of that " War to the Lords and Commons in the Parliament " of *England*.

" XI. An Act to be passed to take away all co- " ercive Power, Authority and Jurisdiction of Bi- " shops ——— extending to any Civil Penalties " upon any, *&c.*

" XII. That there be a Repeal of all Acts or " Clauses in any Act enjoining the Use of the " Book of Common Prayer, and imposing any Pe- " nalty for Neglect thereof, and for not coming to " Church, or for meeting elsewhere; and some " other Provision to be made for discovering of " Papists, Priests, Jesuits, *&c.*

" XIII. That

" XIII. That the taking of the *Covenant* be not 1647.
" enforced upon any; but all Orders or Ordinances
" tending to that purpoſe to be repealed.

" XIV. That (the Thing here before propoſed,
" being provided, for ſecuring the Rights, Liberties,
" *&c.* of the Kingdom) his Majeſty's Perſon, his
" Queen and Royal Iſſue may be reſtored to a Con-
" dition of Safety, Honour and Freedom in this
" Nation, without Diminution to their perſonal
" Rights, or further Limitation to the Exerciſe of
" Regal Power than according to the Particulars
" foregoing.

" XV. For the Matter of Compoſition, *&c.*

N. B. There are under this Head Six Articles, which cannot be well underſtood, without knowing the Particulars of an Act wherein Delinquents were placed under ſeveral Heads or Qualifications, and their Compoſition ſettled accordingly. But the Knowledge of that can be of no uſe at preſent.

" XVI. That there may be a general Act of Ob-
" livion, *&c.*

" That ſuch of the King's Party who ſhall ap-
" pear to have expreſſed, or ſhall hereafter expreſs
" their good Affections to the Peace and Welfare of
" the Kingdom, and to hinder the embroiling of the
" ſame in a new War, may be freed and exempted
" from Compoſitions, or to pay but one Year's Re-
" venue, or a twentieth Part.

" Next to the Propoſals aforeſaid for the preſent
" ſettling of a Peace, the Army deſires that no time
" may be loſt by the Parliament for Diſpatch of other
" things tending to the Welfare, Eaſe, and juſt Satiſ-
" faction of the Kingdom, and in ſpecial manner:

" I. That the Liberty of the People to repre-
" ſent their Grievances and Deſires by way of Pe-
" tition may be cleared and vindicated.

1647. "II. That the common Grievances of the People "may be ſpeedily conſidered of and effectually re- "dreſſed, and in particular,

"1. That the Exciſe may be taken off from ſuch "Commodities, whereon the poor People of the "Land do ordinarily live.

"2. That the Oppreſſions and Encroachments "of Foreſt Laws may be prevented for the future.

"3. All Monopolies and Reſtraints to the Free- "dom of Trade to be taken off.

"4. That a Courſe may be taken to rectify the "Inequality of Rates lying upon ſeveral Counties.

"5. The preſent, unequal, troubleſome, and con- "tentious way of Miniſters Maintenance by Tithes "to be conſidered of, and ſome Remedy applied.

"6. That the Rules and Courſe of Law, and the "Officers of it may be ſo reduced and reformed, as "that all Suits and Queſtions of Right may be more "clear and certain in the Iſſues, and not ſo tedious nor "chargeable in the Proceedings as now.

"7. That Priſoners for Debt may not by em- "bracing Impriſonment, or any other ways, have "Advantage to defraud their Creditors: And that "ſuch Priſoners for Debt, who have not wherewith "to pay, may be freed from Impriſonment.

"8. That none may be compelled to anſwer unto "Queſtions tending to the accuſing of themſelves, "or their neareſt Relations in criminal Cauſes; and "no Man's Life to be taken away under two Wit- "neſſes.

"9. That Conſideration may be had of all Sta- "tutes, and the Laws or Cuſtoms of Corporations, "impoſing any Oaths ſo far as they may extend to "the Moleſtation or Enſnaring of religious and "peaceable People, merely for Non-conformity in "Religion.

"III. That the large Power given to Com- "mittees or Deputy-Lieutenants during the late "Times of War and Diſtraction, may ſpeedily be

" recalled and made void, and ſuch Powers of that 1647.
" Nature as ſhall appear neceſſary to be continued,
" may be put into a regulated way, and left to as
" little Arbitrarineſs as the Nature and Neceſſity of
" things will bear.

" IV. That the Kingdom may be righted, and
" ſatisfied in point of Accounts for the vaſt Sums
" that have been levied.

" V. That Proviſion may be made for Payment of
" Arrears to the Army, and the reſt of the Sol-
" diers of the Kingdom: And in the next Place for
" Payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the
" Kingdom; and that to be performed, firſt, to ſuch
" Perſons whoſe Debts or Damages are great and
" their Eſtates ſmall, ſo as they are thereby reduced
" to a Difficulty of Subſiſtence: In order to all
" which (*continue they*) we ſhall ſpeedily offer ſome
" further Particulars, which we hope will be of good
" uſe towards publick Satisfaction."

Remark on theſe Propoſals.

Theſe Propoſals ſhow that the Army did not mean to leave to the Parliament the ſole Power of ſettling the Government, tho' when they were delivered to the Commiſſioners, they had not yet ſubjected the Parliament and City, as they did ſome Days after. How much more then ſhould they think themſelves entitled to have a Share in this Settlement, after they had both Houſes at their Beck? Certainly, if the Army had really deſired that the Government ſhould be ſettled in good earneſt, according to their Propoſals, there could not be a fairer Opportunity, and the Parliament would neither have been able nor have dared to oppoſe it. But on the contrary, it is very likely that the Army's Intent, in delivering theſe Propoſals, was only to delay Matters by ſtarting Difficulties, and demanding Time to remove them. For Inſtance, the XIth Article, which ſuppoſed the Reſtoring of the Biſhops, and the XIIIth, which left every one at Liberty to take or not to take the *Covenant*, were directly contrary to the Pretenſions of

1647. the *Presbyterians*. It was not for the Interest of the *Independents* that the Government should be settled after the Manner they proposed: but it was for their Advantage to dazzle the People's Eyes, and make them believe that the Army desired only the Peace and Safety of the Publick, though in effect nothing was farther from the Thoughts of the Leaders and Managers. This evidently appears, in that afterwards, they never troubled themselves to press the two Houses to go upon this Settlement. On the other Hand, the Parliament was the same it had been for some time before, that is, almost wholly *Presbyterian*, and consequently Foe to the *Independents*, though obliged to show the contrary. The Earl of *Manchester*, Speaker of the House of Lords, was sworn Enemy to *Cromwell*, though he had been the first to apply to the Army for Protection. The City of *London* stood inclined in the same manner as the Parliament, and were so far from solliciting the Settlement proposed by the Army, that they were very glad never to have it mentioned, in Expectation that Time would afford some Opportunity to settle the Government without the Intervention of the Soldiery. It is no wonder then, that this Affair should be neglected, when neither Army, nor Parliament, nor City, wished to see it accomplished. Some Steps were however taken now and then, to make the Publick believe it was intended to be set about. But *Cromwell* and the other Heads of the *Independents* were very far from being willing to leave it to the Parliament for Ten Years, to manage the Affairs of the Kingdom as they pleased, to order the Militia by Sea and Land, and raise what Monies they should find necessary. Much less would they have cared to let the People chuse every two Years new Representatives of Parliament. All these Things were only to throw dust in the People's Eyes. The *Independents* had a mind to be uppermost, as they were at length, and all their Proceedings, though cloaked with the Pretence of the publick Good, tended only to that End. The Design

of

of the *Presbyterians*, Parliament and City of *London*, was to ruin the *Independent*-Party, and the Army their Supporters. But as they were not ſtrong enough to bring this about, their Project was to join with the King and *Scotland*, provided they could prevail with his Majeſty to aboliſh Epiſcopacy. This is what was ſecretly contriving at *London* and *Edinburgh*, whilſt Endeavours were uſed to amuſe the Army by ſtudied Delays on their Demand of their Pay and Arrears, and whilſt the City of *London* declined to make the neceſſary Advances, in order to render the Army odious, by obliging them to oppreſs the People for want of Pay. The Army was ignorant as yet of the ſecret Practices which were carrying on againſt them in *London*. They inceſſantly demanded their Pay, and the Parliament gave a favourable Reception to their Demands. Nay, they paſſed Votes to grant them their Deſires; but ſome Difficulty always occurred to retard the Performance, or if they were paid any Money it was but a ſmall Part of their Arrears. 1647.

Regulations touching the Army.

Three other Affairs kept the Parliament and Army farther employed for ſome Time, and ſerved for Pretence to amuſe. The firſt was, to ſettle what Forces ſhould be ſent to *Ireland*; the ſecond, how many Troops were to be maintained in *England*. The third, to disband the Supernumeraries.

Upon the firſt Article, it was reſolved to ſend into *Ireland* ſix Thouſand Foot, four Thouſand Horſe, and five Hundred Dragoons, and that the Parliament's Commiſſioners ſhould confer with the General about the ſending theſe Forces, and the Officers that ſhould Command them.

Upon the Second, it was ordered that there ſhould be maintained in *England*, ſeven Thouſand two Hundred Horſe, eighteen Thouſand Foot, and one Thouſand Dragoons. It was pretended that theſe Forces were kept up in *England* only to relieve thoſe in *Ireland* in Caſe of need. But it is likely the Army would not bear to be conſiderably leſſened.

1647. *The King resolves to make his Escape from* Hampton-Court. *His Reasons for it.*

Upon the Third, it was resolved, that all the Supernumeraries should be paid and dismissed.

But these Things were executed very slowly by reason of several unexpected Matters, of which it will be necessary to speak.

After the Army thought they had nothing to fear from the Parliament and City, their Respect to the King was shrunk to such a Degree that it was easy for him to perceive he was to expect no Good from them, and that *Cromwell* had only amused him, the better to carry on his own Views. Besides the Alteration he found in the Behaviour of those who had the Custody of him, he had many other Proofs of ill Designs against him. In the first Place, The Army sent him privately some Propositions for Peace, much worse than those that had been presented to him at *Newcastle*; but he had rejected them with Indignation, by which the Army took themselves to be very much disobliged. Secondly, *Cromwell* had very sharply reproached *Ashburnham*, who was then the King's Confident, that notwithstanding the Army's Regard for his Majesty, he had treated underhand with the Commissioners of *Scotland* to stir up that Kingdom against the Army. This Reproach inspired the King with the more Dread, as it was true that he had privately treated with the *Scotch* Commissioners, though he had concluded nothing with them, and he could not conceive how *Cromwell* came to know it. He was apprehensive therefore that the Army would assassinate or poison him, in order to free themselves from the fear of his agreeing with the *Presbyterians*. On the other Hand, Major *Huntington*, who had been employed by *Cromwell* to amuse the King with several private Messages, finding at length he had been made the Instrument to deceive that unfortunate Prince, warned him that *Cromwell* was not sincere, and would destroy him if he were not prevented. Shortly after he threw up his Commission, and would serve no longer in the Army. Nay, he went farther; for after his quitting the Service, he offered to discover

ver to the Parliament *Cromwell*'s ill Practices, but they would not hearken to him *. At laſt, the King received private notice every Day, by indirect and underhand ways, that his Enemies had ill Deſigns, and that he ought to take Care of himſelf. 1647.

All theſe Things made ſuch an Impreſſion upon him, that he reſolved to make his Eſcape if poſſible, out of the Hands of the Army. But it was no eaſy Matter to determine what Place to retire to. There was no Safety for him any where in the Kingdom. The Parliament and City of *London* were at the Army's Command, and ſuppoſing the *Presbyterians* had been able to protect him, all he could expect at their Hands was, that they would not attempt upon his Life. Wherefore, probably, his Intent was to tranſport himſelf beyond the Seas. *Aſhburnham* was his only Confident, for though he believed *Berkley* faithful, he had not ſo good an Opinion of his Diſcretion, as to truſt him with ſuch a Secret. This Reſolution being taken, the King withdrew very early to his Chamber, feigning to be indiſpoſed, and about One a Clock in the Morning, went out by the Back-Stairs, and came with *Aſhburnham* and *Legg* to the Garden-Gate *1, where *Berkley* waited with Horſes. They rid all Night with great Speed, as well to eſcape thoſe that ſhould be ſent in purſuit of them, as to get out of the Quarters of the Army, and in the Morning, they found themſelves in the *new Foreſt* in *Hampſhire*. Then the King asked *Aſhburnham*, where the Ship lay? *Aſhburnham* riding away be-

He puts his Reſolution in practice. Ruſh VII. p. 871.

Clar. V. P. 77.

* He delivered in a *Paper* to the Houſe of Lords, which was read there, containing Reaſons why he left the Army, being a large Narrative of pretended Carriages of *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, ſince the Parliaments going to disband the Army, in relation to Overtures to his Majeſty; the Proceedings againſt the Lords, Commons, and Aldermen that were impeached. *Ruſh.* VII. p. 1214.

*1 There was a Paſſage from the King's Room into the Garden, at a Back-door of which were diſcovered the treading of Horſes. The King left upon his Table a Letter to the Parliament, and another to the General.

1647. fore, as it were to get Information, returned in ſome little Time after without any News of the Ship; with which the King ſeemed very uneaſy. Mean while, as it was not ſafe for him to ſtay in the Highways, he reſolved to go to *Titchfield*, a Seat of the Earl of *Southampton's*, where the Earl's Mother then lived with a ſmall Family. There he conſulted with his three Attendants whither he ſhould go. It is ſaid, *Aſhburnham* was the firſt to adviſe him to retire to the Iſle of *Wight*, and put himſelf into the Hands of Colonel *Hammond* the Governour, who was reckoned a Man of Honour. He muſt have known that *Hammond* was *Cromwell's* Creature, by whoſe Advice he had married a Daughter of *John Hamden* and who had lately procured him the Government of the Iſle of *Wight*. In ſpite of theſe Reaſons which ſhould have diverted *Aſhburnham* from giving ſuch Advice, he ceaſed not to perſwade the King, who after ſome Objections conſented to it, provided *Hammond* would faithfully promiſe not to deliver him up, though the Parliament or Army ſhould require him, but to give him his Liberty to ſhift for himſelf, if he were not able to defend him. Purſuant to this Reſolution, *Aſhburnham* and *Berkley* went into the Iſle of *Wight* to talk with the Governour, who ſeemed to be very much ſurprized when they told him, the King was eſcaped from *Hampton Court*, and was willing to truſt his Perſon in his Hands, upon the Condition before-mentioned. His Anſwer was, that he would do the King all the Service that was in his Power; but as he was an inferiour Officer, he could not promiſe to diſobey his Superiours in whatever they were pleaſed to Command him. After ſome fruitleſs Endeavours to get a Promiſe from him, he asked where the King was? They told him, he was not very far off, and at laſt, after ſome Time ſpent in Debate, it was agreed, he ſhould go with them to the King. So they all three went together to *Titchfield*, and when they came there, *Hammond* ſtayed below, and *Aſhburnham* went up to the King's Chamber to acquaint him that *Hammond*

was

was in the Houſe, but had not made any Promiſe. Whereupon the King cried out, *O Jack thou haſt undone me!* With which *Aſhburnham* falling into a great Paſſion of Weeping, offered to go down and kill *Hammond*, but the King would not Conſent to it. In ſhort, the King having ſent for *Hammond* up, endeavoured to perſwade him to make the Promiſe that had before been propoſed; but *Hammond* kept to his firſt Anſwer. Then the King, not knowing where to go elſe, and conſidering there was now perhaps no poſſible way to get from him as he had the Command of the Country, and could call in what Help he would, reſolved to go with him to the Iſle of *Wight*. He was conducted to *Carisbrook*-Caſtle, where *Hammond* received him with his Attendants, with all Demonſtration of Reſpect. 1647.

Remark on the King's Flight.

When a Man conſiders all the Circumſtances of this Flight of the King's, he can ſcarce help thinking, he was betrayed on this Occaſion. His Intent was to go beyond Sea, as is evident from his asking where the Ship lay, but there was no Ship ready; which was ſo great an Errour, that *Aſhburnham* can hardly be thought to commit it through Negligence or Imprudence. *Aſhburnham* is not ſatisfied with propoſing to the King to truſt himſelf with *Hammond*, a Creature of *Cromwell*'s, who according to Major *Huntington*'s Information, had reſolved to deſtroy him, but even puts him under the Neceſſity of confiding in him, though he refuſed to promiſe him Protection. And yet the Lord *Clarendon* ſays very poſitively, that he does not believe the King was betrayed by *Aſhburnham*, and that his Majeſty himſelf never entertained the leaſt Jealouſy of it. All then that can be ſaid in Favour of this Confident of the Kings, is what the Lord *Clarendon* hints, I mean, that he was outwitted by *Cromwell*, who by ſome one of his Emiſſaries perſwaded him, that it ſhould prove for his Majeſty's Benefit, and his Buſineſs ſhould be the ſooner done, that he ſhould withdraw to the Iſle of *Wight*. If this were ſo, *Aſhburnham*, it is probable, thinking himſelf

Vol. V. P. 79, &c.

more

1647. more able than the King, had a Mind to ſerve him, whether he would or no, and to avoid being forced to anſwer all Objections the King might make, believed he ſhould do him a Kindneſs in concealing the Secret from him, and putting him under an abſolute Neceſſity to take a Courſe, which in his Opinion, was not convenient. In ſuch a Caſe, if it be not Treachery, it is at leaſt the greateſt Preſumption and Raſhneſs a private Subject can be guilty of to his Prince. It is not eaſy to gueſs the Reaſons that could induce *Aſhburnham* to imagine the King would be ſafe in the Iſle of *Wight*. It is to be preſumed he was deceived himſelf, and his Eaſineſs abuſed, to cauſe him to give Credit to general Promiſes, which ſignified nothing, and whereof he durſt not complain afterwards. Suppoſing there were no Treachery in what he did, it was probably his Eaſineſs to be impoſed upon, that helped him afterwards to a very favourable and much lower than uſual Compoſition, which greatly contributed to increaſe the Suſpicions already conceived againſt him.

The King's Letter to both Houſes left upon his Table. Ruſh. VII. p. 871.

The Parliament was informed of the King's Eſcape by a Letter from *Cromwell*, who gave the firſt Notice of it, but without ſaying where the King was, though in all Appearance he knew very well. He ſent likewiſe a Letter which the King had left upon the Table in his Room, directed to both Houſes. He ſaid in this Letter,

" That Liberty being in all Times the Aim and " Deſire of all Men, he had endeavoured to obtain " his. He called God to Witneſs, with what Pati- " ence he had endured a tedious Reſtraint, among " Men who changed their Principles with their Con- " dition, who were not aſhamed openly to intend the " Deſtruction of the Nobility, by taking away their " *Negative Voice*, and with whom the *Levellers* Doc- " trine was rather countenanced than puniſhed. That " he thought he was bound, as well by Natural as " Political Obligations, to ſeek his Safety, by retir-

" ing,

" ing himſelf for ſome Time from the publick View, 1647.
" both of his Friends and Enemies: But ſhould ear-
" neſtly and unceſſantly endeavour the ſettling of a
" ſafe and well-grounded Peace where-ever he was.
" Finally, he deſired to be heard with Freedom,
" Honour, and Safety, and then he would inſtantly
" break through his Cloud of Retirment, and ſhew
" himſelf ready to be *Pater Patriæ*."

The Parliament cauſe ſearch to be made for the King in London.

The Parliament believed at firſt that the King was come to conceal himſelf in *London*, till he ſhould find an Opportunity to go out of the Kingdom. They even gave Orders to ſearch after and ſtop his Perſon. But this Uncertainty did not laſt long. On the 15th of *November*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, received a Letter from Colonel *Hammond*, informing him, that the King, from an Apprehenſion of his Life being in Danger at *Hampton-Court*, was come into the Iſle of *Wight* to put himſelf under his Protection.

Who the Levellers were.

The King, as we have juſt ſeen, ſpeaks in his Letter of the Principles of the *Levellers*, which I think incumbent upon me to explain. There had been for ſome Time a new Faction ſprung up in the Army called *Levellers*, that is to ſay, Men who declared, " that all Degrees of Perſons ſhould be levelled, and " an equality eſtabliſhed both in Titles and Eſtates, " throughout the Kingdoms." This was a Whim much like that of *Wat Tyler*'s Followers in the Reign of *Richard* II. This Faction was grown ſo ſtrong, that they began to make the General Officers, and particularly *Cromwell* very uneaſy, who was afraid that this new Party would overturn all his Projects if they were ſuffered to increaſe any more, though in all Appearance, this Spirit was raiſed by himſelf. They conſiſted of private Soldiers and *Agitators*, of whom I have already ſpoken. During the Conteſts between the Army and Parliament, the General Officers had put no Reſtraint upon theſe Men. They had allowed them to form a ſeparate Council, by means of

theſe

1647. their *Agitators*, and the Opinions of this ſame Council were received as being thoſe of the Army, becauſe they were agreeable to the Sentiments of the General Officers. But as ſoon as the Parliament was ſubdued, the General Officers believed it proper to ſuppreſs theſe Councils, and ſend away the *Agitators* to their reſpective Regiments. This was more eaſily injoined than executed. The Soldiers refuſed to obey, and continued their Aſſemblies and Conferences, in ſpite of their Officers, and the General's Orders. It is this probably that acquired them the Name of *Levellers*, becauſe they pretended to have as much Right as the Officers and Generals to ſettle the Government; a Principle tending to level all Ranks and Degrees of Men, and conſequently to breed horrible Confuſion in the Kingdom. The Aſſemblies of the *Levellers* produced ſundry Petitions; in the firſt Place, from the *Agitators* of four Regiments of Horſe, and of ſeven Regiments of Foot joining with them, wherein they made Propoſals for ſettling the Government according to their Humour, inſomuch that the General Officers were under no ſmall Concern. They were afraid the Army would divide, at a Time when their whole Strength depended upon their Union. For this Reaſon they at firſt bore in ſome Meaſure with the *Levellers*; but by that they only increaſed the Evil. At laſt, the Inſolence of theſe Men being grown to a monſtrous Height, *Cromwell* undertook with the hazard of his Life, to free the Army and Parliament from them. To that End, having notice that the *Levellers* were to meet at a certain Place, he came thither unexpectedly, attended with a choſen Guard, and asking ſome Queſtions of thoſe whom he obſerved moſt active, and receiving inſolent Anſwers, knocked down two or three with his own Hand, and briskly charging the reſt, diſperſed them ſo, that he took ſuch a Number of them as he thought fit, whereof he cauſed ſome to be hanged on the Spot, and ſent others to *London*. By two or three ſuch notable Encounters, he totally ſubdued that Party, which

Cromwell *diſperſes them.*

which began to grow very dangerous, and reduced the Army to entire Obedience. But this was not yet done, when the King made his Eſcape from *Hampton-Court*, and therefore he mentions the *Levellers* in his Letter, as a Party then in Being *. 1647.

When the King writ this Letter to both Houſes, he hoped to be quickly out of the Power of the Army and Parliament, and aſſuredly he expected no Anſwers, ſince his Intent was to keep himſelf concealed. Beſides this Letter required no Anſwer, as he did nothing more than expreſs his Deſire of Peace. But finding himſelf ſtill, contrary to his Expectation, in the Hands of the Army and Parliament, he conceived his Eſcape from *Hampton-Court* might be prejudicial to him, and that it would be inferred from thence, that he had endeavoured to hide himſelf only in order to avoid giving an Anſwer to the Propoſitions for Peace the Parliament had prepared. For this Reaſon, he reſolved to ſend the following Meſſage to both Houſes:

Charles Rex,

The King's Letter to both Houſes. Ruſh. VII. p. 880.

"HIS Majeſty is Confident, that before this "Time, his two Houſes of Parliament, have "received the Meſſage which he left behind him at "*Hampton-Court*, the eleventh of this Month, by "which they will have underſtood the Reaſons which "enforced him to go from thence; as likewiſe his "conſtant Endeavours for the ſettling of a ſafe and "well-grounded Peace, whereſoever he ſhould be; "and being now in a Place where he conceives him-"ſelf to be at much more Freedom and Security "than formerly, he thinks it neceſſary, not only for "making good of his own Profeſſions, but alſo for "the ſpeedy procuring of a Peace in theſe languiſh-"ing

a Though *Cromwell* totally ſubdued that Spirit in the Army, yet the Lord *Clarendon* ſays, it continued and increaſed very much in the Kingdom. Vol. III. p. 88.

1647. "ing and diſtreſſed Kingdoms, at this Time to offer "ſuch Grounds to his two Houſes for that Effect, "which upon due Examination of all Intereſts, may "beſt conduce thereunto.

The King's Offers and Propoſals.

"And becauſe Religion is the beſt and chiefeſt "Foundation of Peace his Majeſty will begin with "that particular.

"That for the aboliſhing Archbiſhops, Biſhops, "*&c.* his Majeſty clearly profeſſeth that he cannot "give his Conſent thereunto, both in Relation as he "is a Chriſtian, and a King; for the firſt he avows, "that he is ſatisfied in his Judgment, that this Or-"der was placed in the Church by the Apoſtles "themſelves, and ever ſince their Time hath conti-"nued in all Chriſtian Churches throughout the "World, untill this laſt Century of Years; and in "this Church in all Times of Change and Reforma-"tion it hath been upheld by the Wiſdom of his "Anceſtors, as the great Preſerver of Doctrine, "Diſcipline, and Order in the Service of God. As "a King at his Coronation, he hath not only taken "a ſolemn Oath to maintain this Order, but his Ma-"jeſty and his Predeceſſors in their Confirmations of "the *great Charter*, have inſeparably woven the Right "of the Church into the Liberty of the Subjects; "and yet he is willing it be provided, that the par-"ticular Biſhops perform their ſeveral Duties of their "Callings, both by their Perſonal Reſidence, and "frequent Preaching in their perſonal Exerciſe, no "Act of Juriſdiction or Ordination, without the "Conſent of their Presbyters, and will conſent, that "their Powers in all Things be ſo limitted, that they "be not grievous to the tender Conſciences of others. "He ſees no Reaſon why he alone, and thoſe of "his Judgment ſhould be preſſed to a Violation of "theirs: Nor can his Majeſty Conſent to an Aliena-"tion of Church-Lands; becauſe it cannot be deni-"ed to be a Sin of the higheſt Sacrilege; as alſo "that it ſubverts the Intentions of ſo many pious "Donors, who have laid a heavy Curſe upon all "ſuch

" ſuch prophane Violations, which his Majeſty is ve- 1647.
" ry unwilling to undergo: And beſides the Matter
" of Conſequence, his Majeſty believes it to be a Pre-
" judice of the publick Good, many of his Subjects
" having the Benefit of renewing Leaſes, at much
" eaſier Rates than if thoſe Poſſeſſions were in the
" Hands of private Men, not omitting the Diſcou-
" ragement it will be to all Learning and Induſtry,
" when ſuch eminent Rewards ſhall be taken away;
" which now lye open to the Children of the mean-
" eſt Perſons. Yet his Majeſty conſidering the great
" preſent Diſtempers concerning Church-Diſcipline,
" and that the Presbyterian-Government is now in
" Practice, his Majeſty, to eſchew Confuſion as
" much as may be, and for the Satisfaction of his
" two Houſes, is content that the ſaid Government
" be legally permitted to ſtand in the ſame Condition
" it now is for three Years; provided his Majeſty
" and thoſe of his Judgment, or any other who can-
" not in Conſcience ſubmit thereunto, he not obliged
" to comply with the Presbyterial-Government, but
" have free Practice of our own Profeſſion, without
" receiving any Prejudice thereby; and that free
" Conſultation and Debate be had with the Divines
" of *Weſtminſter*, Twenty of his Majeſty's Nomina-
" tion being added unto them; whereby it may be
" determined by his Majeſty and the two Houſes how
" the Church-Government after the ſaid Time ſhall
" be ſettled, or ſooner, if Differences may be agreed,
" as is moſt agreeable to the Word of God, with
" full Liberty to all thoſe who ſhall differ upon Con-
" ſcientious Grounds from that Settlement; always
" provided, that nothing aforeſaid be underſtood to
" tolerate thoſe of the *Popiſh*-Profeſſion, nor exempt-
" ing any *Popiſh-Recuſants* from the Penalties of the
" Laws; or to tolerate the publick Profeſſion of *A-*
" *theſim* or Blaſphemy, contrary to the Doctrine of
" the Apoſtles, *Nicene* and *Athanaſian Creed*, they
" having been received by, and had in Reverence of
" all

1647. "all the Christian Churches, and more particularly
"by this of *England*, ever since the Reformation.

"Next the *Militia*, being that Right which is in-
"separably and undoubtedly inherent to the Crown
"by the Laws of this Nation, and that which for-
"mer Parliaments, as likewise this, have acknow-
"ledged so to be, his Majesty cannot so much wrong
"that Trust, which the Laws of God and this Land
"hath annexed to the Crown, for the Protection
"and Security of his People, as to divest himself
"and Successors of the Power of the Sword; yet to
"give an infallible Evidence of his Desire to secure
"the Performance of such Agreements as shall be
"made in order to a Peace, his Majesty will consent
"to an Act of Parliament, that the whole Power of
"the *Militia* both by Sea and Land, for and during
"*his whole Reign*, shall be ordered and disposed by
"the two Houses of Parliament, or by such Persons
"as they shall appoint, with Powers limited for
"suppressing of Forces within this Kingdom, to
"the disturbance of the publick Peace, and against
"foreign Invasion; and that they shall have Power,
"during his said Reign, to raise Moneys for the pur-
"pose aforesaid; and that neither his Majesty that
"now is, or any other by any Authority derived
"only from him, shall execute any of the said Pow-
"ers during his Majesty's said Reign, but such as
"shall act by the Consent and Approbation of the
"two Houses of Parliament: Nevertheless his Ma-
"jesty intends, that all Patents, Commissions, and
"other Acts concerning the *Militia*, be made and
"acted as formerly; and that after his Majesty's
"Reign, all the Power of the *Militia* shall return
"intirely to the Crown, as was in the Times of
"Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* of blessed Me-
"mory.

"After this Head of the *Militia*, the Consideration
"on of the Arrears due to the Army is not impro-
"per to follow; for the Payment whereof, and the
"Ease of his People, his Majesty is willing to con-

"cur

" cur in any Thing that can be done without the Vi- 1647.
" olation of his Conſcience and Honour.

" Wherefore if his two Houſes ſhall conſent to
" remit unto him ſuch Benefit out of Sequeſtrations
" from *Michaelmas* laſt, and out of Compoſitions that
" ſhall be made before the concluding of the Peace,
" and the Arrears of ſuch as have been already made,
" the Aſſiſtance of the Clergy, and the Arrears of
" ſuch Rents of his own Revenue as his two Houſes
" ſhall not have received before the concluding of
" the Peace, his Majeſty will undertake within the
" ſpace of eighteen Months, the Payment of four
" Hundred Thouſand Pounds for the Satisfaction of
" the Army; and if thoſe Means ſhall not be ſuffi-
" cient, his Majeſty intends to give way for the Sale
" of Foreſt Lands for that Purpoſe.

" This being the publick Debt, which in his Ma-
" jeſty's Judgement is firſt to be ſatisfied: And for
" other publick Debts already contracted upon
" Church-Lands, or any other Engagements, his
" Majeſty will give his Conſent to ſuch Act or Acts
" for raiſing of Moneys for Payment thereof, as
" both Houſes hereafter ſhall agree upon, ſo as they
" be equally laid; whereby his People, already too
" heavily burthened by theſe late Diſtempers, may
" have no more Preſſures upon them than this abſolute
" Neceſſity requires.

" And for the further ſecuring all Fears, his Ma-
" jeſty will conſent, that an Act of Parliament be
" paſſed for the diſpoſing of the great Offices of
" State, and naming of Privy-Counſellors for the
" whole Term of his Reign, by the two Houſes of
" Parliament, their Patents and Commiſſions being
" taken from his Majeſty, and after to return to the
" Crown, as is expreſſed in the Articles of the *Mi-*
" *litia*. For the Court of *Wards* and *Liveries*, his
" Majeſty very well knows the Conſequence of tak-
" ing that way, by turning of all *Tenures* into *common*
" *Socage*, as well in point of Revenue to the Crown,
" as in the Protection of many of his Subjects, be-

1647. " ing Infants: Nevertheleſs if the Continuance there-
" of ſeem grievous to his Subjects, rather than he
" will fail on his part in giving Satisfaction, he will
" conſent to an Act for taking it away, ſo as a full
" Recompence be ſettled upon his Majeſty and his
" Succeſſors in Perpetuity; and that the Arrears
" now due be reſerved unto him towards the Pay-
" ment of the Arrears of the Army.

" And that the Memory of theſe late Diſtractions
" may be wholly wiped away, his Majeſty will con-
" ſent to an Act of Parliament for the ſuppreſſing
" and making null of all Oaths, Declarations, and
" Proclamations againſt both or either Houſe of
" Parliament, and of all Indictments and other Pro-
" ceedings againſt any Perſons for adhering unto
" them. And his Majeſty propoſeth, as the beſt
" Expedient to take away all Seeds of future Diffe-
" rence, that there be an Act of Oblivion to extend
" to all his Subjects.

" As for *Ireland*, the Ceſſation therein is long
" ſince determined; but for the future, and all o-
" ther Things being fully agreed, his Majeſty will
" give full Satisfaction to his Houſes concerning that
" Kingdom.

" And although his Majeſty cannot conſent in
" Honour and Juſtice to void all his own Grants
" and Acts paſſed under his Great Seal ſince the 22d
" of *May* 1642, or to the confirming of all the
" Grants and Acts paſſed under that made by the
" two Houſes, yet his Majeſty is confident, that up-
" on the Peruſal of Particulars, he ſhall give Satis-
" faction to his two Houſes to what may be reaſon-
" ably deſired in that particular.

" And now his Majeſty conceives, that by theſe
" his Offers, which he is now ready to make good
" upon the Settlement of a Peace, he hath clearly
" manifeſted his Intentions to give full Security and
" Satisfaction to all Intereſts, for what can be juſtly
" deſired in order to the future Happineſs of his
" People, and for the perfecting theſe Conceſſions,

" as alſo for ſuch other Things as may be propoſed 1647.
" by the two Houſes; and for ſuch juſt and reaſon-
" able Demands as his Majeſty ſhall find neceſſary
" to propoſe on his Part, he earneſtly deſires a Per-
" ſonal Treaty at *London* with his two Houſes, in
" Honour, Freedom, and Safety; it being in his
" Judgment, the moſt proper, and indeed only
" means to a firm and ſettled Peace, and impoſſible
" without it to reconcile former, or avoid future
" Miſunderſtandings.

" All theſe being by Treaty perfected, his Ma-
" jeſty believes his two Houſes will think it reaſon-
" able that the Propoſals of the Army concerning the
" Succeſſion of Parliaments, and their due Elections
" ſhould be taken into Conſideration.

" As for what concerns the Kingdom of *Scotland*,
" his Majeſty will very readily apply himſelf to give
" all reaſonable Satisfaction; when the Deſires of
" the two Houſes of Parliament on their behalf, or
" of the Commiſſioners of that Kingdom, or of both
" joined together, ſhall be made known unto them."

The Parliament takes no notice of them.

The Parliament took no notice at all of theſe Offers. Beſides, that they ſaw only Part of what they had before demanded, they were always upon their Guard with reſpect to the King's Propoſals, wherein it was but too uſual to find ambiguous Expreſſions, Reſtrictions and Conditions expreſſed or implied, which made it impoſſible to build ſecurely upon ſuch Foundations. We have ſeen ſeveral Inſtances of this in the King's *Papers*, ſince the beginning of his Reign; and in this here, where he carries his Offers farther than he had ever done, it was no hard Matter to perceive the ſame Method; for he was very artful, as well as the King his Father, in the choice of his Expreſſions. Nay, it ſeems that in offering to yield up the Power of the *Militia*, *during his whole Reign*, an Expreſſion often repeated in theſe his Propoſals, he had ſome hidden Intent, as to reſign the Crown to the Prince his Son. Otherwiſe, I do not

1647. ſee why he affected to ſubſtitute the Term of his Reign, inſtead of that of his Life, or of Twenty Years, as was demanded by the Parliament. At leaſt it is certain, if his Offer had been accepted, as expreſſed in his Words, he might by reſigning the Crown have put the Prince of *Wales*, by the Treaty it ſelf, in full Poſſeſſion of the *Militia*, and Nomination to the Great Offices. But this is only a Conjecture, though no improbable one. Be this as it will, it was now a good while ſince the two Houſes would not treat upon his Propoſals, but upon their own. Neither would they allow of any of his Explanations, ſo apprehenſive were they of his Subtleties which would have engaged them in Diſcuſſions where they would have always had the ſame Thing to fear. Such was the Diſtruſt the King's Character had begot, which made a Reconciliation between him and the Parliament for ever impracticable. Nevertheleſs it muſt be confeſſed, that on this Occaſion there were other Reaſons why the two Houſes took no notice of the King's Offers. The Principal was, that they were under the Dominion of the Army, or rather of the *Independents*, who did not care for Peace on any Terms.

Negotiation of the Scotch Commiſſioners with the King.

I have already ſaid, that during the King's Stay at *Hampton-Court*, the *Scotch* Commiſſioners had treated with him, and put him in hopes that the *Scots* would join with his Party, and the *Engliſh* Presbyterians, to deliver him out of the Hands of the *Independents*. But they required one Thing, which he could not be perſwaded to, and that was the Change of *Epiſcopal* Government in the Church of *England* into *Presbyterian*. This ſingle Point had ſpun out the Nogotiation, and hindered the Concluſion of the Treaty. *Cromwell* had ſome hint of it, and probably for that reaſon he made uſe of all his Cunning to manage it ſo that the King might retire to the Iſle of *Wight*, where the *Scotch* Commiſſioners could not have the ſame Acceſs to him as before.

When

When the King went from *Hampton-Court*, the Propoſals which the two Houſes were to ſend him were all ready. But the *Scotch* Commiſſioners daily ſtarted Obſtacles to their being ſent, by delaying to approve of them, on pretence that the Intereſt of *Scotland* were not ſufficiently ſpecified therein, hoping to agree with the King, before they ſhould be preſented to him. This Diſpute between the Parliament and *Scotch* Commiſſioners was ſtill on Foot, when on a ſudden, the Houſe of Lords acquainted the *Commons* at a Conference, that having more maturely conſidered the King's laſt Meſſage, they were of Opinion to admit him to a perſonal Treaty, on Condition he would give his Aſſent to four Preliminary Propoſitions to be paſſed into *Acts* before the reſt were begun to be treated upon.

1647. *Conteſt between the Parliament and* Scotch *Commiſſioners.* *The Lords propoſe a Peace with the King for his aſſenting to four* Bills. Ruſh. VII. p. 850.

1. An *Act* for ſettling the *Militia* of the Kingdom.
2. An *Act* for calling in all Declarations, Oaths, and Proclamations againſt the Parliament, and thoſe who adhered to them.
3. An *Act* that thoſe Lords who were made after the Great-Seal was carried to *Oxford*, may be made uncapable of ſitting in the Houſe of Peers thereby.
4. An *Act* for impowering the two Houſes of Parliament to adjourn as they ſhall think fit.

Three * Days after, the *Commons* gave their Conſent to theſe Propoſitions, and ordered that the four *Bills* ſhould be drawn up and diſpatched to his Majeſty, after which a perſonal Treaty with him ſhould be entered into. All this was done with ſo great Expedition, that it was not poſſible for the *Independents* to pary the Blow againſt which they were not prepared, The *Scotch* Commiſſioners, who had formed other Projects, tried in vain to hinder the Effect of this Reſolution. The Parliament wiſhed for Peace, that they might break the Meaſures of the *Indepen-*

* The next Day. *November* 28. Ruſh. Whit.

1647. *dents.* The 9th of *December* the King sent a fresh Message to both Houses, earnestly pressing again for a personal Treaty, as being the best Means for settling a Peace.

The 14th of the same Month the *Commons*, after passing the four *Bills*, and approving of the Instructions for those that were to present them, named their Commissioners to carry them to the King.

Rush. VII. p. 933. Then they answered the Complaints of the *Scotch* Commissioners, that the four *Bills* were not communicated to them. They said, it was contrary to the Rights and Privileges of Parliament to communicate *Bills* to any Person whatever, before they had received the Royal Assent, and that there was nothing contained in any Article of the Treaty between the two Kingdoms to the contrary: That they desired the *Scotch* Commissioners to prepare such Propositions as they should judge necessary for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, that the Deputies might set out the 20th.

Declaration of the Scots. Rush. VII. p. 938. On that Day the *Scotch* Commissioners presented to both Houses a large Declaration, wherein they openly complained, and in very high Language, that the Parliament of *England* violated the *Covenant*, in labouring for Peace without the Concurrence of *Scotland*. They pressed hard for a personal Treaty between the King, both Houses and themselves, that Peace might be settled with mutual Consent, and declared, that as they could not agree to the sending the four *Bills* to his Majesty for his Assent, before any Treaty upon the rest of the Propositions, so they were unsatisfied with the Matter of these new Proposals lately communicated to them; and desired that there might be a personal Treaty with the King upon such Propositions as should be agreed upon with Advice and Consent of both Kingdoms.

The Parliament is offended with it. Ibid. p. 939. This Declaration gave great Offence to both Houses. Their Reply to it was answerable in Terms to the Language used by the *Scots*, and it was ordered that the Printer who had printed the Declaration should be committed to Prison.

In

In ſhort, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, the four *Bills* were preſented to the King the 24th of *December*. The next Day, the *Scotch* Commiſſioners came to the Iſle of *Wight*, and delivered to the King a *Paper* wherein they declared, their Diſſent both to the Propoſitions they had lately ſeen, and the four *Bills* which were brought to his Majeſty. After which they had a Conference with the King ſome Hours, where ſome things paſſed that were long kept ſecret, and of which it will be neceſſary to give the Particulars, becauſe on them turned the Events ſpoken of hereafter.

1647 *The four Bills are preſented to the King.* Ibid. p. 946. *The* Scots *declare their Diſſent to them.*

After the Army had the King in their Power, the *Scots* were afraid of his joining with them. They knew they were mortally hated by the *Independents*, and that conſequently this Union could not but be very prejudicial to *Scotland*. The Army's Succeſs againſt the Parliament and City of *London* increaſed their Fears very much, and put them upon deviſing Means to prevent the impending, as they thought, Danger. They found none more proper than to enter into Union themſelves with the King, provided he could be prevailed with to approve of the *Covenant*, and aboliſh *Epiſcopacy* in *England*. In their frequent Conferences with him at *Hampton-Court*, they hinted to him, that when he was delivered up to the Parliament, it was not with the Advice of all *Scotland*, but only by the Marqueſs of *Argyle*'s Credit who tyrannized over the Kingdom: That all the *Scots* were diſpleaſed with his having been given up to the Parliament, and were ready to atone for that Fault, by aſſiſting him with all their Power to recover his juſt Rights. But they added, that in order to engage the *Scots* to employ their Forces to this End, his Majeſty muſt give them Satisfaction touching the *Covenant*, and the Abolition of Epiſcopacy in *England*, for otherwiſe he could not expect the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh Presbyterians*, which was abſolutely neceſſary. In a word, they made him hope that the *Scots* would enter *England* with a ſtrong Army, which being joined

1647. by the King's Party and *English Presbyterians*, would become so superiour to the Army of the *Independents*, that he might almost depend upon it, nothing would be able to oppose his Restoration.

These Overtures were the more pleasing to the King, as the Duke of *Hamilton*, after his being freed from Imprisonment by the Army, had declared to the King's Friends that he was ready to do his Majesty all the Service that lay in his Power. On the other Hand, the Marques of *Ormond* had informed the King of his Project to return into *Ireland*, join with the Lord *Inchiquin* whom he had privately gained, and with some of the Heads of the Rebels, and make War upon the Parliament, affirming that *France* had promised to supply him with all Necessaries. It was very probable that the Union between the King's Party, the *English Presbyterians* and the *Scots*, added to the Diversion which would be made in *Ireland*, would very much perplex the *Independents* and disable them to withstand so great a Force. But to execute this Project, the King must approve of the *Covenant*, and consent to the Abolition of *Episcopacy*, which he could never bring himself to. These were the two Stumbling-blocks which hindered him from concluding a Treaty with the *Scotch* Commissioners before his Flight from *Hampton-Court*. He would never yield in these two Points, and in Expectation that by his Steddiness he should induce the *Scots* in the End to depart from their Desires, quitted *Hampton-Court*, before he had concluded any thing with them. When therefore he so earnestly pressed for a personal Treaty at *London*, with Honour, Freedom and Safety, it was in order to have the better Opportunity to treat with the *Scotch* Commissioners, and consult with his Friends, what might be expected as well from his own as the *Presbyterian*-Party; and no doubt, in case he concluded a Treaty with them, his Design was to spin out the Negotiation with the two Houses till the *Scotch* Army had entered *England*, and his old and

new

new Friends laid all their Meaſures *. It was very likely that this League would find the Army ſo much work, that they would not be in Condition to ſubdue a ſecond time the Parliament and City of *London*. This was alſo the End the *Scotch* Commiſſioners propoſed to themſelves in their Objections to the Propoſitions and Deſire of a perſonal Treaty with the King, upon ſuch Propoſals as ſhould be agreed upon by both Kingdoms, being well aſſured it would be eaſy for them to prolong the Time till every thing ſhould be ready. 1647.

The Method the two Houſes took to cauſe the King to paſs the four *Bills*, amongſt which was that of the *Militia*, before they admitted him to a perſonal Treaty, convinced him that they had no Deſign to give way in any of the principal Articles. He conſidered, that after paſſing theſe four *Bills*, he ſhould ſtill be forced to treat on Propoſitions much the ſame with thoſe preſented to him at *Newcaſtle*: That after all, what both Houſes called treating, was, according to their Notion, conſenting to their Demands, and that upon the leaſt Refuſal to grant what ſhould be tendered to him, he ſhould be perhaps more cloſely confined, after having given his Aſſent to one of the moſt important Points in Diſpute: That then he ſhould have no farther Opportunity to treat with the *Scots*, and by paſſing the four *Bills* ſhould loſe the preſent one, which would never offer again. Theſe Conſiderations determined him to agree with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, at a ſecond Conference with them on the 25th of *December*. As there was no time to loſe, the Parliament's-Commiſſioners having Orders to ſtay but four Days in the Iſle of *Wight*, the *Scotch*

* This Conjecture is confirmed by his Majeſty's Letter to the Earl of *Lanerick* dated at *Carisbrook*, *November* 19. 1647, wherein he ſays, "That his Meſſage from thence to both Houſes will he "believes have divers Interpretations, and be diſliked by the *Scotch* "Commiſſioners, but the End of it was to procure a perſonal "Treaty. This he thought neceſſary to tell him, that he might "aſſure his Fellow Commiſſioners, that Change of Place had not "altered his Mind, from what it was when he ſaw him laſt". *Mem. of Duke of* Hamilton, p. 325.

1647. *Scotch* Commissioners had brought with them a Treaty ready drawn up, agreeable to the Propositions they had offered to the King at *Hampton-Court*. This Treaty was signed by the King and the *Scotch* Commissioners the next Day, *December* the 20th, the King having had but few Hours to resolve. Here follows the Substance of the Treaty, which the Lord *Clarendon* says very few Men have ever read, and which he represents as the most unjust Treaty that could be imposed upon the King. This obliges me to make Remarks on some of the Articles.

The Substance of the Treaty. Clarend V. p. 103.

" IN the Preface the King acknowledged, that the " Intentions of those who had entered into the " *Covenant*, were real for the Preservation of his " Majesty's Person and Authority, according to " their Allegiance, and no ways to diminish his " just Power and Greatness. He promised, as soon " as he could, with Freedom, Honour and Safety, " to be present in a free Parliament, to confirm the " said *League* and *Covenant* by Act of Parliament in " both Kingdoms, for the Security of all who had " taken or should take it". With this Proviso however, " That none who was unwilling should be " constrained to take it (1). His Majesty engaged to " confirm by Act of Parliament in *England*, *Presbyte-* " *rian* Government; the *Directory* for Worship;

REMARK (1). *If it is considered that the* Scots *joined their Forces with those of* England *only in Defence of this* Covenant, *which has been solemnly sworn to in both Kingdoms, it will not be thought strange that the* Scotch *Commissioners should require this Promise of the King. Without this, there would have been no possibility to engage the* Scots *to employ their Forces to restore the King to his Rights, and how hard soever this Condition might appear to him, it was absolutely necessary to produce the Effect which he expected from his Union with* Scotland.

" and

" and the Aſſembly of *Divines* at *Weſtminſter* for 1647.
" three Years; ſo that his Majeſty and his Houſehold
" ſhould not be hindered from uſing that Form of
" Divine Service he had formerly practiſed (2): And
" that during theſe Three Years there ſhould be a
" Conſultation with the Aſſembly of *Divines*, to
" which Twenty of the King's Nomination ſhould
" be added, and ſome from the Church of *Scotland*;
" and thereupon it ſhould be determined by his Ma-
" jeſty, and the two Houſes of Parliament, what
" Form of Government ſhould be eſtabliſhed after
" the Expiration of thoſe Years as ſhould be moſt
" agreeable to the Word of God: That an effectual
" Courſe may be taken by Act of Parliament, and
" all other ways needful or expedient, for the ſup-
" preſſing the Opinions and Practices of *Anti-Trini-*
" *tarians*, *Arians*, *Socinians*, *Anti-Scripturiſts*, *Ana-*
" *baptiſts*, *Antinomians*, *Arminians*, *Famyliſts*, *Brown-*
" *iſts*, *Separatiſts*, *Independents*, *Libertines*, and *Seek-*
" *ers*, and generally, for the ſuppreſſing of all Blaſ-
" phemy, Hereſy, Schiſm, and all ſuch ſcandalous
" Doctrines and Practices as are contrary to the
" Light of Nature, and to the Principles of Chri-
" ſtianity, whether concerning Faith, Worſhip or
" Converſation, or the Power of Godlineſs, or which

REM. (2). *The* Scotch *Commiſſioners were not ſuch Fools as to imagine that the* Scots *with their Forces alone ſhould be able to reſtore the King. They depended chiefly upon the Aid of the* Engliſh Presbyterians. *But how was it poſſible for them to rely upon their Aid, if nothing were ſtipulated for them? Nay, it is aſtoniſhing they ſhould be ſatisfied with an Eſtabliſhment which was to laſt but Three Years, conſidering how they themſelves and the* Engliſh Presbyterians, *whoſe Aſſiſtance was abſolutely neceſſary, ſtood affected. The King himſelf did not think, doubtleſs, any Force was put upon him as to this Point, ſince he had offered the very ſame thing to both Houſes, in his Meſſage of the* 10*th of* December.

" may

1647. " may be deſtructive to Order and Government, " or to the Peace of the Church and Kingdom (3). " The King promiſed, that in the next Seſſion of " Parliament, after the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhould " declare for his Majeſty, in purſuance of this Agree- " ment, he ſhould in Perſon, or by Commiſſion, " confirm the *League* and *Covenant* in that Kingdom ; " and concerning all the Acts paſſed in the laſt Par- " liament of that Kingdom, his Majeſty declared, " That he ſhould then likewiſe be content to give " Aſſurance by Act of Parliament, that neither he " nor his Succeſſors ſhould quarrel, call in queſtion, " or command the contrary of them, nor queſtion " any for giving Obedience to the ſame."

After theſe Articles concerning Religion, there was a long Recital of " the Agreement the Parliament " of *England* had made, when the *Scots* Army re- " turned to *Scotland*, that the Army under *Fairfax* " ſhould be disbanded ; and of that Army's ſub- " mitting thereunto ; of their taking the King from " *Holmby*, and keeping him Priſoner till he fled " from them to the Iſle of *Wight* ; and ſince that " time both his Majeſty, and the Commiſſioners for " the Kingdom of *Scotland*, had very earneſtly deſi- " red that the King might come to *London* in Safety, " Honour and Freedom, for a perſonal Treaty with " the two Houſes, and the Commiſſioners of the " Parliament of *Scotland*, which, they ſaid, had " been granted, but that the Army had, in violent " manner, forced away divers Members of the Par- " liament from the Diſcharge of their Truſt, and

REM. (3). *All theſe* Sects *mentioned in this Article were no leſs Enemies to the* Presbyterians *than to the* Church *of* England.

Theſe Three laſt Articles being exactly what the King had offered in his Meſſage of the 16*th of* November, *it cannot be ſaid that he granted them through Surprize or Force.*

" poſſeſſed

" poſſeſſed themſelves of the City of *London*, and all 1647.
" the Strengths and Garriſons of the Kingdom: And
" that by the Strength and Influence of that Army,
" and their Adherents, *Propoſitions* and *Bills* had been
" ſent to the King without the Advice and Conſent
" of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, contrary to the
" Treaties which are between the two Kingdoms,
" and diſtructive to Religion, his Majeſty's Rights,
" the Privilege of Parliament, and Liberty of the
" Subject, from which *Propoſitions* and *Bills* the
" *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners had diſſented, and proteſted
" againſt, in the Name of the Kingdom of *Scot-*
" *land.*"

After this Preamble and Recital, they ſaid, " That
" foraſmuch as his Majeſty is willing to give Satiſ-
" faction concerning the ſettling of Religion, and
" other Matters in Difference, as is expreſſed in this
" Agreement, the Kingdom of *Scotland* doth oblige
" and engage itſelf, firſt, in a peaceable Way and
" Manner to endeavour that the King may come to
" *London* in Safety, Honour and Freedom, for a
" perſonal Treaty with the Houſes of Parliament
" and the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, upon ſuch
" Propoſitions as ſhould be mutually agreed on be-
" tween the two Kingdoms, and ſuch Propoſitions as
" his Majeſty ſhould think fit to make; and for this
" End all Armies ſhould be disbanded; and in caſe
" that this ſhould not be granted, that Declarations
" ſhould be emitted by the Kingdom of *Scotland* in
" purſuance of this Agreement, againſt the unjuſt
" Proceedings of the two Houſes of Parliament to-
" wards his Majeſty and the Kingdom of *Scotland*;
" in which they would aſſert the Right that belonged
" to the Crown in the Power of the Militia, the
" Great-Seal, beſtowing of Honours and Offices
" of Truſt, Choice of the Privy-Counſellors, and
" the Right of the King's *Negative Voice* in Parlia-
" ment: And that the Queen's Majeſty, the Prince,
" and the reſt of the Royal Iſſue, ought to remain
" where

1647. "where his Majeſty ſhall think fit in either of his "Kingdoms, with Safety, Honour and Freedom: "That upon the iſſuing out of this Declaration, an "Army ſhould be ſent out of *Scotland* into *England*, "for the Preſervation and Eſtabliſhment of Reli- "gion, for Defence of his Majeſty's Perſon and "Authority, and reſtoring him to his Government, "to the juſt Rights of the Crown, and his full Re- "venues; for the Defence of the Privilege of Par- "liament, and Liberty of the Subject; for making "a firm Union between the Kingdoms under his Ma- "jeſty and his Poſterity, and ſettling a laſting Peace. "In purſuance whereof, the Kingdom of *Scotland* "was to endeavour that there might be a free and "full Parliament in *England*, and that his Majeſty "may be with them in Honour, Safety and Free- "dom; and that a ſpeedy Period be ſet to the pre- "ſent Parliament. And they undertook, that the "Army which they would raiſe, ſhould be upon its "March, before the Meſſage and Declaration ſhould "be delivered to the Houſes." It was farther agreed on, "That all ſuch in the Kingdoms of *England* and "*Ireland*, as would join with the Kingdom of *Scot-* "*land* in purſuance of this Agreement, ſhould be "protected by his Majeſty in their Perſons and "Eſtates; and that all his Subjects in *England* or "*Ireland* who would join with him, in purſuance of "this Agreement, might come to the *Scottiſh* Army "in *England* or *Wales*, for Proſecution of the ſame "Ends, as the King's Majeſty ſhould judge moſt "convenient, and ſuch Commanders or Generals of "the *Engliſh* Nation as his Majeſty ſhould think fit: "And that all ſuch ſhould be protected by the "Kingdom of *Scotland* and their Army, in their "Perſons and Eſtates, and where any Injury or "Wrong is done unto them, they would be careful "to ſee them fully repaired as far as it ſhould be "in their Power to do; and likewiſe when any In- "jury or Wrong is done to thoſe who join with the

"Kingdom

" Kingdom of *Scotland*, his Majeſty ſhould be care- 1647.
" full of their full Reparation (4)."

They obliged his Majeſty to promiſe, " That nei-
" ther himſelf, nor any by his Authority or Know-
" ledge, ſhould make or admit any Ceſſation, Paci-
" fication, or Agreement whatſoever for Peace, nor
" of any Treaty, Propoſitions, Bills, or any other
" ways for that end, with the Houſes of Parliament,
" or any Army or Party in *England* or *Ireland*, with-
" out the Advice and Conſent of the Kingdom of
" *Scotland*; and reciprocally, that neither the King-
" dom of *Scotland*, nor any having their Authority,
" ſhould make or admit of any of theſe any manner
" of way, with any whatſoever without his Majeſty's
" Advice or Conſent: And that upon the Settlement
" of a Peace, there ſhould be an Act of Oblivion to
" be agreed upon by his Majeſty, and both his Par-
" liaments of both his Kingdoms: That his Majeſty,
" the Prince, or both, ſhould come into *Scotland* upon
" the Invitation of that Kingdom, and their Declara-
" tion, that they ſhould be in Honour, Freedom,
" and Safety, when poſſibly they could come with
" Safety and Convenience; and that the King ſhould
" contribute his utmoſt Endeavour, both at home
" and abroad, for aſſiſting the Kingdom of *Scotland*
" for carrying on this War both by Sea and Land,
" and for their Supplies by Moneys, Arms, Ammu-
" nition, and all other Things requiſite, as alſo for
" guarding the Coaſts of *Scotland* with Ships, and
" protecting all their Merchants in the free Exerciſe
" of their Trade and Commerce with other Nations:
" And likewiſe that his Majeſty was willing, and did
" authorize

REM. (4). *When a Man conſiders the five laſt Articles, he plainly ſees what great Advantages the King received by his condeſcending to eſtabliſh* Presbyterianiſm *in* England *for three Years. But ſome Men's Prejudice againſt* Presbyterianiſm, *makes them think the King payed very dear for the Advantages he expected to reap from his Union with* Scotland.

1647. " authorize the *Scottiſh* Army to poſſeſs themſelves of " *Berwick*, *Carliſle*, *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, with the " Caſtle of *Tinmouth*, and the Town of *Hartlepool* : " Thoſe Places to be their Retreat, and Magazines ; " and that, when the Peace of the Kingdom ſhould " be ſettled, the Kingdom of *Scotland*, ſhould re- " move all their Forces, and deliver back again " thoſe Town and Caſtles."

The King promiſed alſo and undertook to pay the Remainder of the *Brotherly Aſſiſtance*, which was yet unpaid, and likewiſe two Hundred Thouſand Pounds, which remained ſtill due upon the laſt Treaty for Return of the *Scottiſh* Army, when they had delivered up the King (5) ; and alſo " That payment ſhould " be made to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, for the " Charge and Expence of their Army in this future " War, with due Recompence for the Loſſes they " ſhould ſuſtain therein ; and that due Satisfaction, " according to the Treaty on that behalf betwixt " the two Kingdoms, ſhould be made to the *Scottiſh* " Army in *Ireland*, out of the Lands of this King- " dom, or otherwiſe : And that the King, accord- " ing to the Intention of his Father, ſhould endea- " vour a compleat Union of the two King- " doms, ſo as they may be one under his Majeſty, " and all his Poſterity ; or if that cannot ſpeedily " be effected, that all Liberties and Privileges con- " cerning Commerce, Traffick, Manufactures pe- " culiar

REM. (5). *If the four Hundred Thouſand Pounds promiſed to the* Scottiſh *Army when they quitted* England, *be conſidered as the Price of the Sale of the King's Perſon, nothing could be harder than to oblige the King to the Payment of that Sum. But if it was really due to the* Scots *for their Arrears, the King approving of the* Covenant of both Kingdoms, *by the firſt Article of this Treaty, the* Scots *could urge that he was bound to ſee them paid the Expence they had been at in maintaining the ſaid* Covenant.

" culiar to the Subjects of either Nation, ſhould 1647.
" be common to the Subjects of both Kingdoms
" without Diſtinction; and that there be a Commu-
" nication and mutual Capacity of all other Liberties
" of the Subjects in the two Kingdoms (6): That a
" competent Number of Ships ſhould be yearly aſ-
" ſigned, and appointed out of his Majeſty's Navy,
" which ſhould attend the Coaſts of *Scotland* for a
" Guard and Freedom of Trade of that Nation;
" and that his Majeſty ſhould declare, that his Suc-
" ceſſors, as well as himſelf, are obliged to the Per-
" formance of the Articles and Condition of this A-
" greement; but that his Majeſty ſhall not be oblig-
" ed to the Performance of the aforeſaid Articles,
" untill the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhall declare for
" him in purſuance of this Agreement; and that the
" whole Articles and Conditions aforeſaid ſhall be
" finiſhed, perfected, and performed, before the Re-
" turn of the *Scottiſh* Army; and that when they re-
" turn into *Scotland*, at the ſame Time, *Simul & ſe-*
" *mel*, all Armies ſhould be disbanded in *England*."
The King engaged himſelf alſo " to employ thoſe of
" the *Scottiſh* Nation equally with the *Engliſh* in all
" foreign Employments and Negotiations; and that
" a third part of all the Offices and Places about the
" King, Queen, and Prince, ſhould be conferred
" upon Perſons of that Nation; and that the King
" and Prince, or one of them, will frequently reſide
" in *Scotland*, that the Subjects of that Kingdom may
" be known to them."

REM. (6). *If the King could not, by his own Authority unite the two Kingdoms, without the Concurrence of the two Parliaments, neither could he, without the ſame Concurrence, make the Privileges of both Kingdoms common. So probably, this Article was put into the Treaty only to caſt a Miſt before the Eyes of the People of* Scotland.

1647.

The King's Conſent by this Treaty to the eſtabliſhing of the *Presbyterian*-Government in *England* for three Years, lying heavy upon his Mind, he prevailed with the Commiſſioners, that it ſhould be inſerted under the ſame Treaty, "That his Majeſty did declare, that by "the Clauſe of confirming *Presbyterian*-Government "by Act of Parliament, he is neither obliged to deſire "the ſettling *Presbyterian*-Government, nor to preſent "any *Bills* to that effect; and that he likewiſe un-"derſtands that no Perſon whatſoever ſhall ſuffer in "his Eſtate, nor undergo any corporal Puniſhment, "for not ſubmitting to *Presbyterian*-Government; "his Majeſty underſtanding that this Indemnity "ſhould not extend to thoſe who are mentioned in "the Articles againſt Toleration."

To this the *Scotch* Commiſſioners ſubſcribed their Hands, "as Witneſſes only, as they ſaid, and not as "Aſſentors."

The Lord *Clarendon* in his Hiſtory of the Civil Wars in *England* bitterly exclaims againſt the Injuſtice of this Treaty, in the following Words:

No Man who reads this Treaty (which very few Men have ever done) can wonder that ſuch an Engagement met with the fate that attended it; which contained ſo many monſtrous Conceſſions, that except the whole Kingdom of England *had been likewiſe impriſoned in* Carrisbrook-*Caſtle with the King, it could not be imagined that it was poſſible to be performed.*

I own how great ſo ever my Eſteem may be for this illuſtrious Hiſtorian, this bare Aſſeveration of his without any Explanation, is not ſatisfactory to me. After having examined every Clauſe of this Treaty, I meet with none that to me ſeem monſtrous. It is true indeed, that the Article of ſettling the *Presbyterian*-Government in *England* for three Years might appear to be ſo to the Earl of *Clarendon*, and thoſe who are

of his Opinion. The Reader is to judge whether this *Monſtroſity*, if I may venture to uſe that Term, is to be aſcribed to the Thing itſelf, or to the Hiſtorian's Prepoſſeſſion and Prejudice. 1647.

The King having concluded this Treaty with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, delivered his Anſwer to the Commiſſioners of the Parliament, which ran:

The King's Anſwer to the Parliament's Commiſſioners. Clar. V. p. 89.

" That his Majeſty had always thought it a Mat-
" ter of great Difficulty to comply in ſuch a manner
" with all engaged Intereſts, that a firm and laſting
" Peace might enſue; in which Opinion he was now
" confirmed, ſince the Commiſſioners for *Scotland*
" did ſolemnly proteſt againſt the ſeveral Bills, and
" Propoſitions, which the two Houſes of Parliament
" had preſented to him for his Aſſent; ſo that it was
" not poſſible for him to give ſuch an Anſwer as
" might be the Foundation of a hopeful Peace. That
" beſides the four Bills as they were offered to him
" did not only diveſt him of all Sovereignty, and
" leave him without any Poſſibility of recovering it
" to him or his Succeſſors, but opened a Door for
" all intolerable Oppreſſions upon his Subjects, he
" granting ſuch an arbitrary and illimited Power to
" the two Houſes. That neither the deſire of being
" freed from that tedious and irkſome Condition of
" Life, which he had ſo long ſuffered, nor the Ap-
" prehenſion of any Thing that might befall him,
" ſhould ever prevail with him to conſent to any one
" Act, till the Conditions of the whole Peace ſhould
" be concluded; and then that he would be ready
" to give all juſt and reaſonable Satisfaction, in all
" Particulars; and for the adjuſting of all this, he
" knew no way but a perſonal Treaty (and therefore
" very earneſtly deſired the two Houſes to conſent to
" it) to be either at *London*, or any other Place they
" would rather chooſe."

The King, not doubting but his Anſwer would diſpleaſe the two Houſes, would have given it ſealed to

1647. the Commiſſioners, becauſe whilſt the Parliament ſhould take it into Conſideration, he intended to make his Eſcape, having already concerted ſome Meaſures for that Purpoſe. But the Commiſſioners * would not receive it in that manner, ſaying, "They "were not to be looked upon as common Meſſen-"gers, and to carry back an Anſwer they had not "ſeen." The King fearing their Return without his Anſwer, would be attended with the worſt of Conſequences, gave it to them open; after which they departed out of Hand. They were no ſooner gone than Governour *Hammond* cauſed all the King's Servants to be put out of the Caſtle, who till then had been permitted to be with him, and kept him ſo cloſe Priſoner, that no Man had Liberty to go to him without expreſs Leave *1.

Rush. VII. p. 950.

Burley's Inſurrection to reſcue the King.

It was not in vain that the Governour took theſe Precautions, ſince immediately after one Captain *Burley* an Inhabitant of the Iſland, who had been [firſt a Sea-Officer, and afterwards] General of the Ordnance in one of the King's Armies, endeavoured to ſtir up the People to go and reſcue the King from his Captivity. But he laid his Meaſures ſo ill, that inſtead of executing his Deſign he was apprehended, and afterwards condemned and hanged, drawn and quartered. In all Appearance, the King depended upon this Officer for his Eſcape.

He is apprehended and executed.

The King's Anſwer being read in the Houſe of *Commons*, ſeveral Members ſpoke againſt the King with great Warmth. *Cromwell* among others ſaid,

"That

* The Earl of *Denbigh* was the Chief, and ſpoke to his Majeſty.

*1 The King after ſome Expoſtulations for this uſage, "asked "*Hammond* by what Authority he did it," he ſaid, "by Authori-"ty of both Houſes, *and that he ſuppoſed his Majeſty was not ig-"norant of the Cauſe of his doing thus.*" *The King profeſſed the contrary, and the Governour replied,* "That he plainly ſaw, his "Majeſty was acted by other Councils than ſtood with the Good "of the Kingdom." [The Words in *Italick* are omitted by the Lord *Clarendon*.] Whit. Mem. p. 288.

"That the King was a Man of great Parts, and "great Underſtanding, but that he was ſo great a "Diſſembler, and ſo falſe a Man, that he was not "to be truſted. That whilſt he profeſſed with all "Solemnity that he referred himſelf wholly to the "Parliament, and depended only upon their Wiſ- "dom and Counſel for the Settlement and compoſing "the Diſtractions of the Kingdom, he had at the "ſame Time ſecret Treaties with the *Scottiſh* Com- "miſſioners, how he might imbroil the Nation in a "new War, and deſtroy the Parliament. He con- "cluded, that they might no farther trouble them- "ſelves with ſending Meſſages to him, or farther "Propoſitions, but that they might enter upon thoſe "Counſels which were neceſſary towards the Settle- "ment of the Kingdom, without having farther Re- "courſe to the King." This Advice being ſtrongly ſeconded by ſome other Members, it was at length reſolved after a long Debate from Morning till late at Night *, that no more Addreſſes ſhould be made to, our Meſſages received from the King, and that a Declaration ſhould be publiſhed to ſatisfy the Kingdom of the Reaſon of it. This Declaration was got ready in a very ſhort Time. It contained all the Reproaches caſt upon the King in 1641, in the Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom, and whatever had been complained of ſince that Time, not without a direct Inſinuation that the King, when Prince of *Wales*, had conſpired with the Duke of *Buckingham* againſt his Father's Life. They charged him with having openly betrayed the Intereſts of the *Proteſtant*-Religion, by lending his Ships to the King of *France*, who employed them againſt *Rochel*. When this Declaration came to be debated, it met with much Oppoſition even in the Houſe of *Commons*. But the contrary Party to the King did what is daily

1647-8. Cromwell's *Inveſtives againſt the King.* Clar. V. p. 91.

It is voted that no more Addreſſes be made to, nor Meſſages received from the King. Ruſh. VII. p. 953. *Declaration about it.* ibid. p. 998.

* So ſay *Whitlock* and *Ruſhworth*, whom our Author quotes, and yet ſays from the Lord *Clarendon*, that the Debate laſted ſome Days.

1647-8. practiſed in the Parliament. They let thoſe who wanted to have the Declaration thrown out, talk as much as they pleaſed, and then called for the Queſtion, which was carried by a Plurality of Voices; after which the Declaration was ſent up to the Houſe of Peers, where it paſſed without any Difficulty.

The *Scotch* Commiſſioners, before they returned Home, communicated their Deſigns to the King's Party, the Marqueſs of *Ormond* and ſome leading Men among the *Presbyterians*, and they began betimes to prepare every Thing neceſſary for accompliſhing the Project which was forming in favour of the King. The Project was this.

Project in favour of the King.

The *Scots* were to ſend an Army into *England* to act againſt the *Independents*, and ſet the King at Liberty: The Marqueſs of *Ormond* was to return into *Ireland*, where the Lord *Inchiquin* who commanded the Parliament's Forces in *Munſter*, had promiſed to declare for the King, and ſeveral of the Heads of the Rebels who were diſpleaſed with the tyrannical Proceedings of the Pope's *Nuntio*, had engaged to join the Marqueſs with a ſtrong Body of their Troops. At the ſame Time, the King's Friends in *England* were to riſe in Arms in ſeveral Counties. The Generals and Officers who had been diſcarded by the new Model before ſpoken of, had promiſed to draw together as many Troops as they could poſſibly to countenance the Deſign. The Nobility, Gentry, and Burghers being diſſatisfied that the Army ſhould govern the Parliament, and cauſe all the Offices to be conferred on Perſons of their Party, it was not doubted but the Inſurrection that ſhould be in ſeveral Parts, would be ſupported and encouraged. On the other Hand, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, who had great Intereſts in *Yorkſhire* and *Cumberland*, ingaged to ſeize *Berwick* and *Carliſle*. The *Presbyterian*-Party being ſtill very numerous in the Parliament and City, were preparing openly to oppoſe the Army, as ſoon as they ſhould find them employed in ſo many different Places. Had all theſe

Projects

Projects been well managed and executed in one and the ſame Time, it is extremely probable, *Cromwell*, with all his Cunning, would have been hard put to it. But of all thoſe who ſhould have acted at the ſame Time, ſome were too haſty, others too ſlow, and by that means, they gave the Army opportunity to cruſh them with Eaſe one after another. But before I proceed to relate how theſe ſeveral Projects were attempted to be put in Execution, I think it abſolutely neceſſary to ſhow the Intereſts of the different Parties with the Ends they propoſed to themſelves, otherwiſe it would be difficult to underſtand what will be ſaid hereafter. 1647-8.

Deſigns of the Independents.

The *Independents* had a Mind to be Maſters of the Kingdom, as they were already of the Parliament and City of *London*. But as they found that it would not be eaſy for them to ſucceed in this Deſign, by the ſame means they had employed to ſubdue the City and Parliament, their Aim was to make uſe of the Parliament, and govern in their Name. It was their Intereſt therefore, that the Power they had acquired over the Parliament ſhould not be too viſible for fear of cauſing both Houſes to loſe their Credit, which they deſigned to make uſe of. For this Reaſon they were very careful to keep fair with the two Houſes, well knowing that whilſt the Army was in Being, they would have the ſame Regard for them, for fear of incenſing them. And in caſe they ſhould think of taking too much Liberty, they knew how to reduce them to a greater Compliance. Though they had diſſembled their Sentiments with reſpect to the King, after his being taken from *Holmby*, they were his mortal Enemies, and fully bent to oppoſe, to the utmoſt of their Power, his Reſtoration on any Conditions whatever, becauſe they conſidered it as entirely deſtructive to their Party. *Oliver Cromwell*, who privately managed their Affairs, had found means, as I ſaid, to keep his Poſt in the Army, and his Seat in Parliament, though he had been the chief Promoter of the *Self-denying* Ordinance, whereby the reſt of the

1647 8. Members were excluded from all Offices Military and Civil. Moreover, after the War was ended, he had brought into the House many more of his Faction, besides those who had been there ever since the Beginning of the Parliament. So the *Independent*-Party was grown very considerable in the House of *Commons*, both by the Number of Representatives of that Party, and by the Junction of several other Members who out of Fear, or for want of Judgment, suffered themselves to be led away by the *Independents*, on some Occasions where their Artifices were not easy to be discovered. But their principal Strength lay in the Army, on whose Support they could rely in case of Need. Wherefore, when any Leading-*Independent* spoke with Earnestness in the House, he seldom met with Opposition, for he was considered as the Mouth of the Army.

But what was the End the *Independents* had in view? The Event showed that their Principles were inconsistent with Monarchy, with Episcopacy, and with Presbyterial Government, and that their Aim was to establish a Commonwealth in the State, and abolish Ecclesiastical Authority in the Church. Nothing was more opposite to this Design than the *Hierarchy*, especially, as Experience had demonstrated, that it had served to support Monarchy not only in its just Rights, but also in its most exorbitant Pretensions. *Presbyterianism*, such as it was in *Scotland*, and would have been in *England*, was no less contrary to their Projects. They pretended, that it was inconsistent with the Civil Government, and the admitting it would be admitting a sort of Commonwealth in the Church, which would aim at an Independency on the State; and that besides, the *Presbyterian Clergy* were as much against *Toleration* as the *Episcopal*. This they made good by the Example of *Scotland*, where, under colour of Religion and Godliness, the General-Assemblies of the *Kirk* thought they had Power to intermeddle in all important Affairs of the State; and not only to resist the Civil Authority, but that they were

were bound in Conſcience to do ſo on certain Occaſions. Beſides, if the Biſhops had perſecuted thoſe who refuſed to conform to the Church of *England*, the *Presbyterians*, ſince they were uppermoſt, exerciſed no leſs Tyranny upon thoſe who would not ſubmit to their Government. Thus the Principles of the *Epiſcopalians* and *Presbyterians* being directly contrary to thoſe of the *Independents*, theſe laſt were alike Enemies to both, and ſtrove to ruin them equally. To execute their Deſigns, they had at firſt joined with the *Presbyterians*, on pretence of eſtabliſhing *Presbyterianiſm*, but in reality to deſtroy the King. And when the King was reduced to ſuch a State that he could do them no harm, they laboured with all their might to pull down that ſame *Presbyterianiſm*, for the ſetting up whereof, they had ſhown more Zeal than the *Presbyterians* themſelves. 1647-8.

Such were the Views of the *Independents*: as for *Cromwell*'s in particular, it cannot be ſaid when he began to form the Project of his future Grandour. He had ſpent the two firſt Years of this Parliament in the Houſe of *Commons* as Member for the Town of *Cambridge*, without any great notice taken of him. Though he was above Forty Years old before he exerciſed the Profeſſion of Arms, he grew on a ſudden ſo expert in it, and gave Proofs of ſuch undaunted Courage in all the Actions where he was preſent, that in a very ſhort Space he was made Lieutenant-General of the Army under the Command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*. It can hardly be doubted, that after the Battle of *Naſeby*, where he acquired a freſh Degree of Glory, he began to have Thoughts of raiſing himſelf ſtill higher. But I durſt not venture to affirm, that from that Time he had an Eye to what he afterwards accompliſhed. I ſhould rather believe, that then he had only ſome general Views, and that the Events and Situation of Affairs gave him Occaſion to form more ambitious Projects. *Cromwell's Views.*

I come

1647-8. I come now to the *Presbyterians*. The War was ended to the King's Diſadvantage: but he was ſtill alive though a Priſoner, and had ſeveral Children. It was the general Senſe of the Nation, or at leaſt of thoſe who were not blinded by a Spirit of Party, that the King ſhould be reſtored, but upon ſuch Terms however as ſhould hinder the Conſtitution of the Government from being endangered in the manner it was before the preſent Parliament. No Man can doubt that this was the Sentiment of all honeſt *Engliſhmen*, when it is conſidered, that even thoſe who had nothing leſs in view than the King's Re-eſtabliſhment, did however publickly declare that they deſired it, for fear the contrary Opinion ſhould make them forfeit the People's Good-will, which was abſolutely neceſſary for them. This appears from all the *Papers* publiſhed after the Beginning of the War and ſince the King's Impriſonment. And indeed, nothing was more juſt and reaſonable. The Nation's Intereſt required not that Royalty ſhould be aboliſhed, or the King reduced ſo low as to diſable him from executing the Laws and protecting his Subjects. But the Intereſt of the *Independents* required the firſt of theſe two things, and that of the *Presbyterians* the ſecond. Herein lay the Difficulty of the King's Reſtoration. He was very willing to conſent that the Ordering of the *Militia* and the Nomination to the great Offices ſhould be left to both Houſes of Parliament for ſome time. This was ſufficient for the Intereſt of the Nation in general, ſince thereby the People would have been freed from their Fears, with reſpect to the Government for the future. If the *Presbyterians* had only had the Good of the Publick in view, they would no doubt have been ſatisfied with the King's Propoſals. But they had another Concern which was no leſs dear to them, and which diſtinguiſhed their Party from the reſt of the Nation. And that was the Abolition of *Epiſcopacy* which was the Thing they had moſt at Heart. Nay, it is very likely, that if they had applied themſelves at firſt to procure the

Good

Good of the Nation, by endeavouring to abridge the Regal Power, it was only in order to attain the more eaſily to their ſecret Purpoſe, to change the Government of the Church. At the Juncture I am ſpeaking of, they had not altered their Projects. They knew how zealous the King was for *Epiſcopal* Government, and how averſe to the *Presbyterian*. They could not therefore, without running the Hazard of loſing the Fruit of all their Labours, leave their Pretenſions undetermined, and their Affairs in ſuch a State, that it ſhould be in the King's Power to throw down what they had been ſetting up, and the King would not give them any Aſſurance in that reſpect. On the contrary, he plainly intimated that it was with Reluctance that he made any Conceſſions, though for a very ſhort Term only: Beſides, they never had any Confidence in his Promiſes. 1647-8.

But on the other Hand, they had other Enemies who were no leſs formidable. Theſe were the *Independents*, who had much the Advantage of them: 1. They had the King's Perſon in their Power. 2. They were ſupported by the Army now at the Gates of *London*. 3. The Army directed, in great meaſure, the Determinations of the Parliament. Thus, the *Presbyterians* were in great Perplexity, ſince, whichſoever of the two Parties, the King's or the Independent prevailed, their Ruin was inevitable. Mean while, as the Danger they were in from the *Independents* was the moſt imminent, as ſoon as they were informed of the Reſolution taken by the *Scots* to ſend an Army to the King's Relief, they thought fit to ſuſpend their Quarrel with the King, and join their Endeavours with thoſe of the *Scots*, to deliver him out of the Hands of the *Independents*; not with intent to reſtore him without Terms, nothing was farther from their Thoughts. But they hoped that with the Help of the *Scots* and the Royal Party, they ſhould deſtroy the *Independents* and Army, and that then the Parliament would be in perfect Freedom. In which caſe, they flattered themſelves that

their

1647-8. their Party would be ſtrong enough in both Houſes to require of the King ſuch Conditions as they ſhould judge convenient for their Deſigns: That is to ſay, they meant to free the King from the Captivity he was held in by the *Independents*, with the Help of his own Friends, in order to put him under another, which would have been no leſs grievous to him; in a word, to put him into the Power of a Parliament who had all along been againſt him. A chimerical Project, if ever there was one! It muſt be obſerved that the *Presbyterians* prevailing no more in the Parliament, ſince the 6th of *Auguſt*, their main Strength lay in the Aſſiſtance they could expect from the City, and the Generals, Officers and Soldiers, who were caſhiered by the New Model, and who deſired no better Sport than to enter upon Action againſt thoſe who had robbed them of the Fruit of their Labours.

Intereſt and Views of the Scots.

The *Scots* had the ſame Intereſts and Views with regard to the King. They knew the King conſidered the Favours he had granted them, as extorted at a Time when he could not deny them without great Inconveniences. On the other Hand, they had not Confidence enough in him, to believe that he would be punctual to his Promiſes, in caſe he came to reaſcend the Throne of *England* with all his Prerogatives. It was their Intereſt therefore to hinder the King from becoming too powerful in *England*, and this it was that had induced them to aſſiſt the Parliament. But as for the *Independents*, *Scotland* does not ſeem to have been ſo much concerned to oppoſe the Superiority they had acquired in *England*. It is true indeed, it would have been better for that Nation, if there had been no *Independent*-Party in *England*, if the *Presbyterian* had prevailed, and if the *Covenant* had been ſtrictly obſerved. But ſince Affairs had taken another Courſe, and the *Independents* were got uppermoſt, one does not ſee what Miſchief could accrue to *Scotland* from thence, ſince it was no leſs ſcreened from the King's Authority whilſt he was in the Power of the *Independents* than when he was in the Hands

Hands of the *Presbyterians*. The *Scots* Reſolution to aſſiſt the King can be aſcribed but to one of theſe Cauſes, and it may be to all of them together; 1. To the Apprehenſion that the King and *Independents* might happen to come to an Agreement; but this Fear was groundleſs, the Principles of the two Parties being diametrically oppoſite: 2. To the Thirſt of being revenged of the *Independents* their ſworn Enemies, who had put ſundry Affronts upon the *Scotch* Commiſſioners: 3. To their moſt earneſt Deſire of eſtabliſhing the *Presbyterian* Government in the Church of *England* ſo firmly that it might no more be ſhaken: 4. and laſtly, To the Hopes they conceived of preſerving, by means of this new War, the Advantages procured them by the *Covenant* between the two Nations. The Queſtion is to know, whether theſe three laſt Cauſes were of ſufficient Weight to engage them indiſpenſably to undertake a War againſt *England*? I ſay againſt *England*, for they could not doubt but the Parliament, ſwayed as it was by the Army, would look upon their entering the Kingdom as an Invaſion. 1647-8.

On the other Hand, the *Royaliſts*, though overthrown, being ſtill very numerous, there was great Danger that in caſe the *Scots* by joining with them ſhould ſucceed in deſtroying the *Independent*-Party and the Army which ſupported them, this Advantage would turn more to the King's than the *Presbyterians* Account. At leaſt, it cannot be denied that by uniting with the *Royaliſts*, they would help, though contrary to their Intention, to put that Party in a Condition to hold up their Heads once more, and that their own Succeſſes would give new Strength to their old Enemies. Theſe were Reflections that abundance of People made in *Scotland*, wherein the new War that was in Hand was far from pleaſing every body. The King's Party were ſeen to be very buſy and active, which was a Sign that their Hopes were not confined to the freeing the King out of the Hands of the *Independents*, in order to put him into the

1647-8. the Power of the *Presbyterians*. The Commissioners had signed the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*, without being authorized by the Parliament of *Scotland*; and the Execution of this Treaty on the Part of the *Scots*, was grounded only upon the Hopes the Commissioners had given the King, that by their Management they would get it ratified. But they had ventured to communicate it to a few Friends only, and some of the Leading-*Presbyterians* of *England*, well knowing that it contained not the whole of what the *Presbyterians* desired. It may therefore be affirmed, that the new War, for which Preparations were making in *Scotland*, was rather the Work of some particular Persons than of the Nation in general, as will be seen clearly in the Sequel.

Views of the King's Party.

The Design of the *Royalists* was not, as I said, to deliver the King out of the Hands of the *Independents*, to leave him at the Mercy of the *Presbyterians*. They knew that by the Parliament's being at full Liberty, the King's Condition would not be much bettered. And therefore, in joining with the *Presbyterians* and *Scots*, their Aim was to restore the King to his former State, without tying him up to the Terms already offered him. Indeed there were some among them who would not have scrupled to consent that the *Presbyterians* might be tolerated in the Exercise of their Religion, and Assurances given them of not being molested therein, rather than hazard the King's Restoration. Nay there were some who, if they had been consulted, would have advised the King to acquiesce in the Change which had been made against his Will. Though they were persuaded that *Episcopal* was more perfect than *Presbyterian* Government, they did not think the Difference between these two Governments was of so great Weight, as that it ought to hinder the sincere and hearty Union of the two Parties, which they looked upon as the sole Means of restoring the King to his Rights. And this was what some had advised the King to, before he withdrew to the *Scotch* Army. The Queen and the

the Court of *France* were of this Opinion: but the King was not. He was ſo fully poſſeſſed with the Notion of the Neceſſity of *Epiſcopacy*, that nothing was able to remove it. Unfortunately for him he had never any about his Perſon but Men, who like him, believed *Epiſcopacy* to be ſo eſſential to Religion; that without Biſhops neither the *Ordination* of Miniſters, nor conſequently the Adminiſtration of the *Sacraments* could be valid. It muſt not therefore be wondered at, that the King had great Scruples touching this Point, ſince, according to his Principles, he could not look upon the *Presbyterians* as Members of the *Chriſtian-Church*. For how could they be *Chriſtians*, if their *Baptiſm* was invalid? It cannot be denied that this was the Opinion of the Court and of moſt of the Church-of-*England*-Men. If therefore the King's Party had fully known the Contents of the Iſle of *Wight*-Treaty, it is very likely their Zeal for his Service would have cooled very much. We have already ſeen, how it ſhocked the Earl of *Clarendon*. It is very eaſy to conceive that Men who had ſuch Notions as theſe, did not mean to labour for the Benefit of the *Presbyterians*. What then could be expected from the Union of the *Royaliſts* with the *Preſbyterians* and *Scots*, ſince they all acted with ſuch different or rather oppoſite Views, and ſince, had their common Deſign been crowned with Succeſs, they muſt have diſunited afterwards, and begun a new War between them? 1647-8.

The King's Views.

As to the King's particular Views, they can only be gueſſed at. His Caſe was like that of a Man juſt going to be drowned, who catches hold of every Thing in his Reach to ſave himſelf, or at leaſt to retard his Fate. His accepting the Service of the *Scots* and *Presbyterians* of *England* was not from an Expectation of any great Condeſcenſion from them. He had too often experienced their little Regard for him, to imagine they would ſeriouſly think of reſtoring him, without impoſing upon him intolerable Terms. But as Neceſſity forced them to offer him their

1647-8. their Assistance, so the same Necessity compelled him to accept of it, if not in Expectation of obtaining what he desired, at least, in hopes of putting off his Ruin as long as possible. For he was told, and by one that was present, that in a Council of Officers held at *Windsor*, it was moved to take away his Life. It is very likely he hoped that by the Aid of the *Scots* and *English* Presbyterians, his own Party would be strengthned in such a manner, that they would be in Condition to act alone, when once the *Independent*-Army was dispersed, and thereby he might be freed and enabled to make a Peace upon more tolerable Terms than those hitherto offered him. Thus by a strange and inconsiderate Blindness, the King meant to make use of the *Scots* and *Presbyterians* to recover his Rights, and these last intended to make the King and his Party subservient to their own Designs. The King might have another End in setting the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* at Variance, namely, that the weakest Party might side with him without Terms rather than see their Enemies triumph.

The Parliament's Views.

The Parliament was made up of *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, and notwithstanding the Endeavours of *Cromwell* and his Party, the *Presbyterians* were still most numerous. But this Party was considerably weakned by the Absence of Eleven of their chief Members driven from the House of *Commons* by the Army. From that time, the same Vigour as formerly no more appeared in that House, because it was no longer managed as before the Exclusion of these Members. Besides, this Example kept the boldest *Presbyterians* in awe. So, the *Independents* carried all before them; and though the Parliament was *Presbyterian* as to Numbers, they acted however like *Independents*, because they could not do otherwise. As the Army was not far from *London*, *Cromwell* had opportunity to be constantly in the House, where his Presence alone made the Scale incline to which Side he pleased, in the Debates where his Party was concerned. The Lords were under no less

leſs Conſtraint than the *Commons*, nor leſs expoſed to the Violence of the Army which had ordered it ſo, that Seven Peers were impeached by the *Commons* of High-Treaſon, under colour of their having a Hand in the Tumult of the 26th of *July*. We are therefore to conſider all that had been done in the two Houſes from the 6th of *Auguſt* 1647, and all that was farther done till the Month of *June* 1648, as being tranſacted by the Direction of the Army, that is, of the leading *Independents*. It may be imagined that the *Presbyterian* Members were heartily vexed to be forced, notwithſtanding their Majority in both Houſes, to do Things which evidently tended to the Deſtruction of their Party. But there was no remedy but Patience, till Time ſhould afford ſome Opportunity to free themſelves from this Slavery. This Opportunity was of Courſe to offer itſelf the next Spring. Though the *Scotch* Commiſſioners had thought fit to impart to the leading *Presbyterians* the Particulars of their Treaty with the King, they had however intimated to them, that they were going to endeavour to raiſe an Army in *Scotland*, to deliver *England* from the Yoke of the *Independents*, and that the King's Party was to join with them, or at leaſt favour their Progreſs by Inſurrections in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom. So the *Presbyterian* Members waited with impatience for the happy Time, when the Army would be indiſpenſably obliged to remove from about *London*, to go and oppoſe ſo many Enemies, particularly in the *North*. They reſolved therefore to be ready to act in the Parliament in ſo favourable a Juncture, and in the mean while, to give no handle againſt themſelves for fear of being prevented by the Army, who carefully watched all their Proeeedings. This Diſſimulation was neceſſary, becauſe otherwiſe they ran the Riſk of ruining themſelves to no purpoſe, and of diſabling themſelves from ſeconding their Friends on Occaſion. 1647-8.

1647-8. *Of the City of* London.

It remains only to say a Word of the City of *London*, which was no less concerned in what was doing than the rest of the Kingdom, and could be of great Service to the Party they espoused. In this great City were Men of all Sects and Parties; but the Generality were *Presbyterians*, as well as the *Common-Council*. The Army had done all they could to lessen the Number of their Adversaries in this Council, by causing the Lord-Mayor, some Aldermen, and several of the Common-Council, to be accused and imprisoned for being concerned in the Tumult of the 26th of *July*: However the *Presbyterian*-Party was still superiour in Number. In Expectation of the Opportunity to declare openly against the Army and the *Independents*, the *Presbyterian*-Party managed so, that great Difficulties constantly occurred when the advancing of Money for paying the Army was in Hand. The City it self was very much behind, with respect to the Sums laid upon them for the Pay of the Troops. They did not want Excuses to delay the Payments: but the true Reason was, that they constrained the Army thereby to take free Quarter, which made the People eager to be rid of them. The Expectation of the Turns which the Entrance of the *Scots* into the Kingdom might produce, caused the Magistrates of *London* to keep on the same way, being ready to do, on all Occasions, whatever was in their Power to be revenged of the Army.

Of General Fairfax.

I should very willingly add something concerning the Character of the Lord *Fairfax* * General of the Army, and the Ends he might propose to himself: But, own I know but little of the Matter. He was *Presbyterian*, and yet suffered himself to be guided by *Cromwell*, the Head of the *Independents*. The most that can be said in his Favour, is, that he kept the Command of the Army in order to avoid a greater Evil, for fear in case he resigned his Commission, it should

* He was become a Lord upon the Death of his Father, who died of a *Grangreen* in his Foot, *March* the 13th this Year.

ſhould be given to *Cromwell*, as it would have been infallibly. 1647-8.

I thought it neceſſary, before I entered upon the Particulars of the great Revolution that happened in the Year 1648, to ſhow the Views and Intereſts of the chief Actors, believing this Digreſſion would conduce very much to the better Underſtanding of what will be ſaid hereafter.

Strict Union between the Parliament and the Army.

After the two Houſes had reſolved to preſent no more Addreſſes to the King, nor receive any more Meſſages from him, there ſeemed to be a ſtrict Union between the Parliament and Army. The Council of War had conſented that all the ſupernumerary Forces which were not yet upon the preſent Eſtabliſhment, ſhould be disbanded. The Parliament on their Side gave the Army ſufficient Security for their Arrears, and publiſhed a Declaration, ſetting forth the Reaſons why the Army ought to be kept up, though the War was over. In ſhort, the Army departed from their Claim to meddle in Affairs of State, and left the Parliament at Liberty to ſettle the Government as they ſhould think fit. Thus the Vote for no more Addreſſes ſeemed to beget ſuch an Union between the Parliament and Army, that they appeared to have now the ſame Views and Intereſts, though till then they had been jealous of each other. This ſhows plainly enough, what were the Deſigns of the Army with regard to the King. As for the Parliament, though the *Independent* Members were devoted to the Army, it is certain the reſt, who were by far the major Part, only diſſembled their Sentiments. Mean while, the *Iedependents*, who met with no more Oppoſition in the two Houſes, willing to make ſtill ſurer of the Parliament, cauſed it to be ordered that the General ſhould be deſired to take care and guard the Parliament. Purſuant to this Requeſt, the General ſent a Regiment of Foot to *Whitehall*, and another of Horſe to the *Meuſe*, where the King's Stables ſtood. This was in order to hinder the *Lon-*

The Army deſiſt from meddling in State-Affairs.

The Parliament deſires a Guard: the General ſends two Regiments.

1647-8. *doners* from taking it into their Heads to put a Force again upon the two Houſes.

Account of what paſſed in Scotland.

Though the *Scotch* Commiſſioners did not go from *London* till the 24th of *January*, they had not however neglected to ſet Things a going, by their Letters, as ſoon as their Treaty with the King was ſigned, ſo that it had been reſolved at *Edinburgh*, that the Committee of Eſtates ſhould meet the 6th of *February*, and the Parliament the 10th of *March*. This Reſolution was taken notwithſtanding the Marqueſs of *Argyle*'s Oppoſition, who, though *Presbyterian* as to Religion, was of the ſame Principles with the *Independents* as to the Government of the State, and had made a faſt Friendſhip with *Cromwell* and *Vane*. But though he ruled in great Meaſure the *rigid Presbyterians*, that is, thoſe who would not depart from one ſingle Point of the *Covenant*, the Combination was ſo ſtrong, that it was not only reſolved to call a Parliament, but that the Elections of Members were agreeable for the moſt part to the Wiſhes of thoſe who were for levying an Army. The Parliament of *England*, or rather the *Independent*-Party, by whom the two Houſes were managed, made no doubt but the Aim of thoſe who had procured this Reſolution was to ſupport the *Presbyterians* of *England*, who were upon the Brink of Ruin. Wherefore they reſolved to ſend Commiſſioners to *Scotland*, as well to try to content the *Scots*, as to obſerve what ſhould paſs in the Parliament, and endeavour to ſtrengthen the Party of thoſe who were againſt War.

The Parliament meets there.

1648. *Motion to raiſe an Army to act in* England.

At the opening of the Parliament of *Scotland*, ſet Speeches were made by ſeveral of the Members, to ſtir up the People againſt the *Engliſh*. They repreſented that the Army of *England* kept the King in Priſon, and the Parliament in ſuch Subjection, that nothing was done but what the Army pleaſed. That contrary to the Tenour of the *Covenant* between the two Nations, the Parliament had refuſed to conſult with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners about the Propoſitions ſent to the King for Peace, and rejected their Proteſtation,

on, as if *Scotland* had no Intereſt in the King: That they had in reality depoſed the King by ſtripping him of all his Prerogatives, by voting no more Addreſſes to him, and by hindering the *Scots* from having any Acceſs to his Perſon, though he was as much King of *Scotland* as King of *England*: That it was a manifeſt Breach of the Right of the *Scots*, and the *Covenant* between the two Kingdoms, and that *Scotland* ought to reſent this Affront, or reſolve to ſit down in Subjection to *England*: That for theſe Reaſons, their Advice was, that ſpeedy means might be deviſed to ſend an Army into *England*: That they ſhould no ſooner enter that Kingdom, but all the *Engliſh* except the Army, would join with them, and by that means the Parliament being reſtored to Freedom, would unite again with *Scotland*, and the *Covenant* be punctually obſerved. 1648.

A Committee is appointed who are for levying an Army.

The Parliament thought not proper to take this Motion ſo ſpeedily into Conſideration. But to facilitate the Execution of what had been reſolved before their Meeting, a Committee of Twenty-four Members was appointed with Power to provide for the Safety of the Kingdom, in caſe it ſhould be in Danger. For this Reaſon they were called the *Committee of Danger*, in which care was taken, that the Number of thoſe who were for War ſhould be ſuperiour to thoſe of the contrary Party, and to make the Duke of *Hamilton* Preſident.

The Kirk-*Commiſſioners are againſt it.*

This Committee having examined the State of the Kingdom, found it to be in danger, and that it was neceſſary to raiſe an Army of forty Thouſand Men to put it in a Poſture of Defence. It was not poſſible for the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, who was of the Committee, to prevent this Reſolution. But he found means however to ſtir up the Commiſſioners of the General-Aſſembly of the *Kirk*, who ſome Days after preſented to the Parliament certain Demands proper to ſpin out the Affair. The Parliament anſwered theſe Demands, and the Commiſſioners replied. As the Buſineſs in Hand will be better underſtood, by

1648. ſeeing together the Demands, Anſwers, and Replies, I think it neceſſary not to part them. This will be of uſe as to the Sequel, for it will diſcover the Obſtacles which occurred in *Scotland*, to the levying of the Army that was to act in *England*. We ſhall ſee moreover, how great Authority the General-Aſſembly of the *Kirk* of *Scotland* aſſumed to themſelves, ſince the Commiſſioners thought they had a Right to oppoſe the Parliament to their Face.

Ruſh. VII. p. 1047, 1052, 1053.

" 1. DEMAND. That the Grounds and Cauſes of " undertaking a War may be cleared to be ſo juſt, " as that all who are well affected, may be ſatis- " fied in the Lawfulneſs and the Neceſſity of the En- " gagement, and that nothing be acted in reference " to a War, before the lawfulneſs of the War, and " the State of the Queſtion be agreed upon.

ANSWER. *The Eſtates declare, That the Grounds and Cauſes of undertaking of War ſhall be cleared to be ſo juſt, as that all who are well affected may be ſatisfied in the Lawfulneſs and Neceſſity of the Engagement.*

" REPLY. They conceive that notwithſtanding " any Thing expreſſed in their Lordſhips Anſwer, " there may be an acting in reference to War, be- " fore the Lawfulneſs of the War, and the State of " the Queſtion be agreed upon, which is the very " Thing they deſire to be avoided.

" 2. DEMAND. That as the Breaches of the *Co-* " *venant* by the prevalent Party of the Sectaries in " *England* are evident, ſo we deſire and hope that, " according to the Treaty, it may be condeſcended " upon and declared by the Parliament, what are " thoſe Breaches which they take to be a Ground of " War, and that Reparation thereof may be ſought.

ANSWER. *They think it fit, that the Breaches of the* Covenant *and Treaties be preſented, and the ſeeking of Reparation; and the beſt Time and Manner thereof conſidered.*

" REPLY. They neither find any Breach of Peace 1648.
" between the Kingdoms which may be a Ground
" of War, nor any poſitive Reſolution of Parlia-
" ment to ſeek Reparation.

" 3. DEMAND, That there may be no ſuch
" Quarrel or Ground of the War, as may break the
" Union between the two Kingdoms, or may diſ-
" courage or diſoblige the *Presbyterian*-Party in *Eng-*
" *land*, who continue firm in adhering to the League
" and *Covenant*.

ANSWER. *They declare, that this Kingdom will be ſo far from making any War againſt the Kingdom of* England, *that any Engagement they ſhall enter into, ſhall be for ſtrengthening the Union between theſe two Kingdoms, and for encouraging the* Presbyterians *and well-affected in* England.

" REPLY. Inſtead of that Clauſe of the Deſire,
" *The Presbyterian-Party in* England, *who continue*
" *firm in adhering to the League and* Covenant;
" Change of Expreſſion in the Anſwer is *the Pres-*
" *byterians and well-affected in* England; which may
" intimate that there are ſome well-affected in *Eng-*
" *land*, which are not of the Presbyterian-Party, nor
" do adhere to the League and *Covenant*.

" 4. DEMAND. That if the *Popiſh*, Prelatical, or
" Malignant-Party ſhall again riſe in Arms, this Na-
" tion and their Armies may be ſo far from joyning
" or aſſociating with them, that on the contrary they
" may oppoſe them, and endeavour to ſuppreſs them
" as Enemies to this Cauſe and Government upon
" the one Hand, as well as Sectaries on the other.

ANSWER. *They agree to the Subſtance and Matter thereof; and remit to thoſe who are to be upon the Conference for ſtating the Queſtion to explain the ſame.*

" REPLY. For not joining with the *Popiſh*, Pre-
" latical or Malignant Party, we cannot conceive
" wherein it needs Explanation, unleſs there be now

1648. "more favourable and friendly Intentions towards "Malignants than formerly.

"5. DEMAND. Seeing your Lordships Under- "takings should be in the first Place for Religion; we "desire that his Majesty's late Concessions and Offers "concerning Religion (as they have been by the "Church, so may be by the Parliament) declared "unsatisfactory; whereby your Lordships may give "further Evidence of the reality of your Intentions "for the Good and Safety of Religion.

ANSWER. *They declare, That upon the Agreement on the whole Matter and State of the Question, they will declare his Majesty's Concessions concerning Religion not to be satisfactory.*

"REPLY. His Majesty's Concessions being so "prejudicial to the Cause and *Covenant*, they desire "the Parliament to declare against them both posi- "tively without any Condition, and presently with- "out delay.

"6. DEMAND. That your Lordships may be "pleased not to fix and settle upon any such State of "a Question, as doth not contain Security and Assu- "rance to be had from his Majesty, by his solemn "Oath, under his Hand and Seal, that he shall for "himself and his Successors, consent and agree to "Acts of Parliaments, enjoining the League and *Co-* "*venant*, and fully establishing *Presbyterial*-Govern- "ment, Directory of Worship, and Confession of "Faith, in all his Majesty's Dominions; and that "his Majesty shall never make any Opposition to "any of these, or endeavour any Change thereof; "and that this Security be had from his Majesty be- "fore his Restitution to the Exercise of his Royal "Power; which we desire for no other End, but be- "cause we cannot see how Religion (which has been "and we trust shall be the principal End of all the "Undertakings of this Nation) can be otherwise se- "cured;

" cured; but that without this Security it ſhall be 1648.
" left in very great Hazard.

ANSWER. *That ſince Religion hath been, and they truſt ever ſhall be, the Principal End of all their Undertakings; ſo they will be careful that the preſent Queſtion to be ſtated ſhall contain Security and Aſſurance from his Majeſty by his ſolemn Oath under his Hand and Seal, that he ſhall for himſelf and for his Succeſſors, give his Royal Conſent to paſs Acts of Parliament, injoining the League and* Covenant, *eſtabliſhed by Presbyterial Government, the Directory of Worſhip, and Confeſſion of Faith, in all his Majeſty's Dominions*; and that his Majeſty ſhall never make Oppoſition to any of theſe, or endeavour any Change thereof.

" REPLY. As there is much ſaid in the firſt Part,
" for Security of Religion to be had from his Ma-
" jeſty; ſo that Clauſe, *viz.* That this Security be
" had from his Majeſty before his Reſtitution to the
" Exerciſe of his Royal Power, is laid aſide, and
" they are left unſatisfied in that which is the main of
" that Deſire.

" 7. DEMAND. That the ſame End in ſecuring
" Religion (which is profeſſed to be the principal
" Cauſe of Engagement) and for ſecuring all other
" Ends of the *Covenant*, ſuch Perſons only may be
" entruſted by your Lordſhips to be of your Com-
" mittees and Armies, as have given conſtant Proof
" of their Integrity and Faithfulneſs in this Cauſe,
" and againſt whom there is no juſt Exception or Jea-
" louſy, that ſo we may the more confidently en-
" courage our Flocks and Congregations to follow
" the Cauſe of God in their Hands, and not to doubt
" of the Fidelity of thoſe who ſhall be entruſted by
" your Lordſhips.

ANSWER. *That they will be careful that none ſhall be employed in the Command of their Armies, nor in their Committees, but ſuch as are of known Integrity and Affection to the Cauſe, and againſt whom there is no juſt Cauſe of Exception.*

" REPLY,

1647. "REPLY. Concerning ſuch as are to be intruſted "in Armies and Committees, doth admit of ſome of "the Qualifications expreſſed in the Deſire, *viz.* "ſuch as have given conſtant Proof of their Integri- "ty and Faithfulneſs in this Cauſe, and againſt "whom there was no juſt Cauſe of Jealouſy, that "ſo we may the more confidently encourage our "Flocks to follow the Cauſe of God in their Bands, "and not to doubt of their Fidelity.

"8. DEMAND. That there be no Engagement "without a ſolemn Oath, wherein the Church may "have the ſame Intereſt which they had in the ſo- "lemn League and *Covenant*, the Cauſe being the "ſame.

ANSWER. *That to the Grounds of their Engage- ments and Undertaking, an Oath ſhall be ſubjoined, where- in both in the framing of it, and otherwiſe, the Church ſhall have their due Intereſt. And the Eſtates of Parli- ment deſire the Commiſſioners of the Church to appoint ſome of their Number to meet with ſuch of the Committee of Parliament of Twenty-four, as ſhall be appointed by the ſame Committee for the Conference and ſtating of the Queſ- tion for agreeing upon the Grounds of an Engagement, and drawing up ſuch a State of a Queſtion, as may unite this Nation in an unanimous Undertaking of ſuch Duties as are requiſite for the Reformation and Defence of Reli- gion, the Safety, Honour, and Happineſs of the King and his Poſterity, and the Good of this Kingdom.*

"REPLY. Inſtead of that clear Expreſſion uſed, "namely, *That the Kirk may have the ſame Intereſt* "*in any Oath for a new Engagement, which they had* "*in the ſolemn League and* Covenant, they find this "doubtful and uncertain Expreſſion, *That both in the* "*framing the Oath and otherwiſe, the* Kirk *ſhall have* "*their due Intereſts.*

"And upon theſe and the like Conſiderations, "they conceive that their Deſires, unto which they "ſtill adhere as juſt and neceſſary, are not ſatisfied "by their Lordſhips Anſwer."

The

1648.

Sundry Proteſtations againſt the War.

The Oppoſition of the *Kirk*-Commiſſioners was not the only Storm the Reſolution of levying an Army drew upon the *Committee of Danger*. Eighteen Lords and forty other Members of Parliament, entered a ſolemn Proteſt againſt this Vote, affirming, that the Committee had exceeded their Power, and that they did not in any manner conſent to give it them. There were moreover two other Difficulties to be ſurmounted, before the Parliament could poſitively order the levying of an Army. The firſt related to the General, who was to have the Command. Naturally this Poſt belonged to General *Leſley* [now Lord *Newark*,] who had commanded the laſt Army, and of whom there was no occaſion to complain. But he was not fit for their Purpoſe who were for a War. That Party's Scheme was to make the Duke of *Hamilton* General, becauſe he had privately declared for the King, and it was conceived he would be a fitter Perſon than *Leſley*, to unite the Royal Party in *England*, with the Army of *Scotland*. This Difficulty was at length removed, *Leſley* being artfully prevailed with to quit his Pretenſion, under Colour of his Age and Infirmities. Which done, the Duke of *Hamilton* had no other Rival.

Hamilton *is made General.*

Order of Parliament touching the Covenant.

The ſecond Difficulty was much more conſiderable. Before the *Scotch* Commiſſioners left *London*, they had intimated to ſeveral Officers and others of the King's Party, that when the *Scotch* Army ſhould enter *England*, they ſhould be welcome to the *Scots*, and with them make but one and the ſame Body and Party, for the Deliverance of the King out of the Hands of the *Independents*. They had given the ſame Aſſurances to Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, and by that induced them to promiſe to ſeize *Berwick* and *Carliſle*. Upon theſe hopes great Number of *Royaliſts* repaired to *Edinburgh*, with Deſign to join with the *Scots*, or have Commands in their Army. Moreover a Troop of Horſe commanded by Captain *Wogan*, which was to have been diſbanded, had retired into *Scotland*, to join with the

Forces

1648. Forces of that Kingdom, and this Troop, by the Junction of ſeveral Horſe-Deſerters, was become four Hundred ſtrong. The Duke of *Hamilton* had put *Langdale* and *Muſgrave* in hopes that when the *Scotch* Army ſhould be in *England*, there would be no more ſaid of the *Covenant*, and the *Royaliſts* might join with them and make but one Body. But it was not in the Power of thoſe who made theſe Promiſes to perform them. The Marqueſs of *Argyle*, and the *rigid Presbyterians* ſtrongly repreſented, both in publick and private, "That under Colour of acting a-"gainſt the *Independents* in *England*, the *Royaliſts*, "that is, the mortal Enemies of *Scotland* and all "the *Presbyterians*, were going to be effectually ſet "up again. That this was viſibly the Deſign of "thoſe who were ſo eager for a War, as appeared "as well by the ſtirring of ſuch of the *Scots* as had "never heartily adhered to the *Covenant*, as by the "extraordinary Concourſe of *Royaliſts*, who were "already, and daily did come into *Scotland*. That "even Men were ſent for to *Edinburgh*, who were "moſt attached to the King's Party, and moſt in-"veterate againſt the *Covenant*, ſuch as *Langdale*, "*Muſgrave*, *Glemham*, *Fleming*, and others, who "conferred every Day with their Friends, whereof "the Parliament of *England* had complained to no "Purpoſe. That the joining with the King's Party "conſiſting of *Papiſts*, *Epiſcopalians*, and other ill-"affected Perſons, was a more manifeſt Breach of "the *Covenant*, than what the *Engliſh* were charged "with. That in ſhort, by theſe Proceedings the "*Covenant*, which was the Baſis and Foundation of "the Union betwixt the two Nations, was going to "be deſtroyed, whilſt it was pretended to raiſe an "Army for its Defenſe, and that there was even no "other Ground for carrying War into *England*." Theſe Repreſentations joined to the Endeavours of the Parliament of *England*'s Commiſſioners, who ſpared neither Sollicitations nor Money to ſecond them, made ſuch Impreſſion on the People, that the Parliament

ment could not help ordering that thoſe who had not taken, or ſhould refuſe to take, the *Covenant*, ſhould not be received into the Army, or joined with it at their entrance into *England*. After this Declaration, it did not ſeem to be any longer in the Duke of *Hamilton*'s Power to perform what he had promiſed to the *Royaliſts*. But he found means to evade in ſome Meaſure this Order when he was in *England*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. 1648.

Delays in Scotland.

Theſe and other Obſtacles daily ſtarted by the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, and the *rigid Clergy*, were the Reaſon that the Parliament could not be ſo ſpeedy as the Authors of the Project had expected. As the People of *Scotland* were ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of the *Covenant* and the Union with the *Engliſh* Presbyterians, the Parliament ſaw themſelves obliged to publiſh a Declaration to ſatisfy them upon that Score. But the contrary Party urged, that there was no Sincerity in this ſame Declaration, and that it was full of ambiguous Expreſſions, which diſcovered the ill Deſigns of thoſe who were for War. So, though the Party that had cauſed the raiſing of Forces to be ordered, was ſuperiour in Number in the Parliament, yet the levying of Soldiers could not be ſet about till towards the Middle of *May*, and the Army was not ready till the Beginning of *July*, though the *Scotch* Commiſſioners had aſſured it ſhould be in Condition to act by the Beginning of *May*. Moreover this Army, which was to conſiſt of forty Thouſand Men, was not above half that Number when it came into *England*, even after the Junction of the *Engliſh* Troops. But before I ſpeak of the Succeſs of theſe mighty Preparations, we muſt ſee what paſſed in *England* in the mean while.

Combination in Wales in favour of the King. Clar. V. p. 143.

Wales was the Place where the firſt Scene was opened. In that Country were three Colonels, namely, *Langhorn*, *Powel*, and *Poyer*, who had faithfully ſerved the Parliament during the War, but unluckily found themſelves, by the new Eſtabliſhment, in the Number of the Supernumeraries who were to be diſbanded, with which they were extremely diſſatisfied.

Having

1648. Having communicated their Discontents to each other, they resolved all three to declare for the King, as soon as the *Scotch* Army should enter the Kingdom. *Langhorn* even sent a Confident to *Paris*, to acquaint the Queen and Prince of *Wales* with this Design, desiring a Commission, with Supplies of Money and Ammunition. The Commission was granted out of hand: but the Want the Queen and Prince were in, allowed them not to send the Supplies they demanded. Tho' these Three Officers had resolved not to declare till the *Scots* had entered *England*, they were obliged however to do it sooner. *Poyer*, being Governour and Mayor of *Pembroke* in *South-Wales*, saw Colonel *Fleming* arrive unexpectedly with the General's Commission to take the Government of the Castle. As this Alteration could not but break the Measures of the Three Colonels, *Poyer* refused to obey, under colour that it was unreasonable to deprive him of his Government, without paying him his Arrears. The Parliament took fire when they heard of this Disobedience, and declared *Poyer* a Traytor, if he did not deliver up the Castle within Four and Twenty Hours after the first Summons. *Poyer* laughed at this Ordinance, and even defeated *Fleming*, to whom some Troops had been sent to put him in Possession of *Pembroke*-Castle. As the Particulars of this Affair are not absolutely necessary, I shall content my self with saying in two words, that it grew to be a Business of greater Consequence than the Parliament had imagined. Not only *Langhorn* and *Powell* joined with *Poyer*, but all *South-Wales* declared for the King, whilst the Lord *Byron* was labouring to draw *North-Wales* and the Parts about *Chester* into a Revolt.

Insurrection in Kent. Rush. VII. p. 1131.

Whilst these things passed in *Wales*, there were Commotions in *Kent* which were no less dangerous for the Army. The King had all along a great many Friends in that County, but the Neighbourhood of *London* and the Army kept them in awe. Mean time, some Gentlemen of the Country having early Information of the Design of the *Scots*, took care

care to ſow the Seeds of Revolt, in hopes of their producing Fruit in due Seaſon. The Diſpoſition of the People of *Kent* began to ſhow itſelf in a great Riot at *Canterbury*, the 25th of *December* 1647, [about keeping of *Chriſtmas-Day.*] The Multitude wounded and abuſed the Mayor and others of the Magiſtrates, and at laſt the Cry was, *For God, King* Charles, *and* Kent. The Tumult being appeaſed, and ſome of the Mutineers apprehended, the Parliament had a mind to puniſh them with Death. But they found ſo many Obſtacles, that it was *May* firſt before they ſent down a Commiſſion to try them. The *Grand Jury* refuſed to find the *Bill*, to the great Aſtoniſhment of the Commiſſioners. There were at that time Commotions in hand in that County, which the Grand-Jury no doubt were concerned in, and that was the Reaſon of their not finding the *Bills* againſt their Accomplices. 1648.

Though the Managers of Affairs for the King had reſolved to ſtay till the Army was marched northwards againſt the *Scots*, before they cauſed the *Kentiſh* Men to riſe, it was not in their Power to keep them in ſo long. One *L'eſtrange* * a *Norfolk-man* being in *Kent*, at the Houſe of Mr. *Hales* a young Gentleman who was Heir to a great Eſtate, perſuaded him to undertake ſomething in favour of the King, and to ſound the Gentry and People of the Country that frequented his Houſe. Matters were ſo ordered in the County, that about the Middle of the Month of *May*, the People roſe, took up Arms, and owned *Hales* for their General, in which they committed two very great Errours. The firſt, in putting themſelves under the Conduct of an unexperienced young Man without Authority. The ſecond, in taking up Arms before the Army was removed to ſome Diſtance from *London*. As the General knew that the *Scotch* Army was Clarend. V. p. 134.

* He had been taken Priſoner by the Parliament for attempting ſomewhat for the King's Service in *Norfolk*, and by a Court of War condemned to die, but being kept in Priſon till the End of the War, was ſet at Liberty. *Clarend.* III. p. 134.

1648. was not yet ready, he detached *Cromwell* with part of his Forces to reduce the *Welsh* to Obedience, and to march afterwards against the *Scots* when they should have entered *England*. For himself, he continued near *London*, as well to be at hand to march against the *Kentish* Men, as to prevent the like Insurrection in *London*, which the Army dreaded of all things. Besides that, he had no mind at all to act against the *Scots* as plainly appeared afterwards.

Fairfax marches against the Kentish-men. Rush. VII. p. 1135.

The Number of the Male-Contents in *Kent* being greatly increased, the Earl of *Norwich* and Sir *William Waller* went and headed them, and imagining *London* would not fail to declare for them, they advanced towards *Black-Heath*. Then *Fairfax* speedily passed the *Thames* with his Army over *London*-Bridge, in order to give them Battle. The *Londoners* taking care not to declare in such a Juncture, the Revolters thought fit to retire some to *Rochester* and others to *Maidstone*. General *Fairfax* attacked these last so vigorously, that he carried the Town by Storm, slew abundance of their Men, and took a great Number of Prisoners. At the first News of this Defeat, those that had retired to *Rochester* quitted the City, and went and posted themselves on *Black-Heath*, hoping still that *London* would send them Assistance, or receive them into the City. These two Refuges failing, and hearing moreover that a Detachment of the Army was approaching them, they took to their Heels, every Man shifting for himself; but however, a great many were made Prisoners. The Earl of *Norwich* found means to pass the *Thames* at *Greenwich* in Boats with Five or Six Hundred Men, and join his Friends in *Essex*, who were upon the Point of coming over themselves into *Kent*, if *Fairfax* had not made such haste.

He defeats them.

Some of them pass into Essex.

The County of *Essex* stood affected the same way with that of *Kent*. There had been for some time in that County Men who were earnestly labouring to stir up the People against the Army, and only waited for an Opportunity to appear openly as soon

as

as the Army ſhould march towards the *North*, not queſtioning but the Approach of the *Scots* would oblige them to it. Of this Number were Sir *Charles Lucas*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Farr*, Sir *Bernard Gaſcoign*, and at the ſame time the Lord *Capel*, who was one of the Managers of the Project of the Inſurrections, was employed in the ſame Work in *Hertfordſhire*. Though the *Kentiſh* Inſurrection had met with ill Succeſs, the *Eſſex* Royaliſts were not at all diſcouraged. They ſtill hoped either that *London* would declare for the King, or that the *Scotch* Army would make ſo great Progreſs, that the Army of *England* would not be able to withſtand ſo many Attacks from all Quarters. For there was ſcarce a County but what was to have ſome Inſurrection, thoſe eſpecially where the King's Party prevailed during the War. Therefore the Parliament having ſent a General Pardon into *Eſſex* for ſuch as ſhould lay down their Arms, moſt of them refuſed it by the Inſtances of Sir *Charles Lucas*, who was the moſt active Royaliſt in thoſe Parts. 1648.

Fairfax *marches into* Eſſex.

The General ſtaid in *Kent* no longer than was neceſſary to raiſe the Siege of *Dover* undertaken by *Waller*, and quiet the Country, to which he granted very advantagious Terms, conſidering the preſent Circumſtances. This done, he repaſſed the *Thames* and marched into *Eſſex*, where the Number of the Revolters was increaſed by the Junction of the Troops brought out of *Hertfordſhire* by the Lord *Capel*. Nevertheleſs, as they found themſelves not in Condition to keep the Field before a victorious as well as a ſtronger Army, they reſolved to retire to *Colcheſter*. This was an open unfortified Town: but they ſpeedily caſt up ſuch Works before the Avenues, that they did not fear being ſtormed. Here they reſolved to ſtand upon their Defence, and ſee how Matters would go in the other Counties, and particularly in the *North*.

The Revolters retire to Colcheſter

1648. *The General blocks them up in* Colcheſter

The Leading-Men who were in *Colcheſter* were the Earl of *Norwich* (*a*), the Lord *Capel*, Sir *George Liſle*, Sir *William Compton*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *Bernard Gaſcoign*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Farr*, and ſeveral other good Officers, with a Garriſon of Three Thouſand Men, all bent to ſell their Lives at a dear Rate. This furniſhed the General with a Reaſon, or perhaps a Pretence not to attack this Place in Form, but to keep it blocked up, and reduce the Beſieged by Famine. I ſay, this might be a Pretence: for it ſeems, in ſuch a Juncture, when all the Kingdom was as it were in a Flame, and the *Scotch* Army expected every Moment, not to have been proper for the General to employ himſelf in a Blockade, which very probably would hold a good while, and leave all the reſt of the Kingdom without Defence, eſpecially as he was in great Danger from the City of *London*. But as he might have good Reaſons to run no Hazard, it is not my Buſineſs to blame his Conduct. All that can be ſaid is, that his whole Proceedings ſhowed he had no mind to fight with the *Scots*, though he always acted with Vigour againſt the King's Friends. May I venture to make one Conjecture? *Fairfax* was a zealous *Presbyterian*; but hitherto had ſuffered himſelf to be guided, or rather deceived, by *Cromwell*. Perhaps having diſcovered the Artifices and ill Deſigns of this his Friend, he would not have been ſorry to ſee *Cromwell* defeated, in Expectation that if he were ſlain or loſt his Reputation, it would be eaſier to make Peace, which he found to be impracticable as long as *Cromwell* ſhould be able to oppoſe it. According to this Suppoſition, the Blockade of *Colcheſter* gave the General an Opportunity to wait without running any Hazard, the Iſſue of the War which was preparing in the *North*. However this be, he applied himſelf to the Blockade, which began the 10th of *June*, and ended not till about the End of *Auguſt*.

Conjecture about the General's Views.

The

(*a*) The ſame that was heretofore General *Goring*, Governour of *Portſmouth*, and had been made Earl of *Norwich* in 1644.

The revolted *Kentiſhmen*, as I ſaid, had advanced twice towards *London*, in hopes the City would declare for them. This Hope was not altogether groundleſs. Beſides, that it was known that the City was very much diſpleaſed with the Army, the common People had, in the Beginning of *April*, ſhown their Readineſs for any Undertaking, when it ſhould be thought fit to ſet them to work. Some Perſons playing and ſporting on a *Sunday* in *Moorfields* in contempt of the Ordinance of Parliament, the Conſtables of that Quarter would have diſperſed them: but it was not in their Power. The Obſtinacy of the Mob went ſo far, that a Party of the Train'd-bands were forced to be ſent for to deal with them. But before the Party arrived, the Number of the Rioters was grown ſo great, that they fell upon and diſperſed the Train'd-bands, wounding and killing ſeveral of them. This Succeſs inflamed the Tumult in ſuch a manner, that the Mob came from all Quarters to join with the Mutineers. Some ſeized *Newgate* and *Ludgate*; others went to the Lord-Mayor's Houſe, who ſeeing them coming ran away to the *Tower*, whilſt others made towards *Whitehall*, but were beaten back by the Regiment of Horſe poſted in the *Meuſe* for a Guard to the Parliament. In the Night the Tumult ſtill increaſed: The Cry was every where, *For God and King* Charles. The General, who was then in *London*, with only the two Regiments at *Whitehall* and the *Meuſe*, called a Council out of Hand, where it was debated whether they ſhould ſtay for more Forces, or attack the Mutineers with theſe two Regiments: The laſt was judged moſt adviſeable, whilſt the Seditious were acting yet with great Confuſion, and had no Leader to conduct them. They were therefore vigorouſly attacked when they leaſt expected it, and when they thought themſelves Maſters of the City, and though they made an obſtinate Defence, were at length diſperſed. The Parliament, having received a particular Account of this Commotion, believed it to have been very dangerous, and ordered

1648. *Tumult at London.*

The Mutineers are diſperſed.

1648. publick Thanks to be given to God in all the Churches of *London* for its being happily appeaſed. When I ſay the Parliament, I mean the Parliament ſtill directed by the *Independents*, who dreaded nothing ſo much as to ſee *London* declare againſt the Army. But as the Army was not yet removed to any great Diſtance, the Magiſtrates were too wiſe to declare ſo unſeaſonably.

I have already ſpoken of Two of the Projects againſt the Army; the Inſurrection in *Wales*, which kept *Cromwell* employed till the Beginning of the Month of *July*; and that of *Kent*, which by being too haſty, came to nothing; and laſtly, of the Tumult in *London*, which probably had been ſtirred up by ſome raſh and inconſiderate Royaliſts, who knew nothing of the Projects that were on Foot. I muſt now ſpeak of ſome others which were put in Execution much about the ſame time, that is, whilſt Preparations were making in *Scotland* to ſend an Army into *England*, and which were attended with no better Succeſs.

The Duke of York *eſcapes from* London. April 21. Ruſh. VII. p. 1007.

The firſt was the Duke of *York*'s Eſcape, the King's ſecond Son, who found means to get away from St. *James*'s Palace, where he was under the Cuſtody of the Earl of *Northumberland*, and retired into *Holland*, to the Princeſs of *Orange* his Siſter. Thus to have his two eldeſt Sons out of the Power of his Enemies, was no ſmall Advantage and Satisfaction to the King. *

Langdale *ſeizes* Berwick, *and* Muſgrave Carliſle. Ruſh. VII. p. 1099. April 28.

Some Days after, *Langdale* poſſeſſed himſelf of *Berwick*, and *Muſgrave* of *Carliſle*. The Parliament had received ſome Intelligence of the Deſign to ſurprize theſe Places, and might have prevented it by putting Garriſons there. But as, by the late Treaty with *Scotland*, they were to be left to the Care of the Inhabitants, the two Houſes were unwilling by ſeizing them, to give the *Scots* ſo juſt an Occaſion to complain at a time when they wanted Pretences to ſend an Army

* This Eſcape was managed by Colonel *Bamfield*, Clarend.

Army into *England*. They contented themſelves therefore with ſending word to the Mayors, charging them to take care and provide againſt a Surprize, which however they either could not or would not prevent. 1648.

As ſoon as *Langdale* was Maſter of *Berwick*, all the Royaliſts in *Yorkſhire*, *Cumberland*, and *Weſtmoreland* came and joined with him. By this means, he formed in a very ſhort time a Body of Three Thouſand Foot and One Thouſand Horſe, with which he was in Condition to go in queſt of General *Lambert*, who commanded in thoſe Parts for the Parliament. But he received very expreſs Orders from *Edinburgh* not to engage in any Action, what Advantage ſoever he might hope for from thence, but to retire to the Parts adjacent to *Carliſle* till the Arrival of the *Scotch* Army, which he obeyed. The Reaſon of this Order was, that as the *rigid Presbyterians* of *Scotland* were extremely jealous of the Royal Party, the Managers of Affairs were apprehenſive that what ſhould be done in *England* for the King, would obſtruct the levying an Army in *Scotland*. And indeed, it was publickly given out, that the Army was intended for the King's rather than for the Service of the *Engliſh* Presbyterians.

Part of the Fleet revolt againſt the Parliament and go to Holland. May 27. Ruſh. VII. p. 1131.

The Loſs of *Berwick* and *Carliſle* was followed ſoon after with another, which one would think ſhould have embroiled the Affairs of the *Independents*: I mean the Revolt of Part of the Fleet about the End of *May*. The Parliament having ordered Eight Men of War to guard the Seas during the Summer, theſe Ships lay in the *Downs* to take in Proviſions, which was done but ſlowly, becauſe there was not much to be feared from that Quarter. While this Part of the Fleet lay in the *Downs*, ſome *Kentiſh* Gentlemen, the King's Friends, frequently came on board. Whether they found in the Sailors an Inclination to Mutiny, or begot in themſelves by converſing with them, it fell out ſhortly after that the Service was not performed on board the Fleet with

1648. the same Submission as before. The Seamen took the Liberty to contradict their Officers, and to obey them no farther than they thought fit. The Officers perceiving this great Alteration, acquainted the Parliament with it, and immediately Vice-Admiral *Rainsborough*, who was to command this Squadron, was ordered to repair to the Fleet, and enquire into the Cause of this Disobedience. *Rainsborough*, being naturally a very severe Man, began to make strict Inquisition on board his Ship; upon which the Men all rose against him, and laying hold on him, put him with some more of the Officers into the Boat, and sent them on Shore. This was no sooner known to the rest of the Ships, but they followed their Example, and used such Officers, as they did not like, in the same manner. As the Fleet was not yet well victualled, they were obliged to stay some Days longer in the *Downs*, during which the Royalists supplied them with Necessaries in the best manner they could. After that they sailed for *Holland*, and came to an Anchor at *the Brill*, in order to put themselves under the Command of the Duke of *York*, who was designed by the King to be Lord High-Admiral, as soon as he should be of fit Age for that Post.

The Duke is received on board as Admiral.

The Duke of *York* being come to the Fleet which was then at *Helvoet-Sluce*, was received with great Acclamations. He declared the Lord *Willoughby* * his Vice-Admiral, and appointed some other Officers in the several Ships, the Sailors having kept very few above the Rank of a *Boatswain* or *Mate*. As soon as the Prince of *Wales*, who was at *Paris* with the Queen his Mother, heard of the Revolt of these Ships, he resolved to go and command them himself, and make them turn to the best Account possible. But want of Money detained him longer than he wished, Cardinal *Mazarine* not being very forward to

* He had lately left the Parliament and withdrawn into *Holland*.

to ſupply him, no more than the Earl of *Ormond*, who waited in vain at *Paris*, for the Performance of his Promiſes with regard to *Ireland*. The News of the Duke his Brother being on board the Fleet, and preparing to Sail, made him repeat his Endeavours to procure Money upon Loan, wherein having ſucceeded at laſt, he came to *Calais*, and from thence by Sea to *Helvoet-Sluce*. He was received by the Fleet with all the Reſpect and Joy that could be wiſhed, and after having provided what was wanting, by the Aſſiſtance of the Prince of *Orange*, he ſent back the Duke of *York* to the *Hague*, it not being proper to venture both at one time. His Deſign was to ſeize *Yarmouth*, whether in order to go and head the *Scotch* Army when entered *England*, or to ſecure an Inlet into the Kingdom when there ſhould be occaſion. In ſailing towards *Yarmouth* he took a Ship of *London* bound for *Rotterdam*, laden with Cloath by the Company of Merchant-Adventurers. It was ſaid this Ship was worth Forty Thouſand Pounds. He ordered the Goods to be ſealed up, and kept on his Courſe. But he ſucceeded not in his Deſign upon *Yarmouth* as he expected, the Town refuſing to admit him, though great part of the Inhabitants were for the King. Whereupon he reſolved to enter the *Thames*, as well to intercept all outward and homeward-bound Ships, as to ſupport the King's Party, and that of the *Presbyterians* in the Parliament and City. For he was not ignorant of the Projects that had been formed. Beſides, the Queen his Mother had enjoined him to court the *Presbyterians*, conceiving it was only by their Means that the King could be reſtored. For this Reaſon he afterwards releaſed the Cloath-Ship for Twelve Thouſand Pound.

1648.

The Prince of Wales *comes to the Fleet.*

He ſails towards Yarmouth

Takes a Ship richly laden.

Is refuſed admittance into Yarmouth

Enters the River Thames.

Whilſt the Prince lay in the *Thames*, where he ſeized ſome other Merchant Ships, the Earl of *Warwick* being well aſſured of the Fidelity of the reſt of the Ships at *Portſmouth* and elſewhere, drew a Fleet together, and went and anchored in ſight of the Prince; ſo that in all appearance the two Fleets

The Earl of Warwick *approaches him in order to engage him.*

1648. would not part without coming to an Engagement. But though the Prince seemed well enough inclined to fight, he was advised to avoid it if possible, and not without reason. His Ships were fewer in Number, and much smaller than the Earl of *Warwick's*; besides, the Earl expected others from *Portsmouth* every moment, which arrived accordingly the next Day; insomuch that it would not have been an equal Match. So, the Prince sailed back to *Holland*, and came safe with his Fleet to *Helvoet-Sluce*. The Earl of *Warwick* followed him, and appeared before that Port, but to no manner of purpose.

They part without fighting.

Thus ended the Prince of *Wales*'s Expedition with the revolted Ships. The Money he received for the Ships he had taken was not sufficient to pay his Fleet, and provide it with Necessaries, so that the Trouble it procured him was greater than the Benefit he reaped by it. Before I leave this Subject it will not be improper to explain in a few Words some Circumstances to be met with in the Lord *Clarendon*'s History.

Explication of some Circumstances related by the Lord Clarendon.

Whilst these two Fleets lay in sight and seemed to prepare for Battle, the Prince sent *Harry Seymour* to the Earl of *Warwick*, with a Letter to invite him to return to his Allegiance. The Earl answered, That he advised his Highness to put himself into the Hands of the Parliament. Notwithstanding this discouraging Answer, the Prince sent Mr. *Crofts* to the Earl, who had married his Aunt, imagining he durst not venture to discover his Mind to *Seymour*. But *Crofts* returned with much the same Answer. Hence it appears that the Prince thought he had some room to rely upon the Earl of *Warwick*, as the Lord *Clarendon* insinuates, and the Ground of his Hope, which was properly the Effect only of his, or rather of the whole Royal Party's Prepossession, was briefly this. The *Scotch* Commissioners, as I said, did not acquaint the leading *Presbyterians* with the Particulars of their Treaty with the King in the Isle of

of *Wight*. They only gave them to underſtand that an Army would be raiſed in *Scotland* to deliver the King out of the Hands of the *Independents*, and that it was neceſſary the *Royaliſts* and *Presbyterians* ſhould ſecond theſe Endeavours, by acting jointly or ſeparately. This Propoſal being accepted, the *Royaliſts* and *Presbyterians* prepared to countenance the Deſigns of the *Scots* by Inſurrections in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, as was ſaid. Matters ſtanding thus, the Earl of *Holland*, who had acted an ill Part in the late War, had a mind on this Occaſion to reconcile himſelf to the King, by labouring his Reſtoration. To that End, he received a Commiſſion from the Prince of *Wales*, impowering him to raiſe Forces for the King's Service, and the Earl of *Warwick* his Brother promiſed to aſſiſt him in his Deſigns. This is what the Prince knew, and made him believe that the Earl of *Warwick* was in the ſame Mind with the Earl his Brother. But there was a wide Difference between the Views of the *Royaliſts* and *Presbyterians*. Theſe laſt, of whom the Earl of *Warwick* was one of the Heads, did not intend to reſtore the King without Terms, but only to free him out of the Hands of the *Independents*, to make Conditions with him afterwards, which they called ſettling the Peace of the Kingdom. But the Prince and the King's whole Party would not underſtand this Difference; and preposterouſly imagined, that all thoſe who had promiſed to act againſt the *Independents*, had thereby engaged to ſerve the King without Terms. Herein lay the Miſtake. It is therefore evident, that the Earl of *Warwick*, who went upon *Presbyterian* Views, could not believe it to be his Intereſt to deliver up the Fleet to the Prince, ſince, notwithſtanding the preſent Occaſion which induced the *Presbyterians* to keep in a Readineſs to act againſt the Army, they ſtill conſidered the Royal Party as their real Enemies. 1648.

In

1648. In the beginning of the Month of *June* the King's Friends found means to surprise *Pontfract*-Castle in *Yorkshire* and put a Garrison there. Shortly after *Scarborough*-Castle revolted against the Parliament and declared for the King.

Pontfract-Castle surprised.

Rush. VII. p. 1133.

Project of the Earl of Holland.

The *Scotch* Army being at length upon the point of entering *England*, General *Fairfax* being still employed in the Blockade of *Colchester* and *Cromwell* in the Siege of *Pembroke*, and there being but two Regiments in *London*, the Earl of *Holland* thought he could not have a fairer Opportunity to execute the Design he had formed in favour of the King. This Design was so far from being a Secret, that it was become the common Talk of the whole City. It was known beforehand, what Day the Earl of *Holland* was to set out, and it did not appear that the Parliament took any notice of it. This was not for want of Information; but the Scene of Affairs was much altered since the Army's Removal from *London*. The *Independents* prevailed no more in the Parliament, and the *Presbyterians* began to look up. For this Reason, the *Independents* did not think proper, at such a Juncture, to take any Steps that might induce the City of *London* to declare openly. On the other Hand, the *Presbyterian* Members were far from endeavouring to prevent the Earl of *Holland*'s Design, which they looked upon as flowing from the general Combination for the Delivery of the King out of the Hands of the Army. So the Earl publickly took Horse at *London*, accompanied with about a Hundred Horsemen, and came to *Kingston* upon *Thames*, where the young Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Francis Villers* his Brother, and the Earl of *Peterborough* joined him with some Troops. As soon as they were together, they sent a Letter to the Lord-Mayor and Common-Council of *London*, declaring their Intentions to join with the Forces of *Surrey*, *Sussex*, and *Middlesex*, to release his Majesty's Person, to bring him with Honour to his Parliament, and to settle Peace in the Kingdom: And that they desired their Assistance no farther

He is joined by the Duke of Buckingham *and others.*

Rush. VII. p. 1180.

They write to the City, July 7.

farther than their Deſigns were realy for the Good and Happineſs, both of the King, Parliament, and Kingdom, *according to the Covenant*. Theſe laſt Words, *according to the Covenant*, ſeemed neceſſary, becauſe they knew the *Presbyterians* wiſhed for nothing ſo much as the Confirmation of the *Covenant*. But the Magiſtrates of *London* thought not fit to chuſe for Leaders, the Earl of *Holland*, who was in no great Repute, or the Duke of *Buckingham* as an unexperienced Youth, who had only the King's Service in view, without troubling himſelf much about the Publick, or the *Covenant*; or in ſhort, any of theſe Lords, whoſe Principles were by no means agreeable to thoſe of the *Presbyterians*. So without anſwering this Letter, they ſent it to the Parliament, who immediately voted the Lords that had ſigned it to be Traitors, [and their Eſtates to be ſequeſtred]. 1648.

They are declared Traitors.

The ſame Day the Letter was writ, Colonel *Leveſey*, with ſome Companies of the two Regiments that were quartered in the City of *Weſtminſter*, met theſe Lords near *Kingſton*, and entirely routed them. But the Horſe only on both Sides were ingaged: *Leveſey*'s Foot which were left behind, not being yet come up, and the Lords having ſent theirs to *Kingſton* to ſecure their Retreat. *Leveſey* briskly purſued them quite to *Kingſton*, where the Foot ſtood their Ground and hindered the Enemies Horſe from entering the Town. That ſame Night they quitted *Kingſton*, and retired towards St. *Albans*, with about four Hundred Men.

They are defeated near Kingſton. Ruſh VII. p. 1182.

Mean while General *Fairfax* hearing of this Inſurrection, ſent from the Blockade of *Colcheſter* Colonel *Scroop* with a Regiment of *Horſe*, to the Aſſiſtance of the Parliament's Troops. *Scroop* coming to *Hertford*, was informed that the Lords who had been defeated at *Kingſton*, were at St. *Neots* in a negligent manner. Upon this Intelligence, he marched thither in the Night and ſurpriſed them in that little Town, killing ſome of their Men, taking above a Hundred Priſoners, and diſperſing the reſt. The Lord *Francis Villers* was

They are ſurprized at St. Neots, *where the Earl of* Holland *is taken.* ibid. p. 1187.

1648. was slain *. The Duke of *Buckingham* his Brother found Means to escape, and the Earl of *Holland* was taken, conducted to *London*, and afterwards sent Prisoner to *Warwick*-Castle. Thus ended this mighty Enterprize, which had been ill-concerted and worse managed by Persons of no Experience or Skill in the Art of War.

The Scotch Army enters England. At last, the Duke of *Hamilton* entered *England* at the Head of the *Scotch* Army, the 11th of *July*. The same Day *Pembroke*-Castle surrendered to *Cromwell*, who immediately dispatched a Body of Horse to reinforce the Army in the *North* commanded by Major-General *Lambert*. He set out himself three Days after, with the rest of his Forces, which were already very much fatigued by the late Siege, and whereof the greatest part wanted Shoes and Stockings, though they undertook a long march, which in all all likelihood would be followed with a Battle. These Difficulties disheartened not *Cromwell*. He pursued his March with all the Speed possible, and yet could not join *Lambert* till about the Middle of *August*. We must now see what the Duke of *Hamilton* was doing, whilst *Cromwell* was marching towards him.

Pembroke Castle surrenders. July 11.

Cromwell marches towards the North. Rush VII. p. 1190.

The Duke of Hamilton's *Aim.* The Design of those who had prevailed for the raising an Army in *Scotland*, seemed to be to assist the *English* Presbyterians, to free the Parliament from the Yoke of the *Independents*, and to deliver the King out of the Hands of the Army. These at least were the most plausible Things that were urged to bring the Parliament of *Scotland* to consent to this extraordinary Expedition. But it may very justly be doubted whether these were the Ends all the Leaders of that Party proposed to themselves. In all appearance, some, among whom were the Duke of *Hamilton*, and his Brother the Earl of *Lanerick*, sought only to restore the King without Terms, or at least without any other Condition than what he had himself all along offered, namely, his Promise to observe the

* He was slain in the Skirmish at *Kingston*. Clarend.

the ancient Laws. They did not concern themſelves much about maintaining the Eſtabliſhment of *Presbyterianiſm* in *England*, or the *Covenant* between the two Nations. Others, as the Earls of *Loudon* and *Lauderdale*, who had been Commiſſioners in *England*, really intended to ſerve the King but upon theſe two Conditions, that the *Presbyterian*-Government ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, and the *Covenant* punctually obſerved. As they thought they had taken ſufficient Care of theſe two Points, by the Iſle of *Wight* Treaty, they gave themſelves but little Trouble about the other Conditions required of the King by the Parliament of *England* concerning the *Militia*, Nomination to the great Offices, *&c.* But it is very likely their Deſign was to deceive one another. Theſe laſt meant to make uſe of the King's Party to procure the Execution of the Iſle of *Wight* Treaty, and the King's Party, feigning to agree to what the others deſired, intended to make uſe of them to put the King in a Condition not to be compelled to receive any Terms. The Duke of *Hamilton*'s Conduct after his Entrance into *England*, ſeems to me to be a very ſtrong Evidence that he deſigned not to act in favour of the *Presbyterians*. If he had any ſuch Intention, he ſhould not, one would think, have loſt, as he did, forty Days in the northern Counties, but marched directly to *London*. *Lambert* would not have been able to hinder his March, being much weaker than he. *Cromwell* was yet taken up in *Wales*, and *Fairfax* employed in the Blockade of *Colcheſter*. In all probability, if without loſing any Time, he had marched ſtraight to *London*, he would have arrived there before *Cromwell* and *Lambert* could have joined Forces, and if *Fairfax* had quitted the Blockade of *Colcheſter* to go and throw himſelf into *London*, it is very likely the Inhabitants would have ſhut their Gates againſt him, ſince they would have been ſupported by the Army of *Scotland*. At leaſt, in caſe *Fairfax* had riſen from before *Colcheſter*, that Town, the whole County of *Eſſex*, and doubtleſs, *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*,

1648.

The Scotch *Commiſſioners and* Royaliſts *would deceive one another.*

Duke Hamilton *loſes a great deal of Time in the* North.

1648. *Norfolk*, would have joined with the *Scots*. In a Word, if the *Scotch* Army had marched towards the Middle of the Kingdom, there is no queſtion but there would have been in many Places, Inſurrections which would have greatly diſtreſſed the Army of the *Independents*; and if the Duke of *Hamilton* could have reached *London*, certainly the City and Parliament would have openly declared againſt the Army, and expelled out of both Houſes, the *Independent* Members. We ſhall ſee hereafter, that all this is not bare Conjecture, when we conſider what paſſed in the City and Parliament, whilſt it was expected that the *Scotch* Army would take the Courſe above-mentioned.

Conjectures of the Lord Clarendon's Vol. V. p. 161.

But the Duke of *Hamilton* had doubtleſs other Views, ſince he ſtaid above a Month in the North, without any Neceſſity. The Lord *Clarendon* conjectures, that the Duke's Intent was to afford Time to the *Engliſh* Army to defeat thoſe Forces which were up in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom for the King, that they might not be ſo united as to obſtruct the *Presbyterians* Deſign. But though I have a great Regard for that noble Hiſtorian, I cannot be of his Opinion, for two Reaſons which to me ſeem very ſtrong. The firſt is, that the Duke of *Hamilton* was not of the Number of the zealous *Presbyterians*. On the contrary, though he had taken the *Covenant*, he was an *Epiſcoparian* in his Heart, as he had ſufficiently diſcovered when he could do it without Danger. The Second is, that he was the Man that had moſt courted and drawn into *Scotland* the *Royaliſts*, whilſt the voting the raiſing of an Army was in Hand. I ſhould rather think, he had a quite contrary Aim to what the Lord *Clarendon* imputes to him; that inſtead of deſigning to countenance the *Presbyterian* Party, he was apprehenſive rather of rendering them too powerful, by his Approach to *London*, well-knowing that when the King ſhould be in the Hands of the *Presbyterians*, his Condition would ſcarce be mended. It is very likely, his long ſtay in the North, was only to give the King's Friends in thoſe Parts

Different Conjectures.

Opportunity

Opportunity to join with *Langdale*'s Forces, and thereby render the King's Party ſuperiour. 1648.

However this be, not to dwell too long upon Conjectures, as ſoon as the Duke of *Hamilton* was entered into *England*, he marched to *Carliſle*, from whence he drew out the *Engliſh* Garriſon, placed there by *Muſgrave*, and put in a *Scotch*. Some Days after, *Langdale* joined him with about four Thouſand *Engliſh* Foot, and ſeven or eight Hundred Horſe. But theſe Troops remained ſeparate, making a Body apart, and in the Marches, *Langdale* was always a Day before the *Scotch* Army. This was to evade in ſome Meaſure the Order of the Parliament of *Scotland*, that the *Engliſh* who had not taken the *Covenant* ſhould not be received into the Army, nor act in Conjunction with the *Scots*. Notwithſtanding this the *Engliſh* and *Scots* made but one Army, under the Command of the Duke of *Hamilton*, from whom *Langdale* was to receive Orders. *Lambert* who was poſted near the Place where the two Armies joined, or at leaſt were near each other, retired in ſuch Diſorder, that in all Appearance he would have been defeated, had he been purſued; but the Duke of *Hamilton* did not think fit to improve this Advantage. He continued ſome Days at *Carliſle*, after which he marched towards *Kendal* in *Weſtmoreland*, where he made a long ſtay, till finding not wherewithal to ſubſiſt his Army, he was in a manner forced to go on to *Lancaſhire* with part of his Army, leaving the reſt at *Kendal*. At length he advanced to *Preſton*, where he halted, the Reaſon whereof is not known, unleſs it was to ſtay for *Monroe*, who was coming with three Thouſand Men from *Scotland*.

The Duke marches, Ruſh. VII. p. 1193.

He is joined by Langdale.

He enters Lancaſhire.

Mean while, *Cromwell* having reached *Yorkſhire*, *Lambert* went and joined him out of Hand, and they marched together directly to *Preſton*, where the Duke of *Hamilton* lay. *Langdale* who made the Van of the Duke's Army with his *Engliſh* Troops, ſent him Word that *Cromwell* was approaching with a Reſolution to give him Battle, and that conſequently it was neceſſary to

Cromwell *joins* Lambert.

1648. keep his Army close together. But the Duke took no manner of notice of this Intelligence, being perswaded that it was only some Detachment of *Cromwell*'s Army. In short, *Langdale* was met with and charged by the Enemies Horse, who drove him to *Preston*, whither he brought with him some Prisoners, who averred, that *Cromwell*'s whole Army was at Hand. Whereupon the Duke sent him back to his Troops, promising to send him Assistance: But he was not as good as his Word. So *Langdale* being attacked, was forced to maintain a very unequal Fight, which lasted however five or six Hours; but in the end he was utterly routed. Immediately after *Cromwell*'s Horse marched directly to *Preston*, where all was in such Confusion that nothing was thought on but how to escape. The Duke himself found it proper to retire by the Bridge, which he in vain endeavoured to guard, after he had passed it. The following Letter was sent by *Cromwell* to the Parliament the 20th of *August*, containing a particular Account of what passed between the two Armies, on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of *August*.

He defeats Langdale.

The Duke's Army is routed.

Crom-well's *Letter about it.* Rush. VII. p. 1237.

" AFter the Conjunction of that Party which I brought with me out of *Wales* with the northern Forces about *Knaresborough* and *Wetherby*, hearing that the Enemy was advanced with their Army to *Lancashire*, we came the 6th Instant to *Hodder*-Bridge over *Ribble*, where we had a Council of War; and upon Advertisement the Enemy intended *Southward*, and since confirmed, that they resolved for *London* it self, and Information that the *Irish* Forces under *Monroe* lately come out of *Ireland*, which consisted of twelve Thousand Horse, and fifteen Hundred Foot, were on their march towards *Lancashire* to join with them, it was thought to engage the Enemy to fight was our Business; and accordingly marching over the Bridge that Night, quartered the whole Army in the Fields. Next Morning we marched towards

" *Preſton*, having Intelligence that the Enemy was 1648.
" drawing together thereabouts from all his out-
" quarters; we drew out a Forlorn of about two
" Hundred Horſe, and four Hundred Foot; theſe
" gallantly engaged the Enemy's Scouts and Out-
" guards, untill we had Opportunity to bring
" up our whole Army. So ſoon as our Foot and
" Horſe were come up, we reſolved that Night to
" engage them if we could; and therefore advanc-
" ing with our Forlorns, and putting the reſt of the
" Army into as good a Poſture as the Ground would
" bear, (which was totally inconvenient for our
" Horſe, being all Incloſure and miry Ground) we
" preſſed upon them through a Lane, and forced
" them from their Ground, after four Hours diſpute,
" untill we came to the Town; into which four
" Troops of my Regiment firſt entered; and being
" well ſeconded by Colonel *Harriſon*'s Regiment,
" charged the Enemy in the Town, and cleared the
" Streets. At laſt the Enemy was put into Diſor-
" der, many Men ſlain, and many Priſoners taken;
" the Duke with moſt of the *Scot*'s Horſe and Foot
" retreated over the Bridge; where after a very hot
" Diſpute betwixt the *Lancaſhire* Regiments, (part
" of my Lord General's and them being at puſh of
" Pike) they were beaten from the Bridge, and our
" Horſe and Foot following them, killed many,
" and took divers Priſoners; and we poſſeſſed the
" Bridge over *Darvent*, and a few Houſes there,
" the Enemy being drawn up within Muſquet Shot
" of us, where we lay that Night, we not being able
" to attempt further upon the Enemy, the Night
" preventing us. In this Poſture did the Enemy and
" we lie moſt part of that Night; upon entering the
" Town, many of the Enemy's Horſe fled towards
" *Lancaſter*, in the Chaſe of whom we had divers of
" our Horſe, which purſued them near ten Miles,
" and had Execution of them, and took about five
" Hundred Horſe, and many Priſoners: We poſſeſſ-
" ed in the Fight very much of the Enemy's Am-

1648. " munition; I believe they loſt Four or Five Thou-
" ſand Arms; the Number of the Slain we judge
" to be about a Thouſand, the Priſoners we took
" near about Four Thouſand.

" In the Night they marched away, Seven or
" Eight Thouſand Foot, and about Four Thouſand
" Horſe; we followed them with about Three
" Thouſand Foot, and about Two Thouſand Five
" Hundred Horſe and Dragoons; and in this
" Proſecution that worthy Gentleman Colonel
" *Thornbaugh*, preſſing too boldly, was ſlain, being
" run into the Body, Thigh and Head, by the Ene-
" mies Lancers: Our Horſe ſtill proſecuted the Ene-
" my, killing and taking divers all the way; but by
" that time the Army was come up, they recovered
" *Wigan* before we could attempt any thing upon
" them. We lay that Night in the Field cloſe by
" the Enemy, lying very dirty and weary, where we
" had ſome ſkirmiſhing, *&c.* We took Major-Ge-
" neral *Van Druske*, Col. *Hurrey*, and Lieutenant-
" Colonel *Ennis*.

" The next Morning the Enemy marched towards
" *Warrington*, made a Stand at a Paſs near *Winaick*;
" we held them in ſome Diſpute until our Army was
" come up, they maintaining the Paſs with great
" Reſolution for many Hours; but our Men, by
" the Bleſſing of God, charged very home upon
" them, beat them from their ſtanding, where we
" killed about a Thouſand of them, and took (as
" we believe) about Two Thouſand Priſoners, and
" proſecuted them home to *Warrington* Town, where
" they poſſeſſed the Bridge. As ſoon as we came
" thither, I received a Meſſage from Lieutenant-
" General *Bailey*, deſiring ſome Capitulation; to
" which I yielded, and gave him theſe Terms: That
" he ſhould ſurrender himſelf and all his Officers and
" Soldiers Priſoners of War, with all his Arms, Am-
" munition, and Horſes, upon Quarter for Life; which
" accordingly is done. Here are took about Four
" Thouſand

" Thouſand compleat Arms, and as many Priſo- 1648.
" ners: And thus you have their Infantry ruined.

" The Duke is marched with his remaining Horſe " (which are about Three Thouſand) towards " *Nantwich*, where the Gentlemen of the Country " have taken about Five Hundred of them; the " Country will ſcarce ſuffer any of them to paſs, " but bring in and kill divers as they light upon " them. I have ſent Poſt to my Lord *Grey* and Sir " *Edward Rhodes*, to gather all together with ſpeed " for their Proſecution: *Monroe* is about *Cumberland*, " with the Horſe that ran away, and his *Iriſh* Horſe " and Foot; but I have left a conſiderable Strength, " I hope, to make Reſiſtance till we can come up to " them.

" Thus you have the Narrative of the Particulars " of the Succeſs. I could hardly tell how to ſay " leſs, there being ſo much of God; and I was not " willing to ſay more, leaſt there ſhould ſeem to " be any thing of Man; only give me leave to add " one word, ſhewing the Diſparity of the Forces of " both Sides; that ſo you may ſee, and all the World " acknowledge the great Hand of God in this Bu- " ſineſs. The *Scots* Army could not be leſs than " Twelve Thouſand Foot well armed, and Five " Thouſand Horſe; *Langdale* not leſs than Two " Thouſand Five Hundred Foot, and Fifteen Hun- " dred Horſe; in all Twenty-one Thouſand: In " ours, in all, about Eight Thouſand Six Hundred, " and by Computation about Two Thouſand of " the Enemy's ſlain, betwixt Eight and Nine Thou- " ſand Priſoners, beſides what are lurking in Hedges " and private Places, which the Country daily " bring in or deſtroy."

The Duke is taken Priſoner, and his whole Army diſperſed.

To finiſh, in a few words, the Relation of the unfortunate End of Duke *Hamilton* and his Army, I ſhall add, to what is ſaid in *Cromwell*'s Letter, that the Duke having retired to *Nantwich*, and finding himſelf purſued by *Lambert* with a ſtrong Party of Horſe,

1648. Horſe, marched to *Uxeter*, where *Lambert* came almoſt as ſoon as he, and where the *Scots* made not the leaſt Show of Reſiſtance. To ſay all in one word, the Duke was taken with all the Officers that were about him, and of the whole Army none eſcaped but the Horſe, who went and joined *Monroe* in *Cumberland*. To this came the great Efforts of *Scotland* in favour of the King. I ſay in favour of the King, for it is certain, moſt of the Authors of this Enterprize intended the King's Reſtoration, though they covered their Deſign with other Pretences.

Colcheſter *ſurrenders at Diſcretion to* Fairfax. Aug. 27. Ruſh. VII. p. 124.

The Defeat of the *Scotch* Army was followed, within few Days, by the taking of *Colcheſter*, the Blockade whereof had laſted above two Months. The Beſieged having been forced to ſurrender at Diſcretion, the General called a Council of War, where it was determined that the Lord *George Liſle*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *Bernard Gaſcoigne* (*a*) ſhould be ſhot to Death. The two firſt were executed accordingly. But the General hearing that Sir *Bernard* was a *Florentine*, ſaved his Life, for fear the Grand-Duke ſhould make the *Engliſh* Gentlemen pay dear for it, who frequently travelled into his Dominions. *

Lucas *and* Liſle *ſhot to Death.*

The

(*a*) Or rather *Guaſconi*, for that was the Name of this *Florentine*, whom the *Engliſh* called *Gaſcoigne*.

* The other Priſoners taken at *Colcheſter* were the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Loughborough*, Sir *William Compton*, Sir *Ab. Shipman*, Sir *John Wats*, Sir *Lodowick Dyer*, Sir *Henry Appleton*, Sir *Dennard Strutt*, Sir *Hugh Oriley*, Sir *Richard Mauliverer*, Nine Colonels, Eight Lieutenant-Colonels, Nine Majors, Thirty Captains, Gentlemen Sixty five, Lieutenants Seventy-two, Enſigns and Cornets Sixty nine, Serjeants a Hundred and Eighty-three, private Soldiers Three Thouſand Sixty-ſeven. They held out ſo long, that all the Dogs and Cats, and moſt of the Horſes were eaten. The Women and Children being at the Lord *Goring*'s Door, *Aug.* 20. crying out for Bread, he told them, *They muſt eat their Children if they wanted.* Whereupon the Women reviling him threatned to pull out his Eyes. The Town was preſerved from Plunder upon paying Fourteen Thouſand Pound. *Ruſh. Whit.*

1648. Lauderdale *presses the Prince in vain to go into* Scotland.

The Prince of *Wales* was at the *Hague*, when the News of Duke *Hamilton*'s Defeat arrived there. On the Morrow, the Earl of *Lauderdale* waited on him with a Letter from the Parliament of *Scotland*, inviting him to come into their Country, and head the Army which was entered *England*. But the News he had received the Day before being confirmed, he did not think fit to hazard his Perſon to no purpoſe, though the Earl of *Lauderdale* preſſed him exceedingly to enter upon his Journey. So the Earl was obliged to return home all alone.

The State of the Parliament and City.

After having related the Fruits of the ſeveral Commotions ſtirred up by the King's Friends in the laſt Seven or Eight Months, it will be neceſſary before we proceed, to ſpeak of what paſſed in the Parliament and City all that while.

The Independents prevail in the Parliament.

After the two Houſes had voted no more Addreſſes to the King, there was a perfect Good-underſtanding between the Parliament and the Army. The Army no more pretended to meddle in State-Affairs. They conſented that the ſupernumerary Troops, that is, ſuch as were not upon the late Eſtabliſhment, ſhould be disbanded by Companies, as Money was raiſed to pay them. They promiſed to retire to the Towns and Garriſons as ſoon as the Parliament ſhould ſettle a neceſſary Fund for their regular Pay. This Condeſcenſion or rather Submiſſion to the Parliament, proceeded from the *Independents* carrying all before them in both Houſes, no Reſolution being taken but by their Direction, or at leaſt that was contrary to their Views. On the other Hand, though the *Presbyterians* were not ſorry that there were Inſurrections in the Kingdom capable of keeping the Army employed, and obliging them to remove from *London*, they were in danger however that the King's Party would grow too powerful before the *Scotch* Army ſhould enter *England*. Upon this Army it was that they grounded their hopes of becoming once more Maſters of the Parliament and Kingdom. But they were very ſenſible that before they had received

The Presbyterians rely upon the Aſſiſtance of Scotland.

Policy of the Preſbyterians.

1648. the Aid expected from *Scotland*, it was not their Intereſt to ſecond the Endeavours of the *Royaliſts*, whoſe Views were very oppoſite to theirs, for fear of enabling them to renew the War by their own Strength. On the other Hand, they would have acted very imprudently, if they had openly declared againſt the Army whilſt it yet lay about *London*, without having a ſufficient Number of Forces to withſtand it. The Aſſiſtance of *Scotland* was the only thing that could enable them to look up. For which reaſon the Votes of both Houſes were always unanimous to condemn the Inſurrections in *Wales*, *Kent*, *Eſſex*, as well as thoſe of the Earl of *Holland* and the Duke of *Buckingham*. And this was the Reaſon alſo that the *Independents* met with no Obſtacle in cauſing the Eleven Members accuſed by the Army to be declared incapable of ſerving in Parliament, and the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen of *London*, and the Seven Peers to be proſecuted with the utmoſt Rigour for having a Hand in the Tumult of the 26th of *July*. Theſe were the Reſolves of a Parliament managed and ſwayed as yet by the *Independents*. But when once *Cromwell* was engaged in *Wales* with part of the Army, *Fairfax* taken up with the Blockade of *Colcheſter*, and the ſurprizing of *Berwick* and *Carliſle*, had made it neceſſary to ſend ſome Regiments into the *North*, the Scene of Affairs began to alter. The *Independent* Members found themſelves obliged, in their Turn, to diſſemble and conſent to Things which they would no doubt have oppoſed, had the Army been near enough to ſupport them.

They get uppermoſt in the Parliament.

A Petition from the City. April 27. Ruſh. VII. p. 1073.

The 27th of *April*, before the Army was removed from *London*, upon Information true or falſe, brought to the Parliament *, that ſome Officers had plotted to diſarm, and then plunder the City, the Common-Council

* One *Everard* made Affidavit before the Common-Council, that being in Bed in an Inn at *Windſor*, he heard ſome Officers talking *of diſarming the City, and then make them advance a Million of Money or plunder them* Whereupon the Common-Council informed the Houſe of the ſame in their Petition.

Council preſented a Petition to the Houſe of *Commons*, deſiring that the Chains of the City which had been lately pulled down might be ſet up again, the Army removed to a farther Diſtance from *London*, and Major General *Skippon* appointed to command within the Lines of Communication, and the weekly Bills of Mortality. It is evident the Common-Council had a mind to have it in their Power to act when the *Scotch* Army ſhould enter *England*. For they could not imagine the *Scots* had any other Thoughts but to ſupport the *Presbyterian* Party in *England*. The Houſe granted two of their Requeſts, and took time to conſider of the Removal of the Army. 1648.

The next Day the Houſe of *Commons* having taken into Conſideration the Affair of the ſettling the Government, voted:

" 1. That the Government of the Kingdom " ſhould be ſtill by King, Lords, and Commons.
" 2. That the Ground-work for this Government " ſhould be the Propoſitions laſt preſented to the " King at *Hampton-Court*.
" 3. That any Member of the Houſe ſhould " have leave to ſpeak freely to any Votes, Ordinan- " ces, or Declarations concerning the King, *&c.*"

The Commons Votes Ruſh VII. p. 1074.

Theſe *Votes* were directly contrary to the Deſigns of the *Independents*, who meant to aboliſh Regal Power, and ſet up a Commonwealth. But as their Intent was yet a Secret, or at leaſt they had not declared it, they did not think proper to diſcover it too openly, by oppoſing theſe *Votes*.

Some Days after, ſundry of the Inhabitants of *London* preſented a Petition to the Common-Council, praying that the Lord-Mayor and Sheriffs of *London* might be Members of the Committee for the Militia of the City, and that the reſt of the Committee might be nominated by the Common-Council.

Petition to the Common-Council touching the Militia Ruſh. VII. p. 1107.

1648. Upon this Petition, the Lord-Mayor and Common-Council presented one to the House of Commons, setting forth:

Petition from the Common-Council to the Parliament.

"That the General having by Letter informed "the House of Commons of his Design to remove "the two Regiments that were at *Westminster*, they "conceived that there was an Expectation the Par-"liament should be guarded by the Forces of the "City, which they were ready to do, provided they "were put into a Capacity to perform the same, by "settling the Militia of *London*, and being autho-"rized so to do.

"That the Lord-Mayor and Common-Council "might by Ordinance of Parliament be authorized "to nominate and present to both Houses of Par-"liament a Committee for the Militia of the said "City; whereby Commanders and Soldiers might "be the better united and encouraged to perform "their Duties for the Safety and Preservation of "the Parliament and City.

"That the Command of the *Tower* of *London* "might be put into the Hand of such a Person as "should be nominated and presented to both Houses "of Parliament by the Lord-Mayor and Common-"Council.

"That the Soldiers there remaining might be re-"moved."

All this was granted contrary to the Interest of the *Independents*, who, a few Months before, had ordered the Reverse, because they knew the *Londoners* were not their Friends. Thus the City endeavoured by degrees, under divers Pretences, to put themselves in Condition to act, when the Season was ripe.

Declaration of the Commons. Rush. VII. p. 1102.

It appears moreover by a Declaration of the House of *Commons* of the 5th of *May*, how much the *Presbyterians* began to be uppermost in the Parliament. This Declaration ran: *That the House is resolved to preserve and maintain* the solemn League *and* Covenant, *and*

the Treaties between the two Kingdoms of England *and* Scotland: *And that they will be ready to join with the Kingdom of* Scotland *in the Propoſitions agreed upon by the two Kingdoms, and preſented to his Majeſty at* Hampton-Court. This was the *Toothing-Stone* to unite themſelves with the *Scots*, as ſoon as they ſhould be entered into the Kingdom. Probably the *Commons* believed them to be more ready than they were, and moreover, they did not yet know that the Aim of thoſe who had promoted the raiſing of an Army in *Scotland*, was rather to ſerve the King than ſupport the *Presbyterian*-Party in *England*. But it was not long before they perceived that the Royaliſts Intention was not to maintain the Parliament's Intereſt. If the *Cavaliers*, for ſo the King's Party were called, had behaved with a little more Policy and leſs Eagerneſs and Heat, they might have done the King ſignal Service. But they made ſo open a Diſcovery, that their Deſign was to reſtore the King without Terms, that they obliged the *Presbyterians* to be upon their Guard, and even to run-counter to them, inſtead of acting jointly with them, as the *Cavaliers* expected. This furious Eagerneſs, or, if you pleaſe, extreme Zeal for the King's Service, was all along the diſtinguiſhing Character of that Party, and was often the Cauſe of their Deſigns proving unſucceſsful. Some of this Party, Inhabitants of the County of *Surry*, could not contain themſelves ſo long as would have been requiſite for the King's Intereſt. They met together in great Numbers, Horſe and Foot, and came to *Weſtminſter*, where they preſented a Petition to the Lords and another to the *Commons*, worded in ſuch high aud ſtrong Terms, that they ſeemed to believe themſelves backed by the whole Kingdom. They demanded:

1648.

The Royaliſts Eagerneſs is prejudicial to the King

Petition from Surry *in behalf of the King*

" That the King might be reſtored to his due Ho-
" nour and juſt Rights, according to the Oaths of
" *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*: That he might forthwith
" be eſtabliſhed in his Throne, according to the
" Splendour

Ruſh. VII. p. 1116.

1648. "Splendour of his Anceſtors: That he might for "the preſent come to *Weſtminſter* with Honour and "Safety, to treat perſonally for compoſing Diffe- "rences: That the Free-born Subject of *England* "might be governed by the known Laws and Sta- "tutes in force in the Kingdom: That the War be- "ginning might be prevented; and that the Ordi- "nances for preventing Free-quarter might be duly "executed, and Speed made in disbanding all Armies, "having their Arrears due paid them."

Nothing could be more unſeaſonable then ſuch a Petition in the preſent Juncture, when the Buſineſs was to foment the Diviſion between the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, whereas the Petition tended to unite them againſt the Royaliſts. The Lords anſwered, That they were now upon Conſideration of the Settlement of the Kingdom, and doubted not to ſatisfy all. Whilſt the *Commons* were upon debate of the Petition, ſome of the *Surry-Men* quarrelled with the Parliament's Guard, diſarmed Two or Three of the Soldiers, and killed one. Whereupon there was a Neceſſity, in order to hinder them from carrying their Violence any farther, to ſend for more Horſe and Foot from the *Meuſe* and *Whitehall*, who ſlew and wounded ſeveral before they could diſperſe them.

Union between the City and Parliament. Ruth. VII. p. 1120. May 20.

This Attempt, and an Information brought to the Houſe of *Commons* that Soldiers were privately liſting in *London*, and a Plot contriving by the Royal Party for the Deſtruction of the Parliament and City, of the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, cauſed the Parliament and the City to enter into a ſtrict Union together. It was equally their Intereſt to guard againſt the Royaliſts, who hated the City no leſs than they did the Parliament and Army, and to take Meaſures to hinder the Execution of the *Cavaliers* Deſigns. Thus the furious Zeal of the *Cavaliers* was extremely injurious to the King: whereas had it been rightly managed, it might have procured him great Advantages. If they could have brought themſelves to

hide their Sentiments, and let the *Presbyterians* believe that their ſole Intent was to deliver the King out of the Hands of the *Independents*, and to act againſt the Army, they would have doubtleſs, conſiderably ſtrengthened their Party, and the *Presbyterians*, far from annoying them, would have lent them Aſſiſtance This probably was the Duke of *Hamilton*'s Project, as well as theirs, who laboured to procure him the Command of the *Scotch* Army. But the raſh and impetuous Zeal of ſome particular Perſons, to whom it was not thought proper to impart the Secret, was the Reaſon that the *Presbyterians* ſtood upon their guard againſt the *Cavaliers*, as much as againſt the *Independents*. So of all the Inſurrections in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, whilſt the *Scotch* Army was expected, the *Presbyterians* did not care to be concerned in any, except that in *Kent*, wherein ſome General Officers and Reformadoes were willing to ingage. But that Attempt failing, they lay ſtill, waiting for the *Scots*, on whoſe Aſſiſtance they relied very much though without any Ground, as I ſaid before. 1648.

The Preſbyterians *miſtruſt the Royal Party.*

Mean while, the *Presbyterians* were in great Perplexity. The *Scotch* Army was not yet come, and they were in no leſs Danger from the King's Succeſſes than from the Army's. They could therefore join with neither, without working their own Deſtruction. The Deſigns of all three Parties were ſo oppoſite that which ſoever prevailed, the other two muſt have been ruined. The *Presbyterians* therefore came at length to a Reſolution to make Advantage of the Army's Abſence, of their Majority of Voices in the Parliament, and of the Aſſiſtance of the City, to conclude a Peace with the King. But in order to this ſame Peace, it was neceſſary the King ſhould conſent to three Conditions, without which they could not prevail with themſelves to be reconciled to him. The firſt was, *that the Militia of the Kingdom ſhould for ſuch a Number of Years be put into the Hands of both Houſes.* This Point having been the immediate Cauſe, or at leaſt the Pretence of the War, they could

They determine to conclude a Peace with the King on three previous Conditions

1648. could not depart from it without evidently ſhowing that the War had been undertaken without an abſolute Neceſſity, which would have rendered them odious to the whole Kingdom. For to what purpoſe had ſo much Blood been ſpilt, and ſo much Treaſure conſumed, if a Peace could be made without this Security? Beſides, the Neglecting this Article would have put them, as I may ſay, at the King's Mercy, whom they had mortally offended. The ſecond Condition was, *That the* Presbyterian *Government ſhould be eſtabliſhed by Authority of King and Parliament.* This Condition was no leſs neceſſary for them. It was one of the ſtrongeſt Motives for their undertaking and continuing the War, wherein they had been crowned with Succeſs, the Advantages whereof they were not at all inclined to give up. What would they have got by the War, if by a Peace they were to be liable again to the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops and Epiſcopal Clergy, their deadly Enemies? The Third Condition was, *That the King ſhould call in all his Proclamations and Declarations againſt the two Houſes.* The Neceſſity of this Condition is evident, for the King having declared the Members of both Houſes Rebels and Traitors, they could not treat with him as ſuch, without renouncing all their Rights and Pretenſions.

The Reſolution of treating with the King being taken by the leading *Presbyterians*, the Buſineſs was to put it in Execution. General *Fairfax* departing from *Windſor* the 22d of *May*, to march into the North, though a few Days after he was forced to take the Road to *Kent*, the next Day the Common-Council of *London* preſented a Petition to both Houſes of Parliament, wherein they ſaid:

The London *Addreſs to the Parliament.* Ruſh. VII. p. 1125.

" That they thankfully acknowledged the Favours " of the Houſe, in granting their Deſires concerning " the *Tower* and *Militia* of *London*; and in commu- " nicating to them ſeveral Votes of both Houſes of " Parliament, wherein it was reſolved, not to alter

" the

" the Fundamental Government of the Kingdom, 1648.
" by King, Lords, and Commons; to preſerve in-
" violably *the ſolemn League and Covenant*, and the
" Treaties between the Kingdom of *England* and
" *Scotland*; and to be ready to join with the King-
" dom of *Scotland* in the Propoſitions agreed upon
" by both Kingdoms. They further deſired, that
" the Aldermen, the Recorder, and the reſt of their
" Fellow-Citizens then in the *Tower*, might be diſ-
" charged and reſtored; and that in Proſecution of
" their ſaid *Votes*, they would be pleaſed to improve
" all good Opportunities in perfecting the ſpeedy Set-
" tlement of the Peace of both Kingdoms."

Remark on the Change in the Parliament.

This Petition was the firſt Step the City of *London* took to give the Parliament occaſion to endeavour after a Peace. The Members of Parliament, as I ſaid, were for the moſt part *Presbyterians*, and yet the *Independents* carried all becauſe they were ſupported by the Army. Wherefore from the 6th of *Auguſt* 1647, to the end of *May* 1648, the Parliament muſt be conſidered as being *Independent*, becauſe the Votes and Reſolves were managed by that Party. But after the Army was removed from *London*, the *Presbyterians* became uppermoſt, and being in no Danger from the Army, paſſed ſuch Votes as were moſt ſuitable to their Intereſt. We are therefore from that Time to conſider the Parliament no more as *Independent*, but rather as *Presbyterian*. This Remark is abſolutely neceſſary for the underſtanding fully the Reaſon of the Difference between the Conduct of this ſame Parliament, of which we ſhall ſpeak preſently, and its Proceedings from the 6th of *Auguſt* the laſt Year.

The Deſires of the City are granted.

The Petition juſt mentioned, being read in both Houſes, they ordered the *Recorder*, and all the other Priſoners to be releaſed, except the three Aldermen, who had been impeached in Form, but who nevertheleſs were alſo diſcharged ſome Days after. They farther ordered, that the Soldiers poſted in the *Tower*

to

1648. to reinforce the Garriſon, ſhould return to their Regiments.

Vote to treat with the King. Ruſh. VII. p. 1127.

On the Morrow, the *Commons* voted, in ſpite of the Endeavours of the *Independent* Members to the contrary, that after his Majeſty had ſigned the three *Bills* to be tendered to him, a Treaty ſhould be had with him upon the reſt of the Propoſitions preſented to him at *Hampton-Court*. Theſe three *Bills* were for ſettling the *Militia*, the *Presbyterian*-Government, and calling in all his Declarations againſt the two Houſes. Theſe *Bills* were ready the 10th of *May*, and ſent to the Lords for their Concurrence. The ſame Day, the General having drawn out the Troops that were in the *Tower*, at *Whitehall* and the *Meuſe*, to make uſe of them in his Expedition againſt the *Kentiſh*-Men, the Houſe impowered the *Militia* of *London*, to ſend down Guards to the Parliament from Time to Time as occaſion ſhould require.

The Militia *of* London *guard the Parliament.* ibid. p. 1132.

Proceedings of the Parliament to unite with Scotland.

The *Presbyterians* were very much at Eaſe, being no longer curbed by the Army. But there was one Thing ſtill wanting which they reſolved to take Care of. Whilſt the two Houſes were governed by the *Independents*, the *Scots* thought they had Cauſe to complain of them, and on this very Pretence it was that they were levying an Army to march into *England*. For this Reaſon, the Parliament, now become *Presbyterian*, believed it neceſſary to take from them all occaſion of Complaint, by giving them Satisfaction, and to let them ſee, that they meant to proceed in a different manner from what they had done, when under the Laſh of the *Independents*. They had declared that they intended to maintain the *Covenant*, and the Treaties between the two Kingdoms; and to ſatisfy the *Scots* of the ſame, the Houſe of *Commons* voted that three *Bills* to be preſented to his Majeſty ſhould be communicated to the Parliament of *Scotland* for their Approbation. It is eaſy to perceive that the Aim of the two Houſes was to make ſure of the Aſſiſtance of *Scotland*, and indeed it ſeems to have been *Scotland*'s Intereſt to unite with the Parliament

Jun. 12. ibid. p. 1129.

of

of *England*, after its becoming *Presbyterian*. But as I ſaid before, thoſe by whom the Parliament of *Scotland* was then managed, ſought not ſo much the Good of the Kingdom, as the King's Advantage, but this was more than the Parliament of *England* yet knew, or it may be, would believe. There was moreover in the fore-mentioned Reſolution, one great Inconvenience, namely, loſs of Time. It was the *Presbyterians* Buſineſs to haſten the Treaty with the King, whilſt the Iſſue of what was in Hand was yet uncertain. But on the contrary, Delay was advantagious to the *Independents*, who, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, failed not to make uſe of that Method in order to break their Enemies Meaſures. 1648.

The next Day, the *Commons* ordered that the eleven Members of their Houſe, and the ſeven Peers accuſed by the Army ſhould be fully diſcharged, and *Glyn* *, Member for *Weſtminſter*, who had been expelled, was received into the Houſe. *The accuſed Members are diſcharged* p. 1130.

As the two Houſes plainly perceived that the ſeveral Inſurrections in the Kingdom were purely in favour of his Majeſty, they prohibited, on pain of Death, the taking up Arms without their Authority. They imagined they had no more occaſion for ſuch Friends for their Defenſe againſt the *Independents*. Mean while as they had no Army to protect their Adherents againſt the Attempts of the *Cavaliers*, it was moved to raiſe Forces, and oblige the Officers to take the *Covenant*. But after ſome Debates, this laſt Point was ordered to be laid aſide for the Preſent. It was alſo propoſed to remove the King to *Windſor*. But nothing was determined thereon. Probably, the Houſe was at a loſs how to compel *Hammond*, in caſe he refuſed to deliver up the King. *Reſolution to raiſe Forces.* Ruſh. VII. p. 1158. p. 1154.

Though the Vote to preſent the three *Bills* to the King paſſed the 2d of *June*, it was the 26th before the two Houſes appointed a Committee to debate about

* *Recorder* of *London*, he was diſcharged the 23d of *May*, upon the Petition preſented that Day by the Common-Council.

1648. about the manner and Place of Treaty with the King, and their Report was made the 30th. In the mean Time, the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of *London* presented a Petition to the two Houses, desiring,

Petition from London for a personal Treaty with the King. June 27. Rush. VII. p. 1167.

"That a personal Treaty might be obtained betwixt his Majesty and both Houses, in the City of *London*, or some other convenient Place.

"That the *Scots* might be invited to the Treaty. "That according to the Duty of their Allegiance, "Protestation, solemn League and *Covenant*, his "Majesty's Royal Person, Honour, and Estate might "be preserved, the Power and Privilege of Parliament maintained, the just Rights and Liberties of "the Subjects restored, Religion and Government of "the Church in Purity established, all Differences "might be the better composed, and a firm and "lasting Peace concluded, *&c.*"

To this it was answered by both Houses, that they were now employed in Considerations of Peace, and doubted not but what they had done, and should do therein, would be satisfactory to the City of *London* and all others that desired to see the Troubles of the Kingdom ended in a safe and just Peace.

The Report of the Committee appointed to consider of a personal Treaty with the King, was:

Report of the Committee in favour of the King. Rush VII. p. 1170.

"1. That the vote of the 3d of *January* 1647, "forbidding any Addresses to be made to, or received from his Majesty, should be made null.

"2. That the three Propositions sent into the "Kingdom of *Scotland*, and to be presented to his "Majesty before a personal Treaty be had, should "not be insisted upon.

"3. That his Majesty be removed to some of his "Houses within ten Miles of *London*."

The

The ſame Day the Lords acquainted the *Commons* that they approved of the Propoſitions reported by the Committee, and deſired their Concurrence. But the *Commons* were not ſo expeditious as the Lords. They could not reſolve to begin a Negotiation with the King, without being firſt ſure of the three Conditions which were to be the Ground of the Peace. I have already mentioned the Reaſons. Mean while, both Houſes continuing in their reſpective Opinions, it was near a Month before this Diſpute was ended. 1648. *The Lords deſire the* Commons *not to inſiſt upon the three Bills.* *The* Commons *refuſe it.*

The Lords urged [at a Conference] 1. That by not inſiſting on the three *Bills*, there may be no Delay in the Thing, a ſpeedy perſonal Treaty being ſo much deſired and petitioned for. 2. Becauſe it is the Deſire of the Parliament of *Scotland*. 3. The Agreement upon the Treaty will be the more Authentick. 4. It is probable, having no Army in Being, the King will condeſcend to that which at *Uxbridge* and *Oxford* he refuſed. 5. It is not the way of Treaties to confirm any Particular before all is agreed, eſpecially thoſe of moſt Concernment, and which will be chiefly inſiſted upon. *The Lords Reaſons.* Ruſh. VII. p. 1183. July 10.

The *Commons* anſwered, that the Diſaffected Party in and near *London* is ſuch, that if the King grants not the *Militia* before he comes, there will be no Safety for the Parliament, nor is the Treaty like to proceed; for many will endeavour to bring in the King without any Agreement, and even with Deſtruction to the Parliament. 2. If the *Preſbyterian*-Government be not ſettled, all Things will grow into Confuſion in the Churches, and the preſent *Miniſters* be great Sufferers. 3. If the Declarations be not recalled, the Parliament is not in Capacity to treat, having been declared Rebels and Traitors, and no Parliament but a pretended one, which was never done by any of the King's of *England*. And whereas it may be objected, theſe Things need Debate; it is anſwered, the King is not ignorant of the full Demand of theſe Particulars, they having been over and over preſented to him, and to the two firſt he hath declared a Willing- *The* Commons *Reaſons.* July 25. p. 1202.

1648. neſs; nor yet is he obliged to paſs them as *Bills*, unleſs other Things are agreed upon; and if no Agreement, (he being at Liberty) a new War is like to enſue.

The Lords Reply. ibid. To theſe Reaſons the Lords replied, That they could not imagine, nor was it probable that the Party about *London* who had petitioned for a Treaty, would put it on to the Diſadvantage of the Parliament. 2. They did not apprehend any Prejudice to the Parliament's Party during the Treaty. 3. His Majeſty had declared, he would conſent to all together; and not to any before all was agreed. And that in caſe there were no Agreement, they were in State as before.

The Commons *Anſwer.* ibid. The *Commons* being by no means ſatisfied with theſe Reaſons, anſwered, That there was no doubt but thoſe in the Parts about *London*, would put forward the Treaty, to the Diſadvantage of the Parliament, being ſuch who had not only petitioned the Re-eſtabliſhment of the King without Conditions, but had taken up Arms, and were now in Arms for no leſs (as they ſay at *Colcheſter*) than to cudgel the Parliament into a Treaty. 2. For his Majeſty's Saying, He would not paſs any before all were agreed, it ſeems not; for he pretends to be willing to paſs theſe only upon Conditions, or in any way, as that *de facto*, he will; and *de jure*, the Power ſhall be declared in him; which were for the Parliament to part with that, which will be their irreparable Loſs and Deſtruction. And beſides, as to Security, what appears, unleſs the Grant of theſe Propoſitions? For it is ſuppoſed the Treaty will be in or near *London*. And what is ſaid, how his Majeſty ſhall be? Who ſhall be with him? How the diſaffected ſhall be ordered? Moreover if this be not, why may not Things ſettled by Law be revived? Epiſcopacy again ſet on Foot? All the Miniſters turned out for Scandal reentered? Others of honeſt Life put to ſeek their Livings? How then in caſe no Accord be made, can it be thought that the Parliament will be in State as before?

This Diſpute held till the 24th of *July*, the *Independent* Members joining heartily with the *Presbyterians* in every Thing that could retard or obſtruct the Treaty. But it was not upon this Point only that they endeavoured to cauſe the Time to ſlip away to no Purpoſe. 1648. *The Time paſſes in vain, and the* Independents *contribute to it.*

Whilſt this conteſt between the two Houſes laſted, the City of *London* having preſented a Petition, declaring, that they did concur with the Deſire of a perſonal Treaty ſet forth in another Petition of the military Officers, it was ordered that a Committee of Parliament, and another of the Common-Council ſhould meet together and examine every Thing relating to this Affair. In the frequent Conferences between theſe two Committees, the *Independents* uſed ſeveral Artifices to ſpin out Matters. The *Presbyterians* concurred with them in the ſame Deſign, for, as I ſaid, they were againſt treating with the King before he had conſented to the three *Bills*. The Committee of Parliament put ſeveral Queſtions to the Committee of the Common-Council, which theſe laſt were not prepared to anſwer; and as they had no Inſtructions about them, they were forced to deſire Time to conſult thoſe by whom they were appointed. By this means the Conferences were multiplied without any Thing done, for no ſooner was one Demand anſwered, but another was made, and ſo the Time paſſed away in vain.

At laſt, the Common-Council perceiving that theſe far-fetched Queſtions were deſigned only to amuſe them, ordered it to be declared to the Committee of Parliament, that it was the Deſire of the City, that a Treaty be entered into with all Expedition. They ordered likewiſe that the Engagement laſt Year [to guard the King and Parliament againſt all Force] which had brought the Army to *London*, ſhould be ſubſcribed by all the Inhabitants, either by calling them together, or by going from Houſe to Houſe to get it ſigned. They were not contented with this; for they managed ſo, that the *Watermen* and others *The Common-Council attempt to force the Parliament to treat.*

1648. presented likewise Petitions, that the personal Treaty might be hastened. In short, they plainly showed that what they could not obtain by fair Means, they would by foul. Whereupon Major General *Skippon* was privately ordered by the *Commons*, to list Soldiers in the City, and be ready to guard the Parliament in case of any Violence. The Common-Council complained of these Levies which were making in the City, without the Privity of the Committee of *Militia*. But the House approved of them, under Colour that the City was in Danger from the *Cavaliers*. Nay, they imparted to the Common-Council, certain intercepted Letters, in one of which was inclosed a Declaration from the Prince of *Wales*. Another was writ from *London* to one at *Edinburgh*, intimating that the King's Party was very powerful in *London*: that there was no Danger from any but *Skippon*, who was raising Troops; but that they were nothing in comparison of the Number of those who were secretly listed for the King. That Matters should be so ordered very soon that *Skippon* should be turned out of his Post, and expelled the City.

The Commons order Skippon to raise Forces.

The City complains of it.

The House tries to appease them.

Several Royalists mix with the Presbyterians.

It is certain, that as Matters then stood, the Royalists conceived great Hopes. There were even a good Number of *Cavaliers* who scrupled not to pass for *Presbyterians*, and mixed with them, in order to strengthen the Party of those who intended to force the Parliament to a Peace. Hence this Sort of Contest between the *Commons* and City of *London*. Among the *Presbyterians* there were many who were apprehensive that by a too long Delay, the Opportunity of treating advantagiously with the King would be lost. They flattered themselves that in such a Juncture, the King would deny nothing of what should be demanded of him, and they did not see any Necessity to lose Time in desiring Things beforehand, which in their Opinion could not but be granted them in a Treaty. This Opinion, which the Lords and Common-Council of *London* were of, was wholly and solely founded in a false Imagination, that the King

could not but think himſelf in a deſperate Condition, if the *Scotch* Army was once come into *England*, and conſequently would grant every Thing to get out of this Plunge; wherein they were much miſtaken, as we have ſeen. But the *Commons* ſtill inſiſted upon the three *Bills*, as abſolutely neceſſary for the Security of the Kingdom. Whilſt the *Presbyterians* thus differed among themſelves, the Time ran away, and nothing was done to any Purpoſe towards a Peace. The Blockade of *Colcheſter* was juſt at an End, *Cromwell* was upon the Point of finiſhing the Siege of *Pembroke*-Caſtle; and going to join with *Lambert* and *Fairfax* after the taking of *Colcheſter*, was about to come once more and awe the Parliament. Beſides this, the King's Party was daily growing ſtronger in the North, where *Langdale*, whoſe Forces amounted now to above four Thouſand Men, was preparing to join with Duke *Hamilton*. 1648.

The uncertain State of Affairs. July.

The Affairs of *England* were then in a terrible Confuſion. The wiſeſt and moſt experienced could not form any probable Conjecture of what would happen, each of the Parties having almoſt equal Reaſon both to hope and to fear.

Intereſt of the Independents.

Indeed the *Independents* were no longer Maſters in the Parliament; but they were however numerous enough, to have it in their Power, by ſundry Artifices, to obſtruct, or at leaſt retard the Peace, or ſpin out the Negotiation. Moreover they were ſupported by three Armies which, though removed from *London*, inſpired their Enemies with Terrour. Nevertheleſs they ſaw that a Deſign was formed to take Advantage of the Abſence of theſe Armies to conclude a Peace with the King, which could not but ruin them, if made before their Forces were re-united. They knew themſelves to be equally hated by the *Scots*, the *Presbyterians*, and the *Royaliſts*. They were therefore in Danger that theſe three Parties would join together againſt them, as indeed it was projected, and then the *Independents* would have been too weak to withſtand ſo many Enemies at once. It was their

1648. Intereſt then to hinder this Union as much as poſſible, till the Events of the War which was going to be rekindled ſhould unravel the Affairs of the Kingdom. They confided very much in *Cromwell*'s Valour and Capacity, and impatiently expected that the Siege he had undertaken being over, he would be able to go and join *Lambert* in the *North*, in order to make head againſt the *Scots*, who were juſt ready to enter *England*.

Errour of the Presbyterians.

The *Presbyterians* had no Army at all. Their whole Reliance was upon the City of *London:* but their Leaders were vexed to ſee the Magiſtrates purſuing wrong Methods, either by the Artifices of the *Cavaliers*, or by a too earneſt Deſire of Peace. They hoped however that the King, as Matters then ſtood with him, would not delay a Moment to grant their Demands, that he might be delivered out of the Hands of the *Independents*, and the whole Kingdom united againſt them. But they built upon no ſolid Foundation. Had there been a Treaty at the Time I am ſpeaking of, the King, who knew the *Scotch* Army was not deſigned againſt him, would have granted at moſt but what he was obliged to by his Treaty with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, which would not have been enough to ſatisfy the *Presbyterians*, as the Sequel will ſhow.

Refuge of the King's Party.

As for the Royaliſts, the leading Men being informed of Duke *Hamilton*'s Intentions, they muſt needs have entertained great Hopes. They flattered themſelves that the *Scots* and *Presbyterians* would equally aſſiſt to free the King from Captivity, and that when he ſhould be at Liberty, and the *Independent*-Party ſubdued, they ſhould be able to withſtand the *Presbyterians* and renew the War, in caſe unreaſonable Terms were inſiſted upon. They ſaw however with great Concern their Deſigns ruined in *Kent*, in *Eſſex*, and by the ill Succeſs of the Earl of *Holland*'s and Duke of *Buckingham*'s Attempt. Certainly they were in a bad Situation, between the *Presbyterians* and the *Independents*, what hopes ſoever they had conceived

ceived of deceiving the *Presbyterians*, and engaging them to ſerve the King, under colour of Acting againſt the *Independents*. Their whole Dependence therefore lay in the Progreſs the Duke of *Hamilton* and *Langdale* might make, and in the Expectation of inducing the City to force the Parliament to conclude a haſty Peace to the King's Advantage. 1648.

Duke Hamilton's Behaviour when he entered England.

At laſt, the ſo long expected Army of *Scotland* entered *England* about the Beginning of the Month of *July*, as has been ſaid. When the Raiſing it was reſolved, it was deſigned to act againſt the Parliament of *England*, then under the Direction of the Army and *Independents*. But when the *Scots* came into *England*, the Scene of Affairs was ſhifted, and the Parliament not only become *Presbyterian*, but had taken ſeveral Steps to ſhow that they intended to keep up a Union and good Correſpondence between the two Kingdoms. Nevertheleſs, though the Committee of the Parliament of *Scotland* was not ignorant of what paſſed in *England*, they had not given new Inſtructions to the Duke of *Hamilton*, or expreſſed any Deſire to join with the Parliament, now freed from the Dominion of the Army. Thus the Duke of *Hamilton* entered *England* as Enemy to the Parliament, ſince there was no Alteration in his Orders. He pretended, it is true, that his Deſign was to maintain the *Covenant*. But the Parliament had alſo declared that they had the ſame Intention. What then could hinder the Duke from making ſome Advances to the Parliament, to demonſtrate that he was ſent into *England* to promote that Deſign? At leaſt, when he entered a foreign Kingdom with an Army, he ſhould, one would think, have publiſhed a *Manifeſto* to declate the Intentions of his Maſters. But he only writ to Major-General *Lambert*, "That the "Committee of the Eſtates of Parliament had com- "manded him to enter *England* with an Army, for "maintaining the *Covenant*, ſettling Religion, deli- "vering the King from his baſe Impriſonment, free- "ing the Parliament from the Conſtraint put upon "them,

He writes to Lambert. Ruſh. VII. p. 1194.

1648. "them, disbanding the Armies, whereby the Subjects might be free from the intolerable Taxes and Quarter which they had so long groaned under, and for procuring a solid Peace and firm Union betwixt the Kingdoms under his Majesty's Government". But if what passed before be considered, it will be easy to perceive that the Intent of those who levied this Army was to restore the King without Conditions, or at least upon Terms very different from those that were intended to be laid upon him. Though I have touched upon this Subject in several Places, I believe it will not be amiss to sum up briefly the Reasons which invincibly prove that the *Scotch* Army was solely designed for the King's Service.

Proofs of the Scotch *Army being solely designed for the King's Service.*

1. The *Scotch* Commissioners had treated with the King without being authorized by their Parliament. They had treated about the Affairs of *England* without receiving any Power from the *English*.

2. They had engaged to use their Endeavours to restore the King to the Throne of *England*, without any other Condition but the establishing the *Presbyterian* Government for three Years only. As for the *Covenant*, they had indeed obliged the King to promise he would confirm it, for the Security of those who had taken it; that is to say, that they might not be prosecuted on that Account: but with full Liberty to every one not to subscribe it. They had engaged to maintain the Rights of the King and Crown with respect to the Militia, the Great-Seal, Nomination to Offices, Choice of Privy-Counsellors, Negative Voice in the Parliament. Moreover, they had concealed the Contents of this Treaty from the leading *Presbyterians*, and at the same time communicated them to the King's chief Friends.

3. These same Commissioners had engaged Sir *Marmaduke Longdale* and Sir *Philip Musgrave* to raise Forces for the King and seize *Berwick* and *Carlisle*.

4. These

4. Theſe two Gentlemen had repaired to *Edinburgh*, where they had often conferred with Duke *Hamilton* and others of the King's Party, and when the Commiſſioners of *England* complained of their being ſuffered to ſtay in *Edinburgh*, they were only concealed, and the Conferences with them continued. 1648. Clarend. V. p. 127, 145.

5. The Duke of *Hamilton*, before he ſet out from *London* for *Scotland*, had declared he would do the King ſignal Service, and this ſame Duke was ſet at the Head of the Army.

6. This Duke had entered into an Engagement with *Langdale*, that as ſoon as the *Scotch* Army was come into *England*, there ſhould be no more mention of the *Covenant*, and all the King's Friends ſhould be received into the Army without Diſtinction. It is true, he was afterwards curbed by a Decree of the Parliament of *Scotland* upon that Point. But he found means to evade it, by cauſing *Langdale* to march one Day before him, as if *Langdale* had not acted by his Orders. But the contrary plainly appeared, when he was defeated by *Cromwell*.

7. The Parliament of *Scotland* was called by the Credit of Duke *Hamilton* and the Commiſſioners who had treated with the King, and the Members were elected by the Cabals of the ſame Party.

8. When the levying an Army came to be debated in the Parliament, it was ſtrongly oppoſed, as well by ſeveral Lords, as by the General-Aſſembly of the *Kirk*. It was ſolidly proved, that at leaſt the Grounds of the War ought to be ſet forth before it was reſolved upon. Proteſtations were alſo made againſt it; but they were eluded, of which there can be no other reaſon given, but that the Army was deſigned for the King's Service, though it was not thought proper to declare ſo much.

9. In fine, when the Duke was entered into *England*, he took not the leaſt Step to intimate he was come to ſupport the *Presbyterian*-Party. Inſtead of marching directly to *London*, whilſt *Cromwell* was at a diſtance, though he might be ſure the Parliament and City

1648. City were very desirous to join with him, he spent above a Month in the northern Counties without any Necessity. This Conduct shows therefore, that his Design was not to assist the *Presbyterians*, though he intended to act against the *Independents*.

What I have been saying is a clear and undeniable Evidence that the *Scotch* Army came into *England* solely with design to restore the King without Terms, under colour of delivering him out of the Hands of the *Independents*. It is then no wonder at all that the Parliament, where the King had few Friends, should declare this Army Enemies of the Kingdom, as soon as they were known to be entered. Nevertheless, as the *Presbyterians* were yet persuaded that the *Scots* were come to support them, it was with great struggle that this Declaration passed the House of *Commons*. Fourscore and Ten *Presbyterian* Members opposed it to the utmost of their Power. So far were they from imagining that the *Scots* had taken up Arms for the King's Interest. But it was not long before they were undeceived.

The Independents retard the Treaty by sundry Artifices.

The 28th of *July* the *Commons* agreed at last, that the King should be treated with [upon the *Hampton-Court* Propositions] without being obliged to sign the Three *Bills* before-mentioned. In all likelihood the *Presbyterians* were at length sensible, that by deferring the Treaty, they were labouring for the *Independents*, who sought only to spin out the Time, till *Cromwell*, who was in the Midst of his March, should be joined with *Lambert*. But it was not possible to make so much haste as would have been necessary to finish, or even begin the Treaty, before the great Turn of Affairs before spoken of, which happened by the Defeat of Duke *Hamilton*. The Formalities which must be observed in a Parliament, several unexpected Affairs one after another, the Arrival of the Prince of *Wales* before *Yarmouth*, and then in the *Thames*, afforded the *Independent* Members frequent Opportunities to prolong the Business of the Treaty.

On

On all the Occaſions that offered, they affected to make tedious Speeches, which waſted many Days ſitting. When they ſaw it was not in their Power either to ſet aſide the Treaty, or oblige the Houſe to inſiſt any more upon the Three *Bills*, they feigned to conſent freely to the Negotiation: but at the ſame time, they perpetually found means to delay it. In a word, to know fully what were the Fruits of theſe Artifices, we need only conſider that the *Commons* came firſt to a Reſolution to treat with the King on the 24th of *May*; that they did not give over inſiſting upon the Three *Bills* till the 28th of *July*; that it was the 18th of *September* before the Negotiation began; and that conſequently this Affair held four Months, without reckoning the Time ſpent in the Treaty. So, before the Conferences began, *Cromwell* had defeated the Duke of *Hamilton*, and was marching into *Scotland* to hinder the *Scots* from returning to diſturb *England*. On the other Hand, General *Fairfax* having taken *Colcheſter*, was come back with his Army within Twenty Miles of *London* to awe the Parliament. It is certain therefore, that when the Negotiation was begun, Matters were far from being upon the ſame Foot as when a Treaty was reſolved upon. The good Succeſs of the Army made the *Presbyterians* more timorous, and the *Independents* more bold. But on the other Side, the King, loſing all hopes of Aſſiſtance both from the *Scots* and the Royaliſts, found himſelf indiſpenſably obliged to yield in a Treaty what he would never have given up, if Matters had not been altered with him. Theſe are Conſiderations which I thought requiſite, before I proceeded to the Particulars of what paſſed the five laſt Months of the Year 1648. 1648.

The King's Demands.

After the *Commons* had conſented to treat with the King without obliging him to ſign the Three *Bills*, it was five Days before the Manner, Place and Time of the Treaty could be ſettled. The King required that all Perſons might have acceſs to him as when he was at *Hampton-Court*: That the *Scots* ſhould be invited to aſſiſt at the Treaty, and appointed the Town of *Newport*

1648. *Newport* in the Isle of *Wight* for the Place of Conference. The Commissioners who had been sent to him, having made Report to the Houses of his Desires, the Lords, who were willing to dispatch this Affair, two Days after passed the following *Votes:*

The Votes of the Lords thereupon. Aug. 16. Rush. VII. p. 1229.

" 1. That the Votes of both Houses of Parliament, against no farther Addresses and Application to his Majesty, be recalled.

" 2. That such Persons as his Majesty shall send for, as of necessary Use to him in the Treaty, be admitted to wait on him: And that his Majesty be in the same Estate of Freedom, as he was last in at *Hampton-Court.*

" 3. That such Servants as his Majesty shall appoint be sent to wait on him.

" 4. That the Place for the Treaty be in *Newport*, in the Isle of *Wight.*

" 5. That the *Scots* be invited to treat with his Majesty.

" 6. That his Majesty be admitted to invite them.

" 7. That the Instructions given from both Houses of Parliament, to Colonel *Hammond* Governour of the Isle of *Wight*, be recalled.

" 8. That Five Lords and Ten Commoners be chosen Commissioners, to treat with the King.

" 9. That it be referred to the Committee of Lords and Commons for Peace, to prepare all things in readiness for the Speeding of the Treaty."

These *Votes* being sent to the *Commons*, they did not think proper to pass them without some Amendments.

The Commons Restrictions. Rush VII. p 1230.

" The 1st was admitted.

" As to the 2d, the Commons ordered, That his Majesty should be desired to send to the Houses the Names of such Persons as he should conceive to be of necessary Use about him during the Treaty;

" Treaty; they not being Perſons excepted againſt 1648.
" by both Houſes of Parliament from Pardon, or
" that were then under Reſtraint, or in actual Wars
" againſt the Parliament by Sea or Land; or in ſuch
" Numbers, as might draw any juſt Cauſe of Suſpi-
" cion; and that his Majeſty ſhould be in the ſame
" Freedom, Honour and Safety as he was in when
" he was at *Hampton-Court*.

" Upon the 3d, They concurred in the Vote for
" his Majeſty's Attendants, provided they were ſuch
" as were not in any of the former Qualifications.

" The 4th was approved of.

" As to the 5th and 6th, the Queſtion, whether
" the *Scots* ſhould be invited by the Parliament to
" ſend Commiſſioners to treat with his Majeſty upon
" the Propoſitions preſented to him at *Hampton-*
" *Court*, it was carried in the Negative. But it was
" ordered however, That if the King ſhould think
" fit to ſend for any of the *Scottiſh* Nation, to adviſe
" with him concerning the Affairs of the Kingdom of
" *Scotland* only, the Houſes would give him a Safe-
" Conduct.

" Concerning the 7th, it was reſolved, That be-
" fore the recalling of Colonel *Hammond*'s Inſtruc-
" tions, they ſhould ſend again to his Majeſty, to let
" him know how far they had proceeded, as to a
" Treaty, and to have his Majeſty's Approbation.

" The 8th and 9th were admitted without any
" Difficulty".

Inſtructions to Col. Hammond. Ruſh. VII. p. 1236.

The next Day the Commons ordered new Inſtruc-
tions to Colonel *Hammond*, viz.

" That the King be removed to *Newport*, and be
" in the ſame Condition and Freedom there, as he
" was at *Hampton-Court*.

" That no Perſon in the firſt Exception out of
" Mercy, nor under Reſtraints of the Parliament,
" nor of late actually in Arms againſt the Parlia-
" ment, be admitted to the King.

" That

1648. "That no Person that hath been in Arms against "the Parliament, *&c.* or of whom there is just "Cause of Suspicion, be admitted into any Fort "or Tower in the Isle of *Wight*.

"That no Person of any foreign Nation be ad- "mitted to come into the same Isle, without Leave "of the Parliament.

"If the Kingdom of *Scotland* send any to treat "with his Majesty, they shall have a Pass from both "Houses, and be admitted.

"That his Majesty pass his Royal Word, not to "go out of the Island during the Treaty, nor "Twenty-eight Days after, without the Advice of "both Houses of Parliament."

The Defeat of the Scots puts no stop to the Treaty.

The same Day the News came of Duke *Hamilton*'s Defeat. The *Independents* were in hopes they should be able to hinder the Conclusion of the Treaty, and the *Presbyterians*, that the King must now grant them every thing, since he had lost the Assistance he depended upon, and was without Refuge. Thus, this Event, though of the greatest Importance, caused no Alteration in the Minds of the Parties as to the Treaty. A few Days after they received also News of the taking of *Colchester*.

Sundry Delays.

The King having sent a List of the Persons he desired to have about him, the Parliament excepted against Three, namely, *Ashburnham*, *Legg*, and *Dowcet*, who were then in Custody.

It was not only upon this Point but several others, where Difficulties occurred, that they were forced to send Expresses to the King. It suffices to say in a word, that the Parliament's Commissioners departed not from *London* for *Newport* till the 13th of *September*, and the Conferences began not till the 18th. It was agreed they should continue Forty Days only.

Whilst the Preparations for the Treaty were in Hand, the Prince of *Wales*, who lay in the *Downs* with his Fleet, sent a Letter to the House of Peers, wherein

wherein he took notice of the Progreſs made as to a perſonal Treaty, and farther expreſſed his Deſire, 1648.

" 1. That the Treaty ſhould be in ſuch Place " and Manner, as might conſiſt with the Honour, " Freedom and Safety of his Majeſty his Father; " ſo that the Agreement might not be blemiſhed " with any Face of Reſtraint. 2. That the Treaty " might be between the King and his two Kingdoms " of *England* and *Scotland*. 3. That during the " Treaty there ſhould be a general Ceſſation of " Arms. 4. That a moderate Subſiſtance, during " the Treaty, might be agreed upon, for all Armies " and Forces then on foot, and particularly the " *Scot*'s Army in *England*. 5. That a Courſe might " be taken to content him, and his Ships in the " *Downs* with Money and Proviſion."

Letter from the Prince of Wales *to the Lords.* Ruſh. VII. p. 1220.

It does not appear that the Lords took any notice of this Letter of the Prince's, and the rather, as he made no mention that it ſhould be communicated to the *Commons*.

The ſame Day the Lords received this Letter, a Petition was preſented to both Houſes from the Common-Council of *London*, deſiring,

Petition from the Common-Council. Ibid.

" 1. That the King's Majeſty might be free from " Reſtraint.

" 2. Invited to a Treaty.

" 3. That all Acts of Hoſtility by Sea and Land, " might by Command of King and Parliament " ceaſe.

" 4. That the Government of the Church might " be ſettled according to the Covenant.

" 5. That diſtreſſed *Ireland* might be relieved.

" 6. The People of *England*, by disbanding all " Armies, eaſed; the Liberty of the Subjects re- " ſtored; the Laws of the Land eſtabliſhed.

" 7. The

1648. "7. The Members of both Houſes enjoined to "attend the Houſe for the Service of the King-"dom.

"8. That the *Self-denying* Ordinance might be "effectually obſerved. And

"9. Speedy Conſideration had of the Condition "of ſuch Merchants, whoſe Ships and Goods were "ſtayed by thoſe with the Prince; and that ſome "Expedient might be thought of, for diſcharge of "all Ships; that Trade be not deſtroyed."

Another from the reduced Officers. Ibid.

The Reformado-Officers preſented the ſame Day a Petition of the like Import, praying moreover that all Officers and Soldiers (without Exception) might be paid their Arrears.

Anſwer to the City. p. 1222.

The *Commons* returned in Anſwer to the Common-Council of *London*, that it was their Intention to treat with the King, that they had acquainted his Majeſty with it, and that there was no room to queſtion but the King was of the ſame Mind. Then they communicated to the Council the *Votes* that were paſſed in the Houſe on that Occaſion.

The Independents begin to ſtir.

All this was done before the Defeat of the *Scotch* Army. But after the News of that great Event, and the Taking of *Colcheſter*, the *Independents* in and about *London*, who had lain ſtill after the Army was gone, and before any thing was determined, began to look up. The 11th of *September*, two Days before the Departure of the Commiſſioners for the Iſle of *Wight*, they preſented a Petition to the Parliament, ſubſcribed by ſeveral Thouſands of Hands, openly complaining of the *Commons* Proceedings, which, they ſaid, flowed from the Corruption of the major Part of the Members. They let them know, moreover, why they firſt aſſiſted them in this War with their Perſons and Purſes, and that they expected, after the Succeſs God had bleſſed their Arms with, other ways from them than a Treaty with the King, hoping,

They preſent a Petition. Sept. 11. Ruſh. VII. p. 1257.

"1. That

1648.

" 1. That they would make good *the Supremacy* " of the *People* from all Pretences of *Negative Voices* " either in the *King* or *Lords*.

" 2. That they would have made Laws for Elec- " tion of Repreſentatives yearly, and of courſe, " without Writ or Summons.

" 3. That their Time of ſitting exceed not Forty " or Fifty Days at the moſt, and to have fixed an " expreſſed Time for the ending of this preſent Par- " liament.

" 4. That they would have exempted Matters of " Religion and God's Worſhip from the compulſive " or reſtrictive Power of any Authority.

" 5. That none be forced or preſſed to ſerve in " War.

" 6. That they would have made both Kings, " Queens, Princes, Dukes, Earls, Lords, and all " Perſons, alike liable to every Law of the Land.

" 7. That all Commoners be freed from the Juriſ- " diction of the Lords in all Caſes; and to have " taken care, that all Tryals be only of Twelve " ſworn Men; and no Conviction but upon Two or " more ſufficient known Witneſſes.

" 8. That none be examined againſt themſelves, " nor be puniſhed for doing of that, againſt which " no Law hath been provided.

" 9. That the Proceedings in Law be abbreviated, " mitigated and made certain, the Charge thereof in " all Particulars.

" 10. That all Trade and Merchandizing be made " free from all Monopolizing and Engroſſing, by " Companies or otherwiſe.

" 11. That the Exciſe and all kind of Taxes, ex- " cept Subſidies be taken of.

" 12. That you would have laid open all late " Incloſures of Fens, and other Commons, or have " encloſed them only or chiefly to the Benefit of " the Poor.

A. 1648. " 13. That they would have considered the many " Thousands that are ruined by perpetual Imprison- " ment for Debt, and provided to their Enlarge- " ment.

" 14. Have ordered some effectual Course to keep " People from Begging and Beggary, in so fruitful " a Nation, as through God's Blessing this is.

" 15. That they would have proportioned Punish- " ments more equal to Offences, that so Men's Lives " and Estates may not be forfeited upon trivial and " light Occasions.

" 16. Having removed the tedious Burthen of " Tythes, satisfying all Impropriators, and provid- " ing a more equal way of Maintainance for our poor " Ministers.

" 17. Have raised a Sum of Money out of Con- " fiscated Estates, for Payment of those who con- " tributed voluntarily above their Abilities, before " those that disbursed out of their Superfluities.

" 18. Bound themselves and all future Parliaments " from abolishing Propriety, Levelling Men's E- " states, or making all Things common.

" 19. That they would have declared, what the " Duty or Business of the Kingly Office is, and what " not; and ascertained the Revenue's past Increase or " Diminution; that so there might never more be " Quarrels about the same.

" 20. That they would have rectified the Electi- " on of Publick Officers for the City of *London*, of " every particular Company therein; restoring the " Commonality thereof to their just Rights, most " unjustly with-held from them, to the producing " and maintaining corrupt Interest, opposite to com- " mon Freedom, and exceedingly prejudicial to the " Trade and Manufactures of this Nation.

" 21. That they would have made free and am- " ple Reparations to all Persons that had been op- " pressed by Sentences in High-Commission, Star- " Chamber, and Council-Board; or by any kind of " Monopolizers or Projectors, and that out of the E-

" states

" ſtates of thoſe that were Authors, Actors, or Pro- 1648.
" moters of ſo intolerable Miſchiefs, and that without
" much Attendance.

" 22. That they would have aboliſhed all Commit-
" tees, and have conveyed all Buſineſſes into the true
" Method of the uſual Tryals of the Common-
" wealth.

" 23. That they would not have followed the Ex-
" amples of former tyrannous and ſuperſtitious Par-
" liaments, in making Orders, Ordinances, or Laws,
" or in appointing Puniſhments concerning Opinions,
" or Things Supernatural, ſtiling ſome Blaſphemies,
" others Hereſies.

" 24. That they would have declared what the Bu-
" ſineſs of the Lords is, and aſcertain their Condition,
" not derogating from the Liberties of other Men;
" ſo that there might be an end of ſtriving about the
" ſame.

" 25. That they would have done Juſtice upon
" the Capital Authors and Promoters of the former
" or late Wars.

" 26. That they would have provided conſtant
" Pay for the Army, and given Rules to all Judges,
" and all other Publick Officers throughout the
" Land, for their Indemnity; and for the ſaving
" harmleſs all that have any ways aſſiſted them.

" 27. That they would have laid to Heart the A-
" bundance of innocent Blood that hath been ſpilt,
" and the infinite Spoil and Havock that hath been
" made of peaceable, harmleſs People, by expreſs
" Commiſſion from the King; and ſeriouſly to have
" conſidered, whether the Juſtice of God be likely
" to be ſatisfied, or is his yet continuing Wrath ap-
" peaſed by an Act of Oblivion."

Though the Perſons that preſented this Petition did not call themſelves *Independents*, the Principles of that Party were but too viſible therein to doubt from what Quarter it came.

1648. *Another from Masters of Ships. These Petitions are not answered.*

The same Day the Masters and Commanders of Ships presented the like Petition, complaining of the Tyranny of the Parliament.

The Parliament thought not proper to answer these Petitions *, though two Days after, the first presented another Petition for an Answer. It was no proper Juncture to provoke the *Independents*, by such an Answer as this Petition deserved.

Before I enter upon the Particulars of the Treaty at *Newport*, it will be absolutely necessary to relate here what passed in the North of *England*, and in *Scotland*.

Cromwell *marches against* Monroe. Rush. VII. p. 1259, *&c.*

Monroe who was leading from *Scotland* three or four Thousand Men to the Duke of *Hamilton*, was entered a good way into *England*, when the *Scotch* Army was beaten and dispersed. After this Victory, *Cromwell*, without losing Time in pursuing the Remains of the Army which was not in Condition to do any Mischief, left *Lambert* with some Troops to finish their Destruction, and immediately marched in quest of *Monroe*. The *English* that were with this *Scotch* General, used their utmost Endeavours to perswade him to give *Cromwell* Battle: But it was not possible to prevail with him. He chose rather to retire Northward, and always kept at so great a Distance, that there was no overtaking him. Nevertheless *Cromwell* continued his March, and hearing that *Lambert* had entirely destroyed the *Scotch* Army, sent him Orders to march towards *Carlisle*, where *Musgrave* still kept with some Troops, and having cleared those Parts, to come and join him in order to enter *Scotland* together. When *Cromwell* came near *Berwick* he writ to the Committee of Estates to require them to call home *Monroe*, and deliver up *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, otherwise they must expect War. A few Days after, he pursued

* The House returned Answer to the *Independents* Petition to this Effect, "That the House gave them Thanks for their great "Pains and Care of the Publick Good of the Kingdom, and would "speedily take their Desires into Consideration. *Rush.* VII. p. 1258.

purſued his march towards *Scotland*, having left ſome Regiments behind to block up *Berwick*. 1648.

Alterations in Scotland.

The Duke of *Hamilton*'s Defeat, and *Cromwell*'s Threats, cauſed the Affairs of *Scotland* to take a new Turn. The Marqueſs of *Argyle*, who had not been able to prevent the raiſing of an Army, and ſeen himſelf obliged to ſtoop to the oppoſite Party, got uppermoſt again, being ſupported by all who were againſt the War. The Committee of Eſtates daily loſt their Authority, and were backed by none but *Monroe*, who was at length returned into *Scotland*. So the Marqueſs of *Argyle* being ſure of the Approbation of the Generality of the People, levied three or four Thouſand Men to oppoſe *Monroe*, with whom the Earl of *Lanerick* had joined with ſome Troops levied in haſte. They had ſecured *Sterling*-Bridge, and ſo hindered the Marqueſs of *Argyle* from making any Progreſs, though his Forces had been ſtronger than they were. But *Cromwell* broke all their Meaſures, by making no Stay at *Berwick*, and marching directly to *Edinburgh*. By ſo doing he forced the Committee of Eſtates to fly from thence and ſhift for themſelves, for fear of being hemmed in between the *Engliſh* Army and the Marqueſs of *Argyle*'s Forces. Then the Earl of *Lanerick* and *Monroe*, finding it not in their Power to continue the War, came to an Agreement upon the following Terms:

Argyle raiſes Forces againſt Monroe.

Cromwell marches to Edinburg.

The Committee of the Parliament follows him.

Articles between the Earl of Argyle *and* Monroe. Ruſh. VII. p. 1288.

" 1. That both the Armies ſhould be disbanded.

" 2. That a Parliament ſhould be called to ſit " before the 20th of *January*.

" 3. That the ſettling of Religion be referred to " the Determination of the General-Aſſembly, and " all Civil Queſtions to the Determination of Parlia- " ment.

" 4. That a new Committee of Eſtates be ap- " pointed, to conſiſt only of ſuch Members as pro- " teſted in Parliament againſt the late Engagement: " And in caſe any of the Forces under *Monroe* ſhould

1648. " continue in Arms, that then the ſaid Committee " ſhould raiſe Forces to ſuppreſs the ſame.

" 5. That none who had been acceſſary to the late " Engagement, ſhould be challenged to take away " their Lives or Eſtates, *&c.* provided they did de- " clare under their Hands Writing to the Lord- " Chancellor, or Preſident of the Committee of E- " ſtates, that they accepted of, and ſubmitted to the " preſent Engagement.

" 6. That all Perſons taken in War, ſince the ſe- " cond of *Auguſt* be releaſed."

Cromwell is received into Edinburgh; *returns into* England, *leaves* Lambert *in* Scotland.

The Scene of Affairs being thus altered, and the King's Party diſperſed, *Cromwell* repaired to *Edinburgh*, where he was received with great Reſpect. He obtained the Reſtitution of *Berwick* and *Carliſle*, and having concerted all proper Meaſures with the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, he returned in Triumph into *England*. He left *Lambert* however in *Scotland* with three or four Regiments, at the Requeſt of the *Scots*, who believed they ſhould want them to awe thoſe who might have a Mind to raiſe new Commotions.

Conferences for Peace at Newport. Ruſh. VII. p. 1263, *&c.*

Whilſt *Cromwell* was in queſt nf *Monroe* in *Scotland*, and three Days before General *Fairfax* came to St. *Albans*, the Conferences for Peace began at *Newport* *. Though the two Houſes had departed from the Condition that the King ſhould ſign the three *Bills* before the Treaty, they had not given up the Thing it ſelf. The very firſt Day, the Commiſſioners preſented to the King the Draughts of the three *Bills*. By the firſt the *Presbyterian*-Government was eſtabliſhed for ever in the Church of *England*, Epiſcopacy aboliſhed with the whole *Hierarchy*, and the Sale of the Biſhop's Lands appointed. By the Second, the

The three Bills are preſented to the King.

* The Commiſſioners were five Lords, *viz.* the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, *Middleſex*, *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Say*, and ten Commoners, viz *Hollis*, *Weenman*, *Pierrepoint*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, *Brown*, *Crew*, Recorder *Glyn*, Sir *John Potts* and *Buckley*. Whit. p. 329.

the King left the Power of the *Militia* for thirty Years in the Hands of both Houſes. By the Third, all the King's Proclamations and Declarations againſt the Parliament or their Adherents were recalled. The laſt of theſe *Bills* began with theſe Words, *Whereas the Parliament hath been neceſſitated to make and proſecute a War in their juſt and lawful Defenſe*, &c. The King made no Scruple to agree to the Subſtance of the *Bill*. But he objected againſt the Preamble which charged him indirectly with having ſtirred up the War againſt his Parliament; to which the Commiſſioners would never conſent, becauſe they were tied up by their Inſtructions, not to depart from a Tittle of what was contained in the three *Bills*. This Diſpute held ſeven Days, and it was the 25th of *September* before the King conſented at laſt to paſs the *Bill* with the Preamble. But it was on Condition that nothing ſhould be binding, unleſs the whole were agreed on, and the Treaty ſigned. This Article being thus diſpatched, they proceeded to the others on which were great Debates, and eſpecially with reſpect to Religion. As the King ſaw the Commiſſioners would not, or could not give way in any Point, he hoped to ſhorten the Negotiation, by letting the two Houſes know how far he could comply with regard to the moſt important Articles. He ſent therefore a Meſſage to explain his Intentions, and tender them the following Offers.

1648.

Diſpute about the Preamble of one of the three Bills.

The King yields.

Concerning Religion. "That the calling and ſit-
"ting of the Aſſembly of *Divines* at *Weſtminſter* be
"confirmed for three Years by Act of Parliament,
"and confirms for three Years the Directory, and
"the Form of Church-Government, to be uſed for
"the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, and Domini-
"on of *Wales*; provided that his Majeſty, and thoſe
"of his Judgment, or any other who cannot in Con-
"ſcience ſubmit thereunto, be not in the mean Time
"obliged to comply with the ſame; and that a free
"Conſultation and Debate be had with the Aſſem-

A Meſſage from the King to both Houſes with his Offers. Ruſh. VII. p. 1281.

1648. " bly of *Divines* at *Westminster* in the mean Time, " Twenty of his Majesty's Nomination being added " to them, whereby it may be determined by his " Majesty, and his two Houses of Parliament, how " the said Church-Government, and Form of Pub- " lick Worship after the said Time, and how Reli- " gion may be settled, and the Articles determined, " and care taken for the Ease of tender Consciences.

2. Concerning the Bishops Lands and Revenue. " His Majesty will consent to an Act or Acts of " Parliament, whereby legal Estates for Lives, or " for Years, not exceeding Ninety-nine, shall be " made for those Lands towards the Satisfaction of " the Purchasers, and to others to whom they are " engaged, whereby they may receive Satisfaction; " provided that the Propriety and Inheritance of " those Lands may still remain to the Church, and " the rest that shall be reserved to be for their Main- " tenance.

" 3. His Majesty will give his Royal Assent for " the better Observation of the Lord's Day, for sup- " pressing of Innovations in Churches and Chapels " in and about the Worship of God, and for the " better advancing of the Preaching of God's Holy " Word in all Parts of this Kingdom; and to an " Act against Enjoying Pluralities of Benefices by " Spiritual Persons, and Non-residency; for regula- " ting and reforming both Universities, and the Col- " leges of *Westminster*, *Winchester*, and *Eaton*; for " the better Discovery and speedy Conviction of " Popish Recusants, for the Education of the Child- " ren of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant- " Religion, for levying Penalties against Papists: " To an Act to prevent the Practices of Papists a- " gainst the State, and for putting the Laws in Exe- " cution, and for a stricter Course to prevent hear- " ing and saying of Mass.

" 4. As to the *Covenant*, his Majesty is not yet " therein satisfied that he can sign or swear it, or " consent to impose it on the Consciences of others;

" nor

" nor doth conceive it proper or uſeful at this Time 1648.
" to be inſiſted on (*a*).

" 5. Touching the *Militia*, his Majeſty will con-
" ſent to an Act of Parliament, to be in the Parlia-
" ment's Hands for ten Years.

" 6. Touching *Ireland*, after Advice with his two
" Houſes, he will leave it to their Determination,
" and gave his Conſent accordingly.

" 7. Touching publick Debts, his Majeſty will
" give his Conſent to ſuch an Act, or raiſing of Mo-
" neys by general and equal Taxations.

" 8. He propoſeth, that he may have Liberty
" forthwith to come to *Weſtminſter*, and be reſtored
" to a Condition of Freedom and Safety, a Thing
" which he ſhall never deny to any of his Subjects,
" and to the Poſſeſſion of his Lands and Revenues;
" and that an Act of Oblivion and Indemnity may
" paſs, to extend to all Perſons, for all Matters re-
" lating to the late Differences, which being agreed
" by his two Houſes of Parliament, his Majeſty
" will be ready to make theſe his Conceſſions bind-
" ing, by giving them the Force of Laws by his
" Royal Aſſent."

Remark on theſe Offers.

If theſe Offers concerning Religion are conſidered with reſpect to the King's private Opinion, he may be ſaid to yield a great deal, perhaps more than his Conſcience allowed him, ſince it was his real Belief that there was no true Church without Biſhops. But if theſe ſame Offers are conſidered with regard to the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, of whom the Parliament conſiſted, they will be found to be by no means ſatisfactory. They amounted only to a ſort of *Interim*, which tended to make them loſe the Opportunity they had in their Power to aboliſh Epiſcopacy entirely.

I cannot

(*a*) This was to avoid incenſing the *Independents*, who were entirely againſt ſubmitting to the *Covenant*.

1648. *Another Remark.*

I cannot forbear making another Remark on this Occaſion. The King artfully endeavoured to order it ſo, that his own Propoſitions ſhould be treated upon, which the Parliament had all along refuſed, ſo apprehenſive were they of the uſual Ambiguities and Reſtrictions in the King's Papers, and of which we ſee even here a freſh Inſtance in the firſt Article concerning Religion. But he could ſucceed no better now than heretofore. The Parliament, without taking any notice of his Offers, ordered the Commiſſioners to proceed wholly and ſolely according to their Inſtructions.

The Offers are rejected.

Whereupon the King gave in a *Paper* to the Commiſſioners of the Reaſons why he could not condeſcend to the Abolition of Epiſcopacy, which, he ſaid, he conceived to be of *Apoſtolical Inſtitution.* That as to the ſale of Church-Lands, he affirmed it to be real Sacrilege, beſides that at his Coronation he had ſworn to maintain the Rights of the *Clergy.* All theſe Reaſons with many more that he might have added, ſignified nothing to the Commiſſioners, who had no Power to give way on any Point. All they could do was to ſend them to the Parliament, and expect their Orders. But at the ſame Time, this delayed the Concluſion of the Treaty, and conſumed the Time which the King and Parliament ought equally to have made the moſt of *.

The King conſents to the Article about the Militia. Ruſh. VII. p. 1291.

Some Days after, the King willing to gain the Good-will of both Houſes, and ſome Condeſcenſion for Epiſcopacy, which was the main Point, and, as I may ſay, the only one that hindered the Concluſion of the Treaty, declared to the Commiſſioners, "that "he conſented for the ſettling the *Militia* by Sea and "Land in the Parliament's Hands for twenty Years, "and for confirming for three Years by Act of Par-"liament

* More than this (ſays *Whitlock*) could not be obtained of the King, though moſt earneſtly begged by ſome of the Commiſſioners (great Perſons) with Tears on their Knees, particularly as to the Propoſition touching Religion. *Whit.* p. 336.

" liament the Form of Church-Government, and 1642.
" Directory for Worſhip preſented to him. But he
" added, that he was not ſatisfied in his Conſcience,
" or could be content to the utter aboliſhing of
" Epiſcopacy; the Subſtance whereof he conceived
" to conſiſt in the Power of Ordination and Juriſ-
" diction, as they were exerciſed by the Apoſtles
" themſelves, and others, by Authority derived from
" them, ſuperiour to Presbyters and Deacons in the
" primitive Times. His Reſolution being to com-
" ply with his two Houſes for the Alteration and
" Regulating of his preſent Hierarchy and Govern-
" ment, ſo as Epiſcopacy reduced to the Primitive
" Uſage, might be ſettled and continued in the
" Church of *England*, and if his two Houſes ſhould
" ſo adviſe, his Majeſty would be content to leſſen
" the Extent, and multiply the Number of the
" Dioceſſes.

" As to the Exception, that his Majeſty had not
" expreſſed his Conſent for ſettling of Biſhops Lands
" upon Truſtees, and for the Sale of thoſe Lands;
" it was true he had not to alienate the Inheritance of
" thoſe Lands, and herein he believed he had the con-
" current Opinions of many Divines, that in other
" Points differed much among themſelves: But his
" former Anſwer containing a large Offer of Satiſ-
" faction to all thoſe that had purchaſed or diſburſed
" Monies upon thoſe Lands, he hoped that Anſwer
" would be ſatisfactory to his two Houſes.

" For the calling and ſitting of the Aſſembly of
" Divines, his Majeſty would aſſent as was deſired.

" That his Majeſty would confirm the publick Uſe
" of the Directory in all Churches and Chapels, as
" was deſired in the Propoſition, and would conſent
" to the Repeal of ſo much of all Statutes, as only
" concerned the Book of Common-Prayer, and alſo
" the taking the ſame away out of all Churches and
" Chapels, provided that the Uſe thereof might be
" continued in his Majeſty's Chapel for himſelf and
" his Houſhold: And that the ſame ſhould be con-

" firmed

1648. "firmed by Act of Parliament for three Years, pro-
"vided only that a Conſultation in the mean time be
"had with the Aſſembly of Divines in ſuch a man-
"ner, and for the Purpoſes as were in his former
"Anſwer expreſſed.

"Touching the Articles of Religion, his Majeſty
"profeſſed he had not had time ſince they were deli-
"vered unto him, to look into them with that De-
"liberation which was requiſite, before he bound
"himſelf up and his Subjects in Matter of Faith and
"Doctrine; and therefore deſired that part of the
"Propoſition might be reſpited by his two Houſes.
"But he would conſent to an Act for better Obſer-
"vation of the Lord's-Day; as alſo to prevent the
"Saying of Maſs.

"Laſtly, concerning the *Covenant*, and the Or-
"dinance concerning the ſame, his Majeſty's An-
"ſwer was, That he not being ſatisfied to take it or
"impoſe it on others, he conceived his two Houſes
"would not inſiſt upon it at that time, and the
"rather, becauſe the Ends thereof would be obtain-
"ed by the Agreement if happily concluded."

Some Days after, the two Houſes received Advice from their Commiſſioners, that the King had given full Conſent to the Propoſition concerning *Ireland*.

By a Letter of the 17th of *October*, they heard that the King had conſented to the Propoſitions concerning the publick Debts, and for taking away all Honours and Titles conferred ſince the 20th of *May* 1642.

By another of the 19th, that concerning *Delinquents*, his Majeſty offered,

His Majeſty's Propoſals with regard to Delinquents. Ibid. p. 1299.

"That all Perſons who had any Hand in the plot-
"ting, deſigning, or aſſiſting the Rebellion in *Ire-*
"*land*, ſhould expect no Pardon, as was expreſſed in
"the firſt Branch of the Propoſition. As to all the
"reſt of the Propoſitions his Majeſty could not con-
"ſent thereunto, as was propoſed, otherwiſe than in

" the following Manner; *viz.* As for all other Per- 1648.
" ſons comprized in the ſaid firſt Branch, his Majeſty
" for Satisfaction of his two Houſes would give way,
" That they might moderately compound for their
" Eſtates, and deſired they might be admitted to the
" ſame; and for removing of Diſtruſt and Interrup-
" tions of the publick Settlement, his Majeſty would
" conſent as followeth: That ſuch of them as the
" two Houſes of Parliament would inſiſt on, ſhould
" not be admitted to his Councils, and be reſtrained
" from coming to the Court, at ſuch diſtance as both
" Houſes ſhould think fit, and ſhould not have any
" Office and Employment in the Commonwealth,
" without the Conſent of both Houſes of Parliament;
" or ſhould abſent themſelves out of the Kingdom
" for ſome time, if both Houſes of Parliament ſhould
" think fit. That all other Perſons in that Propoſi-
" tion ſhould ſubmit to a moderate Compoſition,
" and for the Space of three Years ſhould not ſit,
" or ſerve as Members, or aſſiſt in either Houſe of
" Parliament, without conſent of both Houſes."

The Conferences are prolonged a Week.

The Time fixed for the Continuance of the Treaty being near expired, and nothing ſettled on the Point of Epiſcopacy, which was properly the only one that ſtuck, the two Houſes found an Expedient to prolong the Negotiation a Week, by ordering that the *Sundays* and *Faſt-days* ſhould not be accounted any part of the Forty Days allowed for the Conferences.

New Offers from the King touching Epiſcopacy. Ruſh. VII. p. 1301.

The 21ſt of *October* the King ſent a freſh Meſſage to both Houſes concerning Epiſcopacy. *Cromwell* was on the Road in order to come and join the Army, and it was to be feared, that in caſe the Treaty were not concluded before his Arrival, he would lay invincible Obſtacles in the Way. The King knew enough of him, to believe there was no good to be expected from him. He thought therefore that to haſten the Concluſion of the Treaty, to which the Buſineſs of Epiſcopacy was the greateſt Obſtacle, he ſhould make ſome farther Conceſſions

touching

1648. touching that Matter. Wherefore he acquainted the two Houſes, by this Meſſage:

"1. That he conſented to the aboliſhing of Archbiſhops, Chancellors, Deans and Chapters, &c. and the whole Hierarchy, ſave Biſhops.

"2. That for three Years no other but *Presbyterian* Government ſhould be uſed, and the Exerciſe of Epiſcopal Government ſhould be wholly ſuſpended during that time.

"3. Whereas Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, if no other had been agreed upon in the mean time, might have riſen up after the three Years, he expreſſed his Conſent, that none ſhould be exerciſed after that Time other than Ordination, which was reſtrained to the Counſel and Aſſiſtance of Presbyters, but ſuch, and in ſuch manner as ſhould be agreed by him and his two Houſes; whereby untill ſuch Agreement, or if it were not otherwiſe agreed, Epiſcopal Juriſdiction was wholly laid aſide."

The King conſents to the Nomination of the great Officers, and to the Suppreſſion of the Court of Wards, &c. He refuſes to give up Epiſcopacy.

His Majeſty alſo that Day conſented to the following Propoſitions:

"To that for Nomination of the great Officers of the Kingdom, to be by both Houſes during the Term of Ten Years.

"To thoſe concerning the City of *London*, and the Great-Seal.

"To that concerning the *Court of Wards*, &c. a Recompence being aſſured to his Majeſty of One Hundred Thouſand Pounds *per Annum* to him, his Heirs and Succeſſors, in lieu of the *Court of Wards*."

The Commiſſioners acquainting the King that his Anſwer about Epiſcopacy would not be ſatisfactory to the two Houſes, and earneſtly preſſing him to give them a fuller Anſwer, he told them in Writing, that he could not abſolutely give up Epiſcopacy. He repeated his Offers on that Head, adding only, that if in the Space of three Years he were convinced that the Function of Biſhops was not agreeable to the Word

Word of God, or that *Chriſt* commanded any other Government, he would moſt chearfully embrace it: but that till he was ſo convinced, he believed himſelf bound in Conſcience to maintain Epiſcopacy. 1648.

The Parliament is not ſatisfied with the King's Offers.

The *Commons* ſpent Four or Five Days in Debates upon the King's Offers and Anſwers, and voted them unſatisfactory as to the Point of Epiſcopacy, the Lords concurring with them.

The ſame was voted concerning the King's Anſwer about taking the *Covenant* and aboliſhing *Popery*, in deſiring to have it tolerated in the Queen's Chapel and Family. The Houſes were likewiſe diſſatisfied with the Anſwers about alienating Biſhops Lands, and Sale of *Deans* and *Chapters*, and concerning *Delinquents*. Thus, the Peace ſeemed to be farther off than ever, and the rather as the Lords concurred with the *Commons* in the Alienation of Church-Lands.

New Demand to the King about Ireland.

As the Time limited for the Conferences was about to expire, theſe Reſolutions were ſent out of hand to the Commiſſioners, with Orders to demand the King's final and poſitive Anſwer; and by a ſpecial Meſſage the *Commons* deſired moreover of the King, that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to declare expreſsly againſt the *Iriſh* Rebellion, and the Ceſſation concluded with the Rebels, and forbid the Conjunction of the Marqueſs of *Ormond*'s Forces with the *Iriſh* Papiſts to make War upon the Proteſtants. But as there were only three Days left, which was not a ſufficient time to receive the King's Anſwer, the Lords prevailed with the *Commons* to continue the Treaty a Fortnight longer, and the rather, as the King had deſired to confer with Dr. *Uſher* Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Rocheſter*, about the Affairs of the Church. But as no great Matters were expected from this Delay, the Commiſſioners were allowed to return to the Parliament, leaving Three of their Number to receive the King's final Anſwer *. Twelve of the Commiſſioners coming to

The Treaty prolonged Fourteen Days.

* The Earl of *Northumberland*, *Pierrepoint*, and *Hollis*. Whit. p. 342.

1648. to *London*, made Report to the Parliament of the King's final Answer, which had been delivered to them the 9th of *November*, and was to this Effect:

The Commissioner's Report of the King's last Answer. Rush. VII. p. 1321.

"That his Concessions had been misapprehended, "and that he did not intend to make any more new "Bishops during the Term of Three Years.

"That whereas it might be objected, That in the "End of three Years the Power of Ordination should "be practised in the old manner as formerly, that is, "the Bishops should be at Liberty to call what Pres- "byters they would to assist in Ordaining, but were "not bound to their Counsel or Consent, his Majesty "did now intend and consent that Bishops should not "receive any into holy Orders without the Consent "of a limited Number of Presbyters to be chosen "in such manner as should be agreed on by his Ma- "jesty and his two Houses for that purpose.

"That his Majesty did not intend that after the "End of three Years no certain way should be set- "tled concerning Ecclesiastical Government, for that "his Majesty did purpose during the three Years, to "have a Consultation with the Assembly of Divines, "Twenty being added of his Nomination, which if "his two Houses should resolve to entertain, it "could not well be doubted, but upon the Debate, "such a Government would be agreed on by his Ma- "jesty and his two Houses, as should be best for the "Peace of the Church, and most proper to prevent "those Distractions which his two Houses appre- "hended might ensue.

"As to that Part of the Proposition concerning "the Book of Common-Prayer; for the Satisfaction "of his two Houses, that he would not insist upon "any Provision for Continuance of the same in his "Majesty's Chapel for himself and his Household: "Nevertheless his Majesty declared, that he intended "to use some other set Form of Divine Service.

"As

1648.

" As to their Requeſt, that an Act be paſſed for " a ſtricter Courſe to prevent the Saying and Hearing " of Maſs in the Court, or any Part of the King- " dom, or in *Ireland*, his Majeſty would conſent " thereunto.

" As to all other Particulars mentioned in the Par- " liament's Paper, he referred himſelf to his former " Anſwers.

" Concluding, that ſince he had by his Conceſſions " brought all Differences concerning the Church into " ſo narrow a Compaſs, that the chief viſible Ob- " ſtruction was, that wherein really in Conſcience " he was not ſatisfied, he hoped his Two Houſes " would not put further Preſſures of ſo tender a " Nature upon him."

The Parliament is not ſatisfied with it. Ruſh. VII. p. 1323. Nov. 11.

All this was not capable to prevail with the *Commons* to deſiſt from the leaſt of their Pretenſions. They voted that his Majeſty's Anſwers concerning the Church, Form of Prayer, Hearing and Saying *Maſs*, were unſatisfactory, and ordered the Three Commiſſioners attending the King to inform him of theſe *Votes*, and preſs him for his final Anſwer.

As the Parliament had not hitherto taken any notice of the King's Propoſitions or Deſires, the Houſe of *Commons* at length took the ſame into Conſideration, and paſſed the following *Votes:*

Votes upon the King's Deſires. Ibid. p. 1327. Nov. 11.

" 1. That his Majeſty's coming to *London* ſhall be " with Freedom, Safety and Honour, *ſo ſoon as the* " *Conceſſions of the Treaty are concluded and agreed.*

" 2. That his Majeſty ſhall have his Lands and " Revenues, what is legally his, made good to him, " according to the Laws of the Kingdom.

" 3. What his Majeſty ſhall paſs away of his legal " Rights, he ſhall have Allowance in Compenſation " thereof.

" 4. That an Act of Oblivion be preſented to " his Majeſty to be paſſed, with ſuch Limitations as

1648. "shall be agreed on by both Houses of Parliament."

It is certain, there was never any Difficulty either about the King's Return, or the Restitution of his Revenues, or the Abolition of the Court of *Wards*, instead of which he was to have a Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year. These three Articles were considered as following of Course from the Conclusion of the Treaty. But as to the Act of Oblivion, the King and Parliament were not agreed. The Parliament insisted upon excepting from Pardon such a Number of *Delinquents*, that is to say, of those who had served the King, and were reckoned the Authors of the Troubles *. They intended to confiscate their Estates and banish them the Realm. In short, after long Debates, the Number of excepted Persons was reduced to Seven, about whom the two Houses did not agree. Nay, as to those that were to be included in the Pardon, the Parliament meant to inflict a pecuniary Punishment upon them, and had ranked them under several Classes, according to which, some were to forfeit one Half of their Estates, others a Third, and others a Fourth, and had appointed the Money thence arising towards the Payment of the publick Debts. The King, on the contrary, designed that all without Exception should have the Benefit of the Act of Oblivion. He consented only that some of those whom the Parliament termed *Delinquents*, that is, his faithful Servants, should be liable to a moderate Composition, a loose Expression, on which there would have been many Disputes, had the Matter come to be discussed. However it be, this Point, which was of Moment, was not yet settled: but it was not impossible to find Expedients

Contest about the Act of Oblivion.

* The Persons excepted by both Houses were the Lord *Digby*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, the Earl of *Derby*, Sir *Richard Greenville*, Judge *Jenkins*. Sir *Francis Dodington* (instead of the Earl of *Newcastle* and Sir *John Winter*, who were to have been excepted) Sir *George Ratcliffe* and the Lord *Byron*, Rush. VII. p. 1324.

pedients to satisfy the King and Parliament, if the Difficulties with regard to Religion had not prevented the Conclusion of the Treaty, concerning which I cannot forbear making two Remarks. 1648.

Remarks on the Difficulties with respect to Religion.

The first is, that if the *Commons* insisted so long upon the signing the Three *Bills*, it was because they knew how inflexible the King was upon the Point of *Episcopacy*, and despaired of concluding a Treaty with him, unless he granted this Article beforehand, upon which they were no less inflexible than he, as plainly appeared in the Conferences. This was the grand Point, without which there would have been perhaps no War, and from which the *Presbyterians* could not depart without losing the Fruits of all their Labours and Successes against the King.

My second Observation is, that the rigid *Episcopalians* had occasion to see in these Conferences, what Mischief and Prejudice they brought upon themselves by their excessive Severity against *Presbyterianism*, when the Power was in their own Hand, since it was not possible to find any other way to content the *Presbyterians* than the utter Extirpation of *Episcopacy*. The *Presbyterians*, knowing by long Experience the King's Ill-will towards them, thought they could not trust to Concessions extorted from him by Necessity, and were not to be satisfied as long as the Name of Bishop was in Being. They were apprehensive, and it may be very justly, that the Function of Bishops, though reduced almost to nothing by the King's Offers, would be a Foundation on which the King intended to raise the Superstructure of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, or a *Toothing*, which showed that he meant not to leave the Building as it stood. The Precedent of what had been done in *Scotland* was a farther Confirmation of their Jealousies and Fears. In that Kingdom, all the *Episcopal* Functions had been abolished. The Bishops had retained only the bare Name, with some temporal Privileges, without any manner of Authority or Jurisdiction. But that was enough to give King *James* a Handle to restore them to all the

1648. Rights they enjoyed before the Reformation. *Charles* I, might purpose to do the same thing in *England*, and the *Presbyterians* but too well remembred that at the very time he agreed to the Extirpation of *Episcopacy* in *Scotland*, he writ to the *Scotch* Bishops that it was only through Compulsion, and till he should have an Opportunity to restore the Church to her former Splendour. Had it not been for this same Prejudice of the *Presbyterians*, this want of Confidence, of which the King may be said to be himself the Cause, it is certain his Offers with regard to *Episcopacy* might have served for Foundation to a Peace, as the Parliament acknowledged when it was too late. Mean while, the two Houses not despairing entirely to bring the King to their Terms, continued the Treaty a Week longer.

Another Prolongation of the Treaty.

The Army prepares to obstruct the Peace.

Whilst both Houses were taken up with the Affairs of the Treaty, the Officers of the Army, the Head-Quarters being then at *Windsor*, met in a Council of War, to endeavour to obstruct the Peace. They knew what had passed at *Newport*, and that the Conclusion of the Treaty depended upon a single Point, on which they did not question but the King would give way. Wherefore they resolved to hinder the Conclusion by Force. *Cromwell* was not yet come to the Army, but lay about *Pontfract* to order the Siege of that Place, which had been taken by surprize by the King's Party, and whereof the Garrison kept the whole Country in awe, and committed great Violences. Colonel *Rainsborough* had been detached from the Army to command at the Siege: but he had been surprized in a neighbouring Town by a Party of the Garrison who had killed him, not having been able to carry him off *. *Cromwell* had ever loved

Cromwell *stays before* Pontfract.

* Forty Horse sallied out of *Pomfret* towards *Doncaster*, where they killed the Centinel, then three of them rode on to *Doncaster*, and asked for Colonel *Rainsborough's* Quarters, and came to his Chamber, there called to him and said, they had a Letter from Lieutenant-General *Crowwell*. The Colonel rose and opened his Door

loved and esteemed him, and therefore earnestly longed to revenge his Death, besides, that he was importuned by the Committee of *Yorkshire* to employ the Forces he was leading back from *Scotland*, for the Reduction of this Place. This had stopped him some time in those Parts. But as there was no Occasion for all his Troops to that End, there being already a Detachment of the Army, he sent part of his Forces before, to go and join with General *Fairfax*. This Reinforcement being arrived, the Army believed themselves in Condition to execute what had been resolved. To that purpose, the 18th of *November*, which would have been the last Day of the *Newport*-Conferences, if the Parliament had not continued them a Week longer, Colonel *Ewers*, attended with some Officers, went and presented to the *Commons* from the Army a Remonstrance, which plainly discovered the Intentions of the *Independent*-Party. The Substance of the Army's Desires was to this effect: 1648.

He sends part of his Forces to the General.

Remonstrance of the Army. Nov. 20. Rush. VII. p. 1330.

" 1. That the King be brought to Justice as the " capital Cause of all the Evils in the Kingdom, and " of so much Blood being shed.

" 2. That a timely and peremptory Day be set for " the Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *York*, to come in " and render themselves; if not, they be declared in- " capable of Government, or any Right in *England*, " and stand exiled for ever as Traitors; and if they " render themselves by the time, then the Prince to be " proceeded against or remitted as he shall give Sa- " tisfaction, and the Duke the like, and that the " Revenue of the Crown be sequestred. Also the " 10,000 *l.* to be added, be disposed to publick " Use.

Door to them (expecting such a Letter that Morning) and presently the Three *Pomfret* Soldiers fell upon him, shot him in the Neck, another shot him through the Heart, with other Wounds, and left him dead, escaping without any Alarm given. *Whit.* p. 341.

1648. " 3. That publick Juſtice may be done upon " ſome capital Cauſers or Actors in the War.

" 4. That the reſt upon Submiſſion may have " Mercy for their Lives.

" 5. That the Soldiers have their Arrears.

" 6. That publick Debts be paid, chiefly to thoſe " who voluntarily laid out their Eſtates, and ventu- " red their Lives, and this to be done by Fines of " Delinquents, and the Eſtates of thoſe excluded " from Pardon.

" 7. After publick Juſtice thus done, then that a " reaſonable certain Period be put to this Parlia- " ment.

" 8. That there be a certain Succeſſion of future " Parliaments annual or biennial, with ſecure Pro- " viſion, (1.) For the Certainty of Meeting. (2.) For " equal Diſtribution of Elections, to render the " Commons Houſe an equal Repreſentative. (3.) For " Certainty of the Peoples meeting, and that none " who have engaged in the late War, or ſhall en- " gage againſt the Right of Parliament and King- " dom, or adhere to the Enemies thereof, be capable " of electing or being elected during ſome Years, " nor thoſe who ſhall not join with, but oppoſe this " Settlement. (4.) For clearing the Power of this " Repreſentative, it be declared to have the ſupreme " Power, as to the Governing and Preſervation of " the whole, as to the People of *England*, and to " altering, repealing, or aboliſhing of Laws, the " making War or Peace, the higheſt or final Judg- " ment in all civil Things; and all Miniſters or Of- " ficers of State ſhall be accountable to them, bound " and concluded thereby; provided, 1ſt, They may " not cenſure or queſtion any Man after the End of " this Parliament for any thing ſaid or done in Re- " ference to the late War. 2dly, They may not " render up, give or take away any Right, Liberty " or Safety contained in this Settlement or Agree- " ment. That there be a Liberty of entring Diſſents " in the ſaid Repreſentative: in caſe of Corruption

" in theſe higheſt Truſts, the People may know who 1648.
" are free and who guilty, that ſo they may not
" truſt ſuch for the future, but with further Penalty
" to any for their future Judgement there.

" 9. That no King be hereafter admitted, but up-
" on Election of, and as upon Truſt from the Peo-
" ple, by ſuch their Repreſentative, not without
" firſt diſclaiming and diſavowing all Pretence to a
" negative Voice againſt the Determination of the
" ſaid Repreſentative or Commons in Parliament,
" and that to be done in ſuch Form more clear than
" heretofore in the Coronation-Oath.

" Theſe Matters of a general Settlement are pro-
" pounded to be done by this Parliament, and to be
" further eſtabliſhed by a general Contract or Agree-
" ment of the People, with Subſcriptions thereunto;
" alſo that it be provided that none be capable of
" Benefit by this Agreement, who ſhall not con-
" ſent and ſubſcribe thereunto, nor any King be ad-
" mitted to the Crown, or other Perſon to any other
" Office or Place of publick Truſt, without expreſs
" accord and Subſcription to the ſame."

The Parliament returns no Anſwer. Several Petitions demanding Juſtice upon the King.

The Parliament returned no Anſwer to this Remonſtrance, as well as to ſome others of the like Import, preſented to them during the Treaty. I have already mentioned that of the 11th of *September*, from Thouſands of the Inhabitants in and about *London*, and that of the Maſters and Commanders of Ships. The 30th of the ſame Month they received another of the ſame Purport, in the Name of many Thouſands of the County of *Oxon*. The 10th of *October* a Petition was preſented to the *Commons*, ſigned by the *Newcaſtle*-Men, deſiring that ſpeedy Juſtice might be executed upon the greateſt *Delinquents*. The ſame Day the Inhabitants of *Yorkſhire* petitioned for the ſame Thing, ſaying, *his Majeſty had confeſt himſelf and his Party to be guilty of the Blood that had been ſhed.* The 30th of the ſame Month the Officers of *Ingoldsby*'s Regiment, garriſoned at *Oxford*, preſented a Petition

1648. to the General, desiring, "That immediate Care be "taken that Justice be done upon the principal In- "vaders of their Liberties, namely, the King and "his Party, and sufficient Caution given to future "Kings for preventing the inslaving the People here- "after. Adding, that being apprehensive the Issue "of the Treaty now in Hand, could neither be just "nor safe, they prayed his Excellency to re-esta- "blish a General-Council of the Army, to consider "of some effectual Remedies to this Evil, either by "representing the same to the House of *Commons*, "as the Petitioners of *London*, or by some other "way." On the other Hand, whilst *Cromwell* was about *Pontfract*, there was not a Regiment of his Army but what presented Petitions to him, demanding Justice upon the King; and he sent them all to the General. Hence may be seen that the Army's Remonstrance was an Effect of the Plots laid by the *Independents*, who in several Parts of the Kingdom infused these violent Resolutions into the People and Officers, in order to hinder the Conclusion of a Treaty which could not but ruin their Party. It is very likely, the *Presbyterians* fully perceived the Designs of the *Independents*, and these Petitions were but too apt to convince them of the same. But they hoped to be able to amuse them till the Treaty was ended, not at all doubting but the King would consent at length to the Abolition of *Episcopacy*. As for the other Articles which were not yet settled, probably, they would have chosen rather to yield them to the King, than retard the Conclusion of the Treaty which to them was so necessary. Matters standing thus, it was not proper to provoke the *Independents* any farther, by Answers which would not have pleased them. On the other Side, they could not think of agreeing with the King, without obtaining the Abolition of *Episcopacy*, not thinking themselves safe as long as the very Name of *Bishop* was in Being. In short, it was not proper to attempt to withstand the Army by Force. In all appearance, their Preparations would

The Parliament tries to amuse the Army.

would but have haſtened the Execution of the Army's Reſolution, whereas it was their Intereſt only to amuſe them for ſome Days. All their hopes then were grounded upon the King's Compliance, which they hardly queſtioned, conſidering the manifeſt Danger his ſtanding out would expoſe him to. For it is not likely that he was ignorant of the Petitions preſented againſt him, or that he was not ſoon informed of the Army's Remonſtrance, every Body having free acceſs to him. 1648.

The King rejects the laſt Propoſition concerning Ireland.

Three Days after the Parliament had received the Remonſtrance, Letters came from the Commiſſioners at *Newport*, with his Majeſty's Anſwer concerning the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, and the Biſhop's Lands. Which was, that he could not give any Orders to the Marqueſs before the Treaty was ſigned: But that then he would do as both Houſes deſired, and if the Marqueſs refuſed to obey, he would take ſuch Meaſures againſt him as ſhould be ſatisfactory to the two Houſes. That as to the Biſhop's Lands, he perſiſted in his former Offers. This Anſwer afforded no great Proſpect of a ſpeedy Accommodation. However, as it was delivered in the 16th of the Month, two Days before the preſenting of the Army's Remonſtrance, it was hoped the next News from *Newport*, would be more pleaſing. But on the 25th the Parliament were informed by Letters from the Commiſſioners, that the King had poſitively refuſed to add any Thing to his former Anſwers.

Hammond is recalled to the Army, and Ewers *ſent in his Room.*

This was not all. They were acquainted at the ſame Time, that the General had required Colonel *Hammond* to attend him at the Head-Quarters, and ſent Colonel *Ewers* to take the Command of his Majeſty in the Iſle of *Wight*, who kept the King under very ſtrict Cuſtody. Thus the Precautions taken by the Parliament to hinder the King from coming to treat in Perſon at *London*, for fear he ſhould meet with too many Friends, were the Cauſe that they could not be Maſter of his Perſon, when it would have been moſt neceſſary. Two Days after, the *Com-*

1648. *mons* received a Letter from Colonel *Hammond*, wherein was incloſed the General's Order to him to repair to the Army, and deliver up his Command to Colonel *Ewers*. Whereupon the *Commons* voted that Colonel *Hammond* ſhould be required to ſtay in the Iſle of *Wight*, and that the General ſhould be acquainted with this Vote. But *Hammond* was already gone to the Army, and had reſigned the Cuſtody of the King to Colonel *Ewers*. Notwithſtanding all this, the Parliament ſeems not to have been quite out of hopes of an Agreement with the King, ſince the *Commons* put off the Conſideration of the Army's Remonſtrance till the 1ſt of *December*, that they might be better able to anſwer it when they ſhould know the King's final Reſolution. The ſame Day, the General received Petitions from the Forces in the North, and in *Wales*, agreeable to the Army's Remonſtrance.

Fruitleſs Vote of the Commons

Conſideration of the Remonſtrance put off.

Petitions to the General.

After the General had thus made himſelf Maſter of the King's Perſon, without giving any notice thereof to the two Houſes, it was not very likely he ſhould be diſpoſed to receive their Orders. Nevertheleſs the *Commons* told him in a Letter from their *Speaker*, that his Orders to Colonel *Ewers* were contrary to their Reſolutions and Inſtructions given to Colonel *Hammond*, and that it was the Pleaſure of the Houſe that he ſhould recall his Orders, and ſuffer Colonel *Hammond* to attend his Charge in the Iſle of *Wight*. But the General and Council of War took no notice of this Order.

Letter and Orders to the General from the Commons Ruſh. VII. p. 1340.

In vain.

The next Day, the King by Command of the General was removed to *Hurſt*-Caſtle in *Hampſhire*, ſituate on a narrow Piece of Land, running out into the Sea over againſt the Iſle of *Wight*, and the Parliament was not acquainted with it till three Days after.

The King is removed to Hurſt-*Caſtle.*

Mean while, the Army was not idle, being reſolved to run all Hazards to prevent the Concluſion of the Treaty. The ſame Day, *November* the 30th, they publiſhed a Declaration or *Manifeſto*, whereby they

they clearly discovered their Designs, and which was to this Effect : 1648.

" That the Army being full of sad Apprehensi- *The Army's Declaration.* Nov. 30. Rush. VII. p. 1341.
" ons concerning the Danger and Evil of the Treaty
" with the King, and of any Accommodation with
" him, or Restitution of him thereupon, they did
" by a Remonstrance make their Application there-
" by to the House of *Commons*. That they took this
" Course out of an earnest Desire, that those Matters
" of highest Concernment to the Publick Interest of the
" Nation might be pursued and provided for if possi-
" ble, by those whose proper Work and Trust it was :
" But to their Grief they found, that instead of any
" Satisfaction, or reasonable Answer thereunto,
" they were wholly rejected without any Considera-
" tion of them. For they were laid aside till the
" *Monday* following, by which Time the Treaty as
" then supposed would have been concluded ; but
" that failing, and two Days more being added to
" the Treaty, the Consideration of their Remon-
" strance in the Day appointed was waved and laid
" aside ; the Treaty the mean while going on in the
" former way and Terms, and like to be concluded
" the very next Day. The Army therefore having
" received no Answer to their former Proposals, they
" could not but remain confident, that the prevail-
" ing part of those to whom they did apply, had as
" it were their Eyes wilfully shut, and Ears stopt a-
" gainst any Thing of Light or Reason offered to
" them, so as not to discern the Dangers wherewith
" the Kingdom was threatened.

" The Army then seeing nothing left to which the
" Parliament's engaging and persisting in such ways
" could rationally be attributed, less than a treache-
" rous or corrupt Neglect of, and Apostacy from the
" publick Trust reposed in them, they thought fit
" to appeal to the common Judgements of indifferent
" and uncorrupted Men, and to the more righteous
" Judgement of God above all."

After

1648.

After having justified this extraordinary Appeal in the best manner they could, they admonished such Members as were upright, and had a just Sense of those Things, to protest against the Resolutions of the House, and withdraw, promising to look upon them as Persons that had the chief Trust of the Kingdom remaining in them, and to adhere to them, and be guided by them till the introducing of a more formal Power in a just Representative were speedily endeavoured. Then they declared that they were ready to lay down their Arms if their Remonstrance were answered; but that the little notice taken of their Propositions, made them sensible there was nothing to be hoped. And therefore the Case being so extraordinary, and the Danger so pressing, they were drawing up with their Army to *London*, there to follow Providence as God should clear their way.

The General's Letter to the City of London. Rush. VII. p. 1349.

The first of *December*, the General writ to the City to inform them of the Army's Advance towards *London*, on account of the Parliament's Contempt of their Remonstrance: That they had no Thought of Plunder, or other Wrong to the City, or so much as troubling the Inhabitants with quartering any Soldiers: But that for Prevention of all Violence, he desired forty Thousand Pounds * might be provided by To-morrow Night. The House of *Commons* agreed that the City should send this Sum to the Army, and acquainted the General that it was the House's Pleasure he should not remove nearer *London*.

The General comes to London.

The 2d of this Month, the House took the King's Offers into Consideration, but without coming to any Conclusion. Whilst the Debate was in Hand, the General with several Regiments came and took up their Quarters in *Whitehall*, St. *James*'s, the *Meuse*, and other Places in the Skirts of the City, which he judged convenient for his Purposes.

The

* On the Security of the Arrears due to the Army from the City.

1648.

The 3d being *Sunday*, the Parliament met not. But on the 4th the *Commons* reſumed the Debate of the King's Conceſſions, which was interrupted by the News of the King's being removed to *Hurſt*-Caſtle. Whereupon they voted immediately that the carrying the King Priſoner to *Hurſt*-Caſtle, was without the Advice and Conſent of the Houſe. After that, they debated again the King's Offers, and ſat all the Day and Night, till five a Clock in the Morning. At laſt, it was propoſed, whether the Queſtion ſhould be put, and carried by a Hundred and Forty, againſt a Hundred and four. Then the main Queſtion being put, it was voted that *his Majeſty's Conceſſions to the Propoſitions of Parliament upon the Treaty were ſufficient Grounds for ſettling the Peace of the Kingdom.* But I cannot help doubting that it was unanimouſly, as the Lord *Clarendon* affirms *. What we have lately ſeen ſeems to ſhow rather, that there were many Members who were not content with this Reſolution.

Vote upon the Removal of the King to Hurſt-Caſtle. Ruſh. VII. p. 1351. Clar. III. p. 238.

Immediately after, the Houſe appointed a Committee to go and confer with the General, for the better procuring a good Correſpondence between the Parliament and the Army; and then adjourned to *Wedneſday*. The ſame Day, ſeveral other Regiments came and quartered in the Suburbs of *London*, and the General cauſed a Proclamation to be made, requiring all *Delinquents* who had not perfected their Compoſitions, to depart ten Miles from *London* [for a Month,] on Pain of being proceeded againſt as Priſoners of War.

Committee to confer with the General.

More Regiments come to London.

Wedneſday the 6th of *December*, the General ſent two Regiments to *Weſtminſter*, and the City Trained-bands were diſcharged, who had been ſet there ſome Months ſince, for Guards to the Parliament. After the Soldiers were drawn up in the Court of Requeſts, on the Stairs, and in the Lobby before the Houſe, when

The General becomes Maſter of the old Palace.

Forty-one Members of the Commons *put under Cuſtody.*

* The Lord *Clarendon* ſays, *the main Queſtion was ſo clearly voted, that the Houſe was not divided.* Clar. III. p. 238.

1648. when the Members offered to go in, Colonel *Pride*, having a Paper of Names in his Hand, seized upon one and forty, and sent them into the Court of *Wards*, where they were kept under Guard. The House having notice thereof, sent their Serjeant at Arms to acquaint these Members, that they should forthwith attend the Service of the House. But the Officer of the Guard answered, that he had Order to secure them, which Order he was to obey before any other Command *.

Not long after Colonel *Whaley*, with other Officers, presented to the House a Paper intitled, *Proposals and Desires of the Army in Vindication of their Conduct*, the Sum whereof was to this Effect:

The Army's Proposals presented to the House of Commons. Rush. VII. p. 1354.

" 1. Whereas several Members of your House, " were in the Year 1647, impeached by yourselves " for Treason, or for High Crimes and Misdemea- " nours, in relation to the treasonable Engagement " in the City of *London*; the Violence then done up- " on the Parliament, the Levying of a new War, " and other Evils, in Maintenance and Prosecution " thereof; and upon clear Proofs against them, " were by your Censure expelled the House, and " disabled from farther Trust therein, and upon new " Writs issued out, new Members were chosen and " returned in some of their Rooms; and yet by the " Prevalence of their Faction, when in the last Sum- " mer's Wars, divers faithful Members were inga- " ged abroad upon necessary publick Service, and o- " thers through malignant Tumults and Disturban- " ces could not safely attend the House, the same " Persons were afterwards re-admitted to sit in the " House, and vote as formerly, without any Tryal " or Satisfaction in the Things whereof they were ac- " cused.

" 2. Where-

* Many, says *Whitlock*, were glad of an honest Pretence to be excused from appearing in the House, because of the Business of the Army, the Debates about which went extremely high. *Whit. p.* 354.

" 2. Whereas by the Confederacy of Major-Ge- 1648.
" neral *Brown*, now Sheriff of *London*, with the ſaid
" impeached Members and others, the *Scots* were in-
" vited and drawn in to invade this Kingdom the
" laſt Summer, inſomuch as when upon their actual
" Invaſion the Houſe proceeded to declare them E-
" nemies, and thoſe that adhered to them, Traitors;
" yet the ſaid Confederators, and other treacherous
" Members, to the Number of Ninety and odd, as
" upon the Diviſion of the Houſe appeared, did by
" their Counſels and Votes endeavour to hinder the
" Houſe from declaring againſt their confederate In-
" vaders: We deſire, that the ſaid Major General
" *Brown* may be alſo ſecured and brought to Judge-
" ment, and that the reſt of the ninety and odd Per-
" ſons diſſenting againſt the ſaid Vote, may be ex-
" cluded the Houſe.

" 3. Whereas in a continued Series of your Pro-
" ceeding for many Months together, we have ſeen
" the prevalence of the ſame treacherous, corrupt,
" and divided Counſels, through Factions and pri-
" vate Intereſts, oppoſing or obſtructing Juſtice in
" all kinds, diverting your Counſels from any Thing
" of publick Good, hindering any Proceedings to
" any ſuch Settlement, as would conſiſt with Securi-
" ty to the publick Intereſt, or put a real end to
" the Troubles, Burdens, or Hazards of the King-
" dom, and precipitating into treacherous and de-
" ſtructive Compliances and Conjunctions with the
" acknowledged Enemies thereof, as in the Votes of
" *No more Addreſſes to the King*, &c. the Juſtneſs and
" Neceſſity whereof you had once ſo cleared to the
" World; alſo in the Votes for entertaing or ſeek-
" ing after all that perſonal Treaty: And laſtly, in
" the Votes declaring the King's paſt Conceſſions to
" be a Ground for the Houſe to proceed upon for
" the Settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom, not-
" withſtanding the viſible Inſufficiency and Defects
" of them in Things eſſentially concerning the pub-
" lick Intereſt and Liberties of the Kingdom, as

" thoſe

1648. " thoſe propounded in our late Remonſtrance are,
" and in other Matters both Religious and Civil.
" We therefore moſt earneſtly deſire, that all ſuch
" faithful Members who are innocent in theſe Things,
" would immediately, by Proteſtation and publick
" Declaration, acquit themſelves from any Guilt of,
" or Concurrence in the, ſeveral Votes or Counſels
" here before particularly mentioned, as corrupt or
" deſtructive, that the Kingdom may know who they
" are that have kept their Truſt, and diſtinguiſh
" themſelves from the Reſt that have thus falſified
" the ſame; and that all ſuch as cannot or ſhall not
" ſo acquit themſelves particularly, may be imme-
" diately excluded or ſuſpended the Houſe, and not
" re-admitted untill they have given clear Satisfacti-
" on therein, to the Judgement of thoſe who now ſo
" acquit themſelves, and the Grounds of ſuch Satis-
" faction be publiſhed to the Kingdom.

" 4. Thus, ſuch as by Faithfulneſs have retained
" their Truſt, being ſet in a Condition to purſue and
" perform the ſame, without ſuch Interruptions, Di-
" verſions, and Depravations of Counſels as former-
" ly: We ſhall deſire, and hope you will ſpeedily
" and vigorouſly proceed to take Order for the Exe-
" cution of Juſtice, to ſet a ſhort Period to your
" own Power, to provide for a ſpeedy Succeſſion of
" equal Repreſentatives, according to our late Re-
" monſtrance, wherein Differences in the Kingdom
" may be ended, and we and others may comforta-
" bly acquieſce; as for our Parts, we hereby engage
" and aſſure you we ſhall."

It would be needleſs to make any Remarks and Obſervations upon this *Paper*, the Injuſtice and Violence whereof are ſo very obvious. But it was neceſſary to inform the Reader of the Contents for the following Reaſon. There are Hiſtorians whoſe Partiality has cauſed them either to omit it, or but juſt mention it, without relating the Subſtance, for fear of convincing their Readers, that the *Presbyterians* had not the leaſt Hand

Hand in what paſſed afterwards, and that the *Independents* were the true and ſole Authors thereof. 1648.

December the 7th, the *Commons* as they were repairing to their Houſe, found the Door within and without guarded by Soldiers, who hindered a great many from going in. The Lord *Clarendon* ſays, near one Hundred were denied Entrance. This makes me think that the Ninety mentioned in the Remonſtrance were of this Number. So from this Day, the Houſe of *Commons* is to be conſidered as conſiſting entirely of *Independents*. It is very likely that from this Day, none or very few *Presbyterian*-Members were admitted any more. However this be, here was a new Turn in the Houſe, which once more changed the Face of Affairs. The *Presbyterians* had been ſuperiour from the Beginning of the War, to the 6th of *Auguſt* 1647. The *Independents* bore Sway from that Day, till about the End of the Year 1648, when the Army was forced to remove from *London*, after which the *Presbyterians* got uppermoſt again. At laſt, on the 6th and 7th of *December* this ſame Year, the *Independents* entirely expelled the *Presbyterians*, or at leaſt diſabled them from ſupporting their Party. This muſt be carefully remembred if we deſire to have a clear Notion of the Hiſtory of thoſe Days.

A Hundred Members are excluded the Houſe by the Soldiers.

The Houſe wholly conſiſts of Independents.

The ſame Day *December* the 7th, *Cromwell*, who came to *London* the Night before, ſat in the Houſe, and received Thanks for his great Services.

Cromwell *comes to Town.*

Though the General had promiſed the City not to quarter the Soldiers upon the Inhabitants, as this Promiſe was only conditional in Caſe the Sum demanded were paid, and as the City had not furniſhed the Money, he ordered two Regiments into the City, and on the Morrow, a Third, after which, he took away Twenty Thouſand Pounds from *Weaver's-Hall*, and aſſigned the City's Reimburſement upon the Arrears due to the Army.

The General ſeizes the Money in Weavers's-Hall

About the ſame Time, was preſented to the General, a Plan, intitled, *A new Repreſentative*, or, *an Agreement of the People*, for ſettling the Government.

Plan for ſettling the Government.

1648. This Plan was wholly founded upon *Independent* Principles, and agreeable to the Army's Remonſtrance, except that it was more large on each Article. This *Agreement* was propounded as a Rule for future Government, and to be ſubſcribed throughout the Kingdom. But as this Plan took not Place, though it was drawn up with great Pains by the Council of War, and even ſeemed to be approved by the Parliament, I do not think it neceſſary to inſert it here *.

Proteſtation of the ſecluded Members voted ſcandalous. Ruſh. VII. p. 1363.

The ſecluded Members having publiſhed a Proteſtation againſt the Violence put upon them, both Houſes declared the Proteſtation to be *falſe*, *ſcandalous*, and *ſeditious*, and tending to deſtroy the Fundamental Government, and that all Perſons who had any Hand in framing or publiſhing the ſame, ſhould be incapable to bear any Office, or to ſit as Members of either Houſe. They further ordained that all abſent Members, upon their coming to the Houſe, ſhould diſclaim their being concerned in, or giving Conſent to the contriving or publiſhing the Proteſtation.

Order concerning the Election of Lord-Mayor, &c. Dec. 18. ibid. p. 1365.

After that, both Houſes paſſed an Ordinance, that no Perſons who had been *Delinquents*, or aſſiſted the King againſt the Parliament in the firſt or ſecond Wars, [or been aiding in bringing in the *Scots* Army, or ſubſcribed to the treaſonable *Engagement* * in 1647,] or

* It contained Rules for future Elections of Repreſentatives of the People, they to have the ſupreme Authority, and this Parliament to be diſſolved in *April* next, and then a new one to ſit. Divers Rules for the Election of the Members, Officers, and Malignants, to be incapable of electing, or being elected, and generally of the Power and equal Diſtribution of the Members, to be in all three Hundred Perſons, *&c.* The Frame of this *Agreement of the People* was thought to be for the moſt part made by Commiſſary General *Ireton*, a Man full of Invention and Induſtry, who had a little Knowledge of the Law, which led him into the more Errours. *Whit. Mem. p.* 356.

* For a *perſonal Treaty*. This Reſtriction being omitted by *Rapin*, it was neceſſary to inſert it in the Tranſlation, as being the Subject of the Common-Council's Repreſentation immediately following, though not mentioned there, neither by the Author.

or abetted the late Tumults within the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, or the Counties of *Eſſex*, *Kent*, *Middleſex*, or *Surrey*, ſhould not be elected, or give their Voice for electing, the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, Common-Council-Men, or any other Officers. 1648.

Repreſentation of the Common-Council.

But within few Days after, a Committee of the Common-Council acquainted the Houſe, that the City was ſo generally concerned in the Engagement for a *perſonal Treaty*, that there would not be a ſufficient Number of Perſons to ſupply the neceſſary Offices of the City, if that Reſtriction in the late Ordinance ſhould ſtand. Ibid. p. 1370.

Some of the Members that were arreſted are releaſed.

The 20th of *December*, the General ordered fifteen or ſixteen of the Members ſecured by the Army to be releaſed, with Liberty to ſit again in the Houſe if they pleaſed.

We have juſt ſeen how much the Face of Affairs was altered, by the great Turn on the 6th and 7th of *December*. The Houſe of *Commons* conſiſted now of none but *Independent*-Members, who were openly ſupported by the Army, and whoſe End was to deſtroy equally, *King*, *Monarchy*, *Epiſcopacy*, and *Preſbyterianiſm*. As for the Houſe of Lords, who had done their Endeavour, though in vain, to haſten the Peace, they ſaw themſelves after this Turn of Affairs, conſtrained to go with the Stream, which was too rapid to be oppoſed. There were in the Houſe but a ſmall Number of Peers, moſt of them indeed *Presbyterians*, but too weak as Matters ſtood, to attempt to aſſert their *negative Voice*, and the reſt of their Privileges. Whilſt the King was able to protect ſuch as applied to him, the Lords retained ſome Authority, becauſe they had a Remedy at Hand, in caſe the Houſe of *Commons* had not a due Regard for them. But after the Battle of *Naſeby* the Caſe was altered. The *Commons* aſſumed ſuch a Superiority, that the Lords had no other way to ſupport themſelves, but by approving, or feigning to approve, whatever was done by the other Houſe, for fear of giving occaſion of a Breach which muſt have been fatal to them,

Obſervation on the Houſe of Lords.

1648. since in that Case they would not have known what to do. If they were forced to behave in this manner, whilst their own Party prevailed in the *Lower-House*, it is no wonder they did not dare to do otherwise, when the *Independents* had got uppermost. To what purpose would it have been to try to stem the Torrent? We shall see presently that upon their first Opposition to a material Point, they were lost past Redemption. They therefore who blame them for a too great Compliance in what was transacted after the 6th of *December* 1648, ought to remember that this here is not an Occasion, where we are to reason upon the general Notions of the Constitution of the Parliament, but rather upon the particular Idea of the Situation the Parliament was in at that time.

Several Petitions for Justice against the King.

After the *Independents* were predominant in the Parliament, Petitions against the King multiplied so fast, that scarce a Day passed without some One being presented to the House of *Commons*, especially from the Garrisons, which were part of the Army. *Lambert* being returned from *Scotland*, the Regiments under his Command failed not to present a Petition agreeable to the Remonstrance of the Army before-mentioned. *Somersetshire*, where the King had formerly abundance of Friends, distinguished itself on this Occasion above all the Rest, by presenting a Petition, desiring that speedy and effectual Justice might be done upon the chief *Delinquents*, that is to say, upon the King. The *Commons* were so pleased with such a Petition from a whole County, that for the Encouragement of others to do the like, the Petitioners were called in and had the Thanks of the House, and the Petition with the Order of Thanks were forthwith printed and published. We don't find however that the other Counties followed this Example: Only *Norfolk*, a few Days after, desired by a Petition, that the King himself might be brought to impartial Justice.

Rush. VII. p. 1369.

p. 1372.

Committee appointed to draw up a Charge against the King.

At length, on the 23d of *December*, the House of *Commons* having resolved, pursuant to the Desires of the Army, to bring the chief *Delinquents* to a Tryal,

p. 1371.

and intending to begin with the King, appointed a Committee of Thirty-eight to draw up a Charge, and for that purpose to receive all Informations and Examinations of Witnesses for Matters of Fact against him. 1648.

The same Day, the Fleet under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, sent a Declaration to the General, that they concurred with the Army in their Remonstrance. This was not much to the Earl of *Warwick*'s Honour, who having been one of the *Presbyterian*-Leaders, was the first that quitted his Party to side with the *Independents*. *The Fleet adheres to the Army.*

The Resolution to try the King being taken, a Resolution that had been projected by several Officers of the Army when he first retired to the Isle of *Wight*, Colonel *Harrison* was commanded to remove him from *Hurst-Castle* to *Windsor*. All the while he was in the Isle of *Wight*, he had kept a private Correspondence with the Lord *Newburgh*. After he was at *Hurst*, that Lord found Means to acquaint him that he was to be removed to *Windsor*, and as his House was in the Road*, sent him word, to manage so as to dine with him, and to complain of the Going of his Horse, promising to supply him with one of the Fleetest in *England*, by the Help of which he might attempt to escape. Accordingly the King complained all the Morning that his Horse was very uneasy, and ordered Matters so well, that he was conducted to dine with the Lord *Newburgh*. But when his Majesty came there, he was quickly told, that the Horse so much depended upon, was the Day before lamed by the Kick of another Horse. This Stratagem failing, the King was conveyed to *Windsor*, where he was kept till the 19th of *January* 1648-9, when he was carried to St. *James*'s. Rush. VII. p. 1375. *Stratagem for the King's Escape comes to nothing.* *He is brought to* Windsor, *and from thence to* St. James's.

He was no sooner at *Windsor*, but the Council of War ordered that all the usual Ceremonies to the King should be laid aside, as serving him upon the *All Ceremonies laid aside with regard to the King.*

* The Lodge at the King's Park at *Bagshot*.

1648. Knee and the like, and moſt of his Domeſticks to be diſmiſſed: For though the Council of War had no manner of Buſineſs to meddle in theſe Matters, yet they daily trampled upon the Rights of the Parliament, which acted entirely by their Orders.

Ordinance touching the Election of the Lord-Mayor, &c Ruſh. VII. p. 1376.

I juſt mentioned the Repreſentation of the Common-Council of *London* concerning the Election of the Lord-Mayor and other Officers of the City. The Houſe of *Commons* having heard the Report of the Committee appointed for that purpoſe, ordered that their former Ordinance ſhould be punctually executed, little caring whether the Magiſtrates of *London* were choſen out of the ableſt and moſt ſubſtantial Citizens, ſo they were but of the prevailing Party. They further ordered, that thoſe who ſhould be made Freemen for the future, ſhould not be obliged to take the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*.

The ſame Day, being the 28th of *December*, the Committee appointed to conſider of drawing up a Charge againſt the King, reported an Ordinance for attainting him of High-Treaſon, and for trying him by ſuch Commiſſioners as ſhould be named in the ſame, which being read the firſt Time, was ordered to be read again the ſecond Time the next Morning. But as the Houſe knew very well the Ordinance would be approved of after the third Reading, they made haſte and paſſed an Act for erecting *a High Court of Juſtice*, with Power to try the King. The Preface to which extraordinary Act was as follows:

Preface of the Ordinance for erecting a Court of Juſtice. Ruſh. VII. p. 1379.

" Whereas it is notorious, That *Charles Stuart*, " the now King of *England*, not content with thoſe " many Encroachments which his Predeceſſors had " made upon the People in their Rights and Free- " doms, hath had a wicked Deſign totally to ſub- " vert the antient and fundamental Laws and Liber- " ties of this Nation, and in their Trade to intro- " duce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government; " and that beſides all other evil Ways and Means to " bring this Deſign to paſs, he hath proſecuted it

" with Fire and Sword, levied and maintained a 1648.
" cruel War in the Land againſt the Parliament and
" Kingdom, whereby the Country hath been miſe-
" rably waſted, the publick Treaſure exhauſted,
" Trade decayed, Thouſands of People murdered,
" and infinite other Miſchiefs committed; for all
" which high and treaſonable Offences the ſaid
" *Charles Stuart* might long ſince juſtly have been
" brought to exemplary and condign Puniſhment:
" Whereas alſo the Parliament, well hoping that the
" Reſtraint and Impriſonment of his Perſon, after it
" had pleaſed God to deliver him into our Hands,
" would have quieted the Diſtempers of the King-
" dom, did forbear to proceed judicially againſt
" him; but found by ſad Experience, that ſuch Re-
" miſſneſs ſerved only to encourage him and his Com-
" plices in the Continuance of their evil Practices,
" and in raiſing of new Commotions, Rebellions and
" Invaſions. For Prevention therefore of the like or
" greater Inconveniences, and to the End no chief
" Officer or Magiſtrate whatſoever may hereafter
" preſume traiterouſly and maliciouſly to imagine
" or contrive the enſlaving or deſtroying of the
" *Engliſh* Nation, and to expect Impunity for ſo
" doing: Be it ordained and enacted by the *Com-*
" *mons* in Parliament, and it is hereby ordained and
" enacted by the Authority thereof, That *Thomas*
" Lord *Fairfax*, *Oliver Cromwell*, *Henry Ireton*,
" Eſquires, Sir *Hardreſſe Waller* Knight, *Philip*
" *Skippon*, (and a Hundred and Forty-five others)
" ſhall be, and are hereby appointed and required to
" be Commiſſioners and Judges for the Hearing,
" Trying and Adjudging of the ſaid *Charles Stuart*,
" &c."

The Ordinance for Tryal of the King paſſed the 1648-9.
Houſe of *Commons* the 2d of *January*, and was ſent *The Lords reject it.* Jan. 3.
up the ſame Day to the Lords for their Concurrence. p. 1382.
Since the 6th of *December* the *Upper-Houſe* conſiſted

1648-9. only of Nine Peers, the reſt having abſented themſelves, that they might not be compelled to countenance the outragious Proceedings of the *Commons*. But upon notice that the Ordinance would that Day be ſent up to the Lords, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Mancheſter*, *Rutland*, the Lords *North*, *Rochford*, *Maynard*, *Dacres*, came to the Houſe, and made in all Sixteen. The Ordinance being read, was unanimouſly rejected. Nevertheleſs, to gain time, if poſſible, the Lords agreed to acquaint the *Commons* that they would ſend Anſwer by Meſſengers of their own; and at the ſame time adjourned for Ten Days. This Artifice ſignified nothing. The *Commons* having ordered the Journal of the Houſe of Lords to be examined, and finding the Ordinance was rejected indeed, voted, "That all Members of the Houſe of "*Commons*, and others appointed by Order of that "Houſe, or Ordinance of both Houſes, to act in "any Ordinance wherein the Lords are joined, be "empowered to ſit and execute in the ſaid ſeveral "Committees of themſelves, notwithſtanding the "Houſe of Peers join not with them herein". And therefore they ordered the Names of Six Lords who had been appointed for Judges to be left out of the Commiſſion, and others to be nominated in their Room. Among theſe laſt was Serjeant *Bradſhaw*, who was afterwards choſen Preſident of *the High Court of Juſtice*. Which done, the Houſe voted:

Vote of the Commons, that the Concurrence of the Lords was not neceſſary. Ibid.

Other Votes. p. 1383.

"1. That the People under God are the Original "of all juſt Powers.

"2. That the Commons of *England* aſſembled in "Parliament, being choſen by, and repreſenting the "People, have the ſupreme Authority of this Na-"tion.

"3. That whatſoever is enacted and declared Law "by the *Commons* of *England* aſſembled in Parlia-"ment, hath the Force of Law, and all the People "of this Nation are included thereby, although the "Conſent

"Conſent and Concurrence of the King and Houſe 1648-9.
"of Peers be not had thereunto.*

Theſe Principles, though directly contrary to the true Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government, ſquared however exactly with thoſe of the *Independents*, whoſe Intention was to turn the Monarchy into a Republick.

The Ordinance for Tryal of the King, with the Amendments that were forced to be made in it, by reaſon of the Want of the Lords Concurrence, paſſed the Houſe of *Commons* the 6th of *January*.

The following Days to the 20th were ſpent in Preparations for the Tryal, the like whereof had never yet been in the World. I intend not to ſwell this Hiſtory with the Circumſtances of this famous Tryal. They are to be found in a little Book entitled, *A true Account of the Tryal of* Charles Stuart, *&c.* publiſhed at *London* in 1650, and tranſlated into *French*, wherein nothing is omitted. I imagine I ſhall do the Reader no Injury to refer him to this little Book, which is not ſcarce, and which will inform him of all particulars. I ſhall content my ſelf therefore with inſerting here, in few words, what I think moſt material in this Buſineſs.

Moſt material Points in the Tryal of King Charles.

I. The *High-Court of Juſtice* obſerved the ſame Rules in trying the King, as in the Tryal of a common Malefactor, there being no Precedent to go by.

II. The main Article of the Accuſation was, that the King had levied War againſt the Parliament, which was undeniable. The Sieges and Battles were evident Proofs of it. But this ought not to have been the

Concerning the Charge of his levying War againſt the Parliament.

* Theſe Votes, ſays *Ruſhworth*, being reported to the Houſe, the Houſe put them one after another to the Queſtion, and there was not one negative Voice to any one of them. *Vol. VII. p.* 1383.

At this time Mr. *Elſing* deſired to be diſmiſſed from being *Clerk* of the Parliament, becauſe (ſays *Whitlock* of his own Knowledge) he would have no Hand in the Buſineſs of the King. He was a juſt and honeſt Man, and a moſt excellent *Clerk*. Whit. p. 359.

1648-9. the principal Point. They ſhould have made appear that he was the Beginner and Author of the War. For it is manifeſt, that if this War had been only defenſive on his Side, he was in no Fault at all. Nevertheleſs, in the Charge, he was ſuppoſed to have put the Parliament under a Neceſſity of defending themſelves, and this Point, which was the chief, not only was not proved, but there was nothing ſo much as offered in Proof thereof. The Depoſitions of the Witneſſes tended not to ſhow that the King had forced the Parliament to take up Arms, but only that he had been ſeen with his Sword drawn in his Hand againſt the Parliament, and iſſuing out Orders to levy War. The Queſtion which of the Two, either the King or the Parliament had begun the War, ſhould have been fully cleared. But although it ſhould have been to the King's Diſadvantage, who does not know that the Perſon who begins a War, or acts the firſt Hoſtilities, is not always the Author? This was a Point of great Diſcuſſion, and which impartial Judges would have found difficult to decide. For if we remember what has been ſaid in the Hiſtory of this Reign, we muſt have obſerved, that though it be evident enough that the King governed in an arbitrary Manner for ſome Years, the Ground of the War he took in hand was not in Maintenance of this arbitrary Power. He had fully conſented to the annulling of the ſame. But the Ground of the War on his Part, was in Defence of the Power the King enjoys by the Laws of the Land. On the Parliament's Side, the Ground of the War was, that in a Suppoſition the King could not be truſted any more, they had a mind to diveſt him of the Power his legal Prerogatives gave him, to return to his former Courſes, and to govern for the future as he had done before. The King did not care to be curbed for the Time to come, and the Parliament wanted to ſet Bounds to his Power. This was the true Ground of the War. It was not therefore eaſy to determine who was the firſt Author of it. The King refuſed

refuſed to give any other Security for the future than his Word; and the Parliament pretended to have very ſtrong Reaſons not to truſt to the Promiſes of a Prince, who had ſo often broke them. To decide which of the Two was in the Right, the King's Heart muſt have been dived into, in order to know whether he was ſincere, or whether he intended to deceive the Parliament afterwards. On the other Hand, it was neceſſary to know whether they that governed the Parliament had not ſome other End than to procure the publick Good, and whether they did not hide, under that Cloke, ſome private Views. But God alone was able to know all theſe Things. Nevertheleſs the Parliament, being Judge and Party too in the Caſe, ſuppoſed without alledging any Proof, that the King was the Aggreſſor and ſole Author of the War. 1648—9.

Of the Parliament's making themſelves Judge of the King.

III. We find frequent Inſtances in Hiſtory of Kings aſſaſſinated by their Subjects, in Conſequence either of the publick Hatred, or of private Revenge, or of the Intereſt of ſome Faction. The *Engliſh* Hiſtory furniſhes, even ſince *the Conqueſt*, Examples of two Kings ſolemnly depoſed and impriſoned. But till *Charles* I, it no where appears that any King was ever tried for his Life before his own Subjects as Judges. I ſhall ſay nothing here of other Sovereigns who are poſſeſſed of a greater Authority over their Subjects than the Kings of *England*; for there may be a wide Difference between Sovereigns in this Reſpect. But confining my ſelf wholly to the Kingdom of *England*, and ſnppoſing the Conſtitution of the Government ſuch as it was from *the Conqueſt* to *Charles* I, I ſhall briefly ſet forth what has been ſaid for and againſt this ſo extraordinary a Tryal. In the firſt Place, it is demanded on what Law, natural or poſitive, was founded the Right aſſumed by the Parliament of *England* to try the King? The moſt ſpecious Anſwer to this Query in Vindication of the Parliament's Proceedings, is as follows.

According

1648—9. *Reasons for the Parliament.*

According to the Constitution of the *English* Government, the King is no less bound than the Subjects to observe the Laws to which himself or Predecessors have given their Assent, and this is the main Point in the Coronation-Oath. If this Obligation be equal on both Sides, there must be equally Means to cause it to be discharged, in case either Side happens to be wanting in their Duty. As for the Subjects, there is no manner of Difficulty. The Penalties against Offenders are known to all Men, and the Courts of Justice are appointed on purpose to inflict them. It is true, the Laws have ordained no Penalty upon the Kings, who discharge not their Duty, as well out of Respect to the Regal Dignity, as because it cannot be supposed that the King, to whom the Care of executing the Laws is committed, should be the first to break them, and to betray the Trust lodged in him by the People. He is nevertheless bound to keep them himself, and to see that the Subjects observe them too: This is a Principle acknowledged by all the World. But what is this same Obligation, if the Keeping of the Laws depends solely upon his Will, and if there be no just Means to compel him to observe them, or to punish him when he breaks them? Will it not be an empty Sound without any Meaning? And will not the *English* Government be as Despotick as that of any other Country in the World? Since therefore, the Laws have not decreed any Penalty against a King that should be wanting in his Duty, or the Manner to constrain him to observe it, and as nevertheless he is bound by the same Laws to see them put in Execution, and to observe them himself, the Parliament who represent the People is of Course to call him to an Account, since it is not possible to imagine any other way. Supposing the King has violated the most fundamental Laws of the Realm, shall Foreigners be applied to, for to bring him to Justice? Can it be supposed contrary to Experience, that the King is under an Impossibility of breaking the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom,

dom, of endeavouring to ſubvert them, and of eſta- 1648–9.
bliſhing an Arbitrary Government? Will any one maintain that he may do it with Impunity? If he may, where is the Difference between the *Engliſh* Government and the moſt Deſpotick, ſince its Preſervation will depend wholly upon the King's Probity and Will? If he runs no hazard in attempting to alter the Conſtitution, after having miſcarried Ten Times, what ſhall hinder him from making the Eleventh Attempt, and ſo on till he ſucceeds? As to the Objection, that leſs violent Means than War may be uſed to oblige the King to the Obſervance of the Laws, and leſs unjuſt and extraordinary than the taking away his Life, to puniſh him for having violated them; it is anſwered, this is true, and the Parliament had accordingly tried to ſecure the Government by other Courſes, as by demanding of the King that the Power of the *Militia* might be in the Hands of both Houſes. And if the King had agreed to it, the Realm would have been in Peace, and the People's Jealouſies and Fears have ceaſed. But he had taken up Arms to prevent the Parliament's uſing theſe ſame Means, a clear Evidence that his Deſign was to keep himſelf in a Condition to alter the Government when he ſhould have Opportunity. This unjuſt War had been the Occaſion of infinite Miſchiefs, of the Death of Thouſands of his Subjects, and the Ruin of the Reſt; and if he were brought to a Tryal, it was not ſo much to puniſh him for violating the Laws, as for preferring the unjuſt and violent Way of Arms, before the Expedients offered him to prevent his breaking them for the future.

Reaſons againſt the Parliament.

The Advocates for the King ſay, 1. Though the Kings of *England* have not ſo much Authority in their Realm as ſome other Kings, it does not follow that they may be put upon a Level with Subjects, and made alike accountable for their Actions.

2. The

1648—9. 2. The Principle laid down for Foundation, that there is an equal Obligation upon the King and the Subjects to keep the Law is falſe, and conſequently the whole Reaſoning built thereon of no force. For, private Perſons being entruſted only with their own Conduct, nothing can exempt them from the Obſervance of the Laws. But the King being entruſted with the Government of the State, and the Execution of the Laws, he has conſequently Power to qualify them on certain Occaſions, otherwiſe this Truſt would be to no purpoſe. The Laws could not foreſee every thing, and there are Occaſions where it is abſolutely neceſſary for the publick Good to act contrary to them, or at leaſt, to ſuſpend the Obſervance of them, and therefore the Obligation of the King and the Subject is not equal.

3. Suppoſing the King had violated ſome of the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and levied War againſt the Parliament after the moſt unjuſt Manner, it did not follow that he might be puniſhed with Death, by reaſon he has neither Superiour nor Equal in the Kingdom, and he could have none but Subjects for Judges. Beſides, he was the Fountain of Juſtice, and it was abſurd to make him liable to Juſtice, from whom it flows and derives its whole Authority.

4. According to this Suppoſition, the Chance of War having put him in the Power of his Enemies, he might have been detained in Priſon, and prevented from doing Miſchief, till he was prevailed with to grant all the Securities required of him. But there was a vaſt Difference between Impriſonment and Death; as the firſt was to be conſidered as a reaſonable and neceſſary Precaution, and the other as a Puniſhment Subjects could not juſtly inflict on their Sovereign, as indeed, the like had never been heard of.

5. But the Suppoſition that the King had violated the Laws, and levied unjuſt War againſt his Parliament, was very far from being well-grounded. In the

the firſt Place, in regard to the Laws, if the King, miſled by evil Counſels, had, on ſome Occaſions, carried his Power too high, when the Parliament made him ſenſible of the ill Conſequences of this Conduct, he had chearfully and willingly renounced the exorbitant Power which he believed himſelf before to be juſtly intitled to. He had without delay conſented to all the *Acts* preſented to him on that Head, and agreed that his moſt intimate Counſellors ſhould be brought to Juſtice. The Parliament had accepted this Reparation, without expreſſing the leaſt Deſire of cauſing him to ſuffer for his paſt Faults. After which, it was abſurd to alledge theſe ſame Faults ſo amply made amends for, as a Motive of the Juſtice pretended to be done upon him. 1648-9.

6. As for the War he had levied againſt his Parliament, it was wrongfully aſſerted, and without the leaſt Proof, that the King had ſtirred up and begun it on purpoſe to avoid giving his People neceſſary Securities. And under colour of deſiring Security for the future, a Deſire wholly founded upon mere Suſpicions and bare Poſſibilities, that the King might make ill uſe of his Power, it was intended to ſtrip him of all his Prerogatives; in a word, of the Regal Authority, and leave him only a Shadow of Royalty. Thus, ſuppoſing it were true that the King had begun the War, which was by no means proved, it would be true too, that the Parliament had ſtirred it up, by undertaking, under a vain Pretence of Peace and Concord, to reduce the King to the ſaddeſt Condition a Sovereign can poſſibly be in.

7. The Juſtice that was pretended to be done upon the King, was founded entirely on two Suppoſitions, which were ſupported with no Proof. The firſt, that the King had taken the War in Hand, only to free himſelf from giving Securities. The ſecond, that there was reaſon to fear he would employ the Power that ſhould be left him, in altering the Conſtitution. All reaſonable Perſons were therefore left to judge whether there was any Juſtice in trampling upon all

1648—9. all Laws Divine and Human, and inflicting upon their Sovereign a Capital Puniſhment on two ſuch raſh Suppoſitions.

8. As for the Plunderings, Undoings, Murders, and other Miſchiefs occaſioned by the Wars, before they could be charged to the King's Account, it ought at leaſt to have been well proved that he was the Author of the Wars. But if this Point were thoroughly examined, it would doubtleſs be found, that the Complainers themſelves could alone be charged with the ſaid Miſchiefs.

9. The King was proceeded againſt for intending to change the Government, and make it Arbitrary and Tyrannical. But there was not an *Engliſhman* who was not ſatisfied that the Government had never been more Deſpotical, more Tyrannical, and more Arbitrary than after this Parliament met. There was ſcarce a Law but what had been violated. The two Houſes had, for ſeveral Years, uſurped the ſupreme Authority contrary to the known Laws. And lately the *Commons* had voted, that all Power was lodged in them, without the Concurrence of King and Peers, a Maxim unknown to the *Engliſh* from the Foundation of the Monarchy.

10. The *Commons* in eſtabliſhing for Truth, by a bare *Vote*, that it belonged to them alone to try the King, had plainly declared, they owned neither Superiour nor Equal, which was really introducing an Arbitrary Government.

11. laſtly, Till 1643 the Parliament had only ſuſpected the King to intend a Change of Government, but after the Parliament had taken upon them the Management of Affairs, the Government was really and truly changed. The King was moreover ſuſpected of deſigning to alter the eſtabliſhed Religion: but the Parliament had indeed changed it, and reduced it to a deplorable State of Confuſion, and the Project of this unfortunate Change had been the true Cauſe of the War, and of all the Calamities the Kingdom had been afflicted with.

IV. The

IV. The Fourth Circumſtance I intend to obſerve, is, that the King was brought three Times before the *High Court of Juſtice*, and as often called upon to anſwer the Charge entered againſt him, which was read in his Hearing. But he conſtantly refuſed to own the Authority of the Court, and of thoſe who erected it. On the other Hand, the Court would never hear his Reaſons for declining their Juriſdiction. They always took for granted, that the Authority by which the Court was eſtabliſhed, was ſufficient, which was the very Thing the King would have combated, but he was never ſuffered. At laſt, ſeeing he could not prevail to be heard on that Subject, he left his Reaſons in Writing to this Effect: 1648-9.

His Reaſons for it. Ruſh. VII. p. 1403.

"That no earthly Power could juſtly call him "(who was their King) in queſtion as a Delinquent.
"That there were no Proceedings juſt againſt any "Man but what were warranted either by God's "Laws, or the municipal Laws of the Country "where he lives. As for the Proceedings againſt "him, they could not be warranted by God's Laws. "For on the contrary it is there ſaid, *where the "Word of a King is, there is Power; and who may ſay "unto him, what doſt thou?* Eccles. viii. 4. Then "for the Law of the Land, no Impeachment can "lie againſt the King, they all going in his Name: "And one of their Maxims is, *That the King can do "no wrong.* Beſides, the Law upon which they "grounded their Proceedings, muſt either be old or "new: If old, they ought to ſhew it; if new, they "ſhould tell what Authority, warranted by the fundamental Laws of the Land, had made it, and when.
"How the Houſe of *Commons* could erect a Court "of Judicature, which was never one it ſelf, he left to "God and the World to judge.
"And it was full as ſtrange, that they ſhould pre"tend to make Laws without King or Lord's Houſe, "to any that had heard ſpeak of the Laws of *Eng"land.* And admitting, that the People of *England*'s

1648. "Commiſſion could grant their pretended Power, "he ſaw nothing they could ſhew for that; for cer- "tainly they never asked the Queſtion of the tenth "Man in the Kingdom.

"That having concluded, as much as in him lay, "a Treaty at *Newport*, and expecting the Houſe's "Agreement thereunto, he was ſuddenly ſurprized "and hurried from thence as a Priſoner; that the "higher Houſe, for any Thing he could ſee, was to- "tally excluded; and for the Houſe of *Commons* it "was too well known that the major Part of them "were detained or deterred from Sitting: So as if "he had no other, this would have been a ſufficient "Reaſon for him to proteſt againſt the Lawfulneſs of "their pretended Court.

"That the Arms he took up, were only to de- "fend the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, a- "gainſt thoſe who had ſuppoſed his Power had to- "tally changed the antient Government *."

Remarkable Depoſitions againſt the King.

Ruſh. VII. p. 1406.

V. Of all the Evidences, as I ſaid before, that were examined againſt the King, there was not one which proved the King to be Author of the War. But among the Depoſitions, there were two which muſt not paſs without Obſervation, ſuppoſing they were neither forged nor altered. The firſt ſhows that the King was much leſs incenſed againſt the *Independents* than againſt the *Presbyterians*, though afterwards he had but too much occaſion to perceive, that the Principles of the former, were more repugnant to him than thoſe of the latter. The ſecond ſeems to make appear that the King did not act with entire Sincerity, even in the Treaty of *Newport*.

p. 1414. A Scrivener *1 of *London* depoſed, that the Committee of Safety being informed that the King was privately negotiating with the *Independents*, ſent the Deponent

* This, ſays the King, I intended to ſpeak in *Weſtminſter-Hall* on *Monday*, *January* 22d, but againſt Reaſon was hindered to ſhow my Reaſons.

*1 *Richard Price* by Name.

Deponent to *Oxford*, under Colour of carrying Propoſals to the King from the *Independents*: That he was introduced to the King by the Earl of *Briſtol*, and received Orders to ſay to the leading *Independents* from his Majeſty, that if they would take his Part againſt the Parliament, he would grant them whatever Freedom they deſired. 1648.

The ſecond Depoſition was of *Henry Goocle* of *Grey's Inn*, who ſaid: That on the 30th of *September* laſt, having Acceſs to, and Diſcourſe with the King at *Newport*, he told him, that ſince his Majeſty had juſtified the Parliament's taking up Arms, by conſenting to the Preface of the *Bill*, he did not queſtion but moſt of the *Presbyterian*-Party, both Soldiers and others, would ſtick cloſe to him. To which the King anſwered, That he would have all his old Friends know, that though for the preſent he was contented to give the Parliament leave to call their own War what they pleaſed, yet that he neither did then nor ever ſhould decline the Juſtice of his own Cauſe. Moreover, upon the Deponent's Saying, that his Buſineſs was much retarded through want of Commiſſions, the King made anſwer, That being upon a Treaty he would not diſhonour himſelf, but if the Deponent would go over to the Prince his Son, (who had full Authority from him,) he or any for him ſhould receive whatever Commiſſions ſhould be deſired. That beſides, he expreſſed much Joy that his good Subjects would engage themſelves for his Reſtoration. p. 1413.

Sentence is pronounced upon him, and he is refuſed to be heard Ruſh. VII. p. 1418.

The King refuſing to anſwer before the *High-Court of Juſtice*, his Refuſal was looked upon, according to the Laws of *England*, as a Confeſſion, and Sentence of Death was paſſed upon him the 27th of *January*. A little before his Sentence was pronounced, he earneſtly deſired to be heard before the two Houſes, ſaying he had ſomething of great Importance to offer to them. But his Deſire was rejected. It is generally believed that he intended to propoſe to the Parliament, that he would abdicate the Crown in favour of his eldeſt Son.

1648-9. *He is executed,* Rush VII. p. 1428.

The Sentence was executed the 30th of *January* 1648-9, on a Scaffold erected in the Street, close to the Windows of the *Banquetting-House* at *White-Hall*. The King suffered Death with great Constancy and Resolution, without showing the least Signs of Weakness or Amazement. His Body, after having been for some Days exposed to view, in one of the Rooms at *White-Hall*, was carried to *Windsor* and buried without any Pomp in St. *George*'s *Chapel*.

Character of Charles I.

It is no easy Matter to give a just and exact Character of *Charles* I, amidst the excessive Commendations bestowed on him by some, and the Calumnies wherewith others have endeavoured to blacken his Reputation. If the Parties which sprung up in his Reign, had died with him, we might find in the Histories of those Days, penned after the Troubles were over, an Impartiality which would help to form a true Judgement of this Prince's Character. But the same Parties continuing in the following Reigns, with a mutual Animosity, it may be said there is not a fair and impartial *English* Historian upon this Subject. Some had no other View in Writing than to vindicate the King, and others, whose Aim was to justify the Parliament, could not do it without vilifying the King, and rendering him odious. We must therefore proceed with the utmost Caution when we are in Search of this Prince's Character, for fear of being misled, and drawn into Errour by the various and different Representations set before their Readers by the Historians. In spite of these Difficulties, I shall briefly speak my Thoughts of the Matter, free from all Party-Passion and Prejudice.

I do not find any Body ever disputed the Commendations bestowed on *Charles* I, with regard to Sobriety, Temperance, and Chastity. All agree likewise, that he was a good Husband, a good Father, and a good Master. But some blame him, and perhaps not without Reason, for suffering his Queen to have too great an Influence over him, and too large a Share in State-Affairs. The Kingdom being *Protestant*, and the

the Queen a very zealous *Catholick*, her Power, which ſhe abuſed too much, in cauſing the moſt important Offices to be conferred on *Papiſts*, muſt needs have been looked upon with a jealous Eye. This was the chief Ground of the Opinion ſpread about the Kingdom, that the Court intended to reſtore the *Popiſh* Religion in *England*. 1648-9.

He was ſo great a Lover of Juſtice, that no Temptation could diſpoſe him to a wrongful Action, except it was ſo diſguiſed to him that he believed it to be juſt. Theſe are the Lord *Clarendon*'s own Words, which may be very true, if applied to the Concerns of particular Perſons. But beſides the Juſtice a King ought to adminiſter impartially to private Perſons, there is another kind of Juſtice due to all his People in general. With reſpect to this laſt, it may with ſome Reaſon be doubted, that the Lord *Clarendon*'s Encomium cannot ſquare with the Project of altering the Conſtitution of the Government, and aſſuming to himſelf a Power, which certainly was not allowed him by the Laws. Nay, I do not believe that this here was one of the Things diſguiſed to him, and I ſhould rather think that it was by him that his Miniſters and Courtiers framed their Conduct, and ſuited their Notions to his, in order to make their Court and advance their Fortune.

Never was any King perhaps ſo punctual and regular in his Devotions both Publick and Private. This was of ſome uſe to him to repel the Charge of his not being well-affected to the *Proteſtant*-Religion, and he knew how to make Advantage of it on Occaſion.

He abhorred all Debauchery, and could not endure any obſcene or prophane Word. His Court was very different from the King his Father's, where Oaths, prophane Jeſts, and obſcene Diſcourſe were but too much in vogue. It is hard to conceive how the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was uſed to King *James*'s Ways, could accommodate himſelf to the grave and ſevere Behaviour of *Charles* I, or how King *Charles* could adapt himſelf to the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Manners.

1648. *James* I, was laviſh, and his Son *Charles* leaned towards Avarice. But this Failing may be excuſed by the Conſideration that he never abounded with Money, from the Beginning to the End of his Reign.

His Enemies would repreſent him as a cruel and bloody Prince; but as they have not been able to reproach him with any particular Action that argued any ſuch Diſpoſition, it is eaſy to perceive this Charge is wholly founded on the Suppoſition of his having been Author of a War wherein ſo much Blood was ſpilt.

Sincerity was not his favourite Virtue, as may have been obſerved in reading his Hiſtory. He made frequent uſe of *mental Reſervations*, couched in ambiguous Terms and general Expreſſions, of which he reſerved the Explication till a proper Time and Place. For this Reaſon the Parliament could never put any Confidence in his Promiſes, wherein there was always either ſome abiguous Term, or ſome Reſtriction that rendered them of no Effect. This may be ſaid to be one of the principal Cauſes of his Ruin, for giving thereby occaſion of Diſtruſt, it was not poſſible to find any Expedient to make Peace with the Parliament. He was thought to act with ſo little Sincerity in his Engagements, that it was believed there was no relying upon his Word. The Parliament could not even bring themſelves to debate upon the Propoſitions offered them by the King, ſo fully convinced were they of his Ability to hide his real Intentions under ambiguous Expreſſions. But they ſent their own Propoſitions to the King, to which they left him the Liberty only of ſaying *Content*, or *not Content*, ſo apprehenſive were they of his Explications. But as I may be accuſed of loading the King too much upon the Point of Sincerity in his Promiſes, I think it incumbent on me to juſtify what I have been ſaying, by an unexceptionable Evidence. I mean the Earl of *Clarendon*.

Claren. II. p. 430. *A Law enacted by Violence and Force*, ſays that illuſtrious Hiſtorian, *is not rightfully enacted, was one of thoſe Poſitions of* Ariſtotle, *which hath never been ſince contradicted*,

contradicted, and was an Advantage, that being well managed, and ſtoutly inſiſted upon, would, in ſpite of all their Machinations have brought his Majeſty's Enemies to a Temper of being treated with. But I have ſome Cauſe to believe, that even this Argument which was unanſwerable for the rejecting the Bill [for taking away the Biſhop's Votes,] was applied for the confirming it; and an Opinion that the Violence and Force uſed in procuring it, rendered it abſolutely Invalid and Void, made the Confirmation of it leſs conſidered, as not being of Strength to make that Act good, which was in it ſelf null. And I doubt this Logick had an Influence upon other Acts of no leſs Moment than theſe. 1648-9.

Let the Reader judge after this, if we may boaſt of King *Charles*'s Sincerity, ſince even in paſſing Acts of Parliament, which is the moſt authentick and ſolemn manner a King of *England* can bind himſelf, he gave his Aſſent thereto, merely in an Opinion, that they were void in themſelves, and that conſequently he was not bound by this Engagement. I paſs over in Silence the manifeſt Breach of *the Petition of Right*, perhaps upon the ſame Principle, and his many Aſſurances to his Parliament of his Intention to maintain their Privileges, which he violated within a few Days after, becauſe theſe Things have been ſufficiently ſpoken of in the Hiſtory of his Reign.

Some accuſe him of an Inclination for the *Roman*-Catholick Religion, nay, ſome there are who carry this Charge ſo far, as to ſay he intended to reſtore it in *England* on the ſame Foot it had been formerly. Theſe Imputations are groundleſs. But it cannot be denied that he gave Occaſion to think ſo by his Conduct, though contrary to his Intention. During the firſt fifteen Years of his Reign, the *Roman*-Catholicks were not only ſcreened from the Rigour of the Law, but even incouraged and countenanced to ſuch a Degree, that he truſted them with the moſt important Offices, as of Privy-Counſellors, Secretaries of State, and Lords-Lieutenants of Counties. Two Things induced him to this Condeſcenſion. The firſt, the

1648-9. Queen's Importunities, who was exceeding zealous for her Religion. The ſecond, the Project he had formed to render himſelf abſolute, and for the Execution whereof, he believed the Aſſiſtance of the Catholicks, as well *Engliſh* as Foreigners, to be neceſſary. But I will not affirm, that the Queen and ſome of the Miniſtry had not formed with regard to Religion, more extenſive Projects which they did not think proper to truſt the King with. The Aſſiſtance of the Catholicks, which the King had managed for another Occaſion, became neceſſary for his own Defenſe, after his Breach with the Parliament. How unwilling ſoever he ſeemed to receive any Aid from the *Papiſts*, yet it is certain that many were entertained in his Service, and that he was privately aſſiſted by the Catholicks on ſundry important Occaſions.

Though it cannot be proved that he ſtirred up the *Iriſh* Rebellion, it may however be affirmed, that it was not againſt him, that the *Iriſh* took up Arms, ſince they never had leſs Cauſe to complain, than in the late and preſent Reigns. Beſides, the Papiſts, both *Iriſh* and *Engliſh*, always looked upon this Prince as their Protector, and were ever ready to aſſiſt him. Had he ſucceeded in his Deſigns, it is very likely the Conditions of the Catholicks in *England* and *Ireland*, would have been much bettered, and good Part of the Penal Laws repealed. But it does not follow that the King himſelf had any Bias towards Popery, or intended to eſtabliſh the *Romiſh* Religion in the Kingdom. In ſhort, that he was a ſincere Member of the Church of *England*, can hardly be doubted, ſince he affirmed ſo much on the Scaffold, at a Time when it could be of no Service to him to diſſemble his Belief.

Abundance of People gave him the Sirname of *Martyr*, urging that he ſuffered Death in Maintenance of the Truth of the *Proteſtant*-Religion, againſt the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, and call the Day of his Death, which is kept every Year on the 30th of *January*, the Day of his *Martyrdom*. But in the

first Place, there was too great a Complication of Causes which brought him to this sad End, to ascribe his Death wholly to Religion. 2. Although it were true that Religion was the sole Cause of his Death, every one would not allow that he died for defending the Truth of the Protestant Religion, since among *Protestants*, none but the *English*, or rather a great Part of the *English*, hold *Episcopacy* to be a Doctrine of Faith. 3. Supposing to suffer for the sake of *Episcopacy* would make a Man a real *Martyr*, the King in his last Proposals at *Newport*, agreed to reduce *Episcopacy* to a very small Matter. 4. Had it been the *Presbyterians* that condemned him to dye, he might in some Measure be said to suffer for *Episcopacy*. But it is evident the *Presbyterians* had no Hand at all in this Sentence, nor ever dreamt of bringing him to a Tryal. The *Independents* were the Men that condemned and executed him, and surely it was not on any Religious Account, but in order to turn the Monarchy into a Commonwealth. 5. If the *Scrivener*'s Evidence be true, King *Charles* cannot be said to suffer Death for supporting Religion against the *Independents*, since, according to the Evidence, he offered to grant them all the Liberty they should desire, if they would but take his Part. However this be, the Church of *England* having recovered, in the Reign of *Charles* II, the Ground she had lost in that of *Charles* I, appointed the Day of his Death to be kept every Year with Fasting and Humiliation, which gave occasion to some to give him the glorious Title of *Martyr*. 1648-9.

To conclude, *Charles* I, was indued with a great many Virtues and noble Qualities. And there is even room to believe that his Failings flowed entirely from the Design he had formed of enslaving *England*, and that if on some Occasions he followed not exactly the Rules of Sincerity, it was only in order to be the better able to execute what he had undertaken. Had it not been for this unfortunate Project, he might be said to be one of the most accomplished

Princes

1648-9. Princes that had ever ſat on the *Engliſh* Throne. The Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Strafford*, Archbiſhop *Laud*, and the Queen herſelf, who was uſed to a very different Government from that of *England*, were the Perſons that hurried this unhappy Prince down the Precipice, whom they ſo paſſionately deſired to raiſe higher than his Predeceſſors. But can we forbear making a very natural Reflection on this Subject? I mean upon the Puniſhment of thoſe Evil Counſellors, and of the King himſelf. The Duke of *Buckingham* loſt his Life by the Hands of an Aſſaſſin; *Laud*, *Strafford*, and the King himſelf died on the Scaffold, and the Queen ſpent the Reſidue of her Days in a melancholy Widowhood, being even ſlighted in ſome Meaſure by her neareſt Relations. She lived long enough however to ſee the Prince her Son's Reſtoration; but ſhe found not with him, all the Satisfaction ſhe had expected, which doubtleſs was the Cauſe of her Return to *France* where ſhe died in the Year 1669 *.

* It were to be wiſhed that ſo good a Hiſtorian as *Rapin* had been more ſparing of God's *Judgements*; ſuch Remarks at beſt, being a Sign of great Weakneſs. But when they are built on Falſities in Fact, as is ſometimes the Caſe, they are inexcuſable. Of this we have an Inſtance in *Rapin* himſelf. At the End of the Reign of *Henry* VI, he takes notice of a *Judgement* attending all our Kings who married into the Royal Family of *France*, and ſays that *Edward* II, *Richard* II, *Henry* VI, and *Charles* I, were the only Princes who did ſo, and all came to unfortunate Ends; forgetting that *Henry* V married *Catharine* of *France*, and was not unfortunate, unleſs dying in the midſt of his Glories can be called a Misfortune.

Some Particulars before and after the King's Death, not mentioned by Rapin.

Two Men in Diſguiſes and Vizors ſtood upon the Scaffold for Executioners. But it is not known to this Day who they were.

After his Head was ſtruck off at one Blow, his Body was put in a Coffin covered with Black Velvet, aud removed to his Lodging-Room in *White-Hall*. Being imbalmed it was delivered the 17th of *February* to four of his Servants, *Herbert*, *Mildmay*, *Preſton* and *Joyner*, who had been appointed to wait upon him during his Impriſonment, and by them carried that Night to *Windſor*, where next Day came by Permiſſion, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſs of *Hertford*,

ford, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsey*, with the Biſhop of *London*. Colonel *Whichcot* the Governour, not permitting the Biſhop to ſay the Burial-Office according to the *Liturgy*, the Body was ſilently interred in a Vault about the middle of the Quire over againſt the 11th Stall on the Sovereign's Side, near *Henry* VIII and *Jane Seymour*, with this Inſcription in Capital Letters, on Lead, KING CHARLES. 1648. But his Body could not be found afterwards. 1648—9.

The Names of thoſe who were preſent and gave their Aſſent to the Sentence, were as follows: *Bradſhaw*, Preſident, **Liſle*, *Say*, *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, *H. Waller*, *Bourchier*, * *Heveningham*, * *Pennington*, *Martin*, *Pureſoy*, *Barkſtead*, * *Thomlinſon*. *Blackiſtone*. *Millington*, *Conſtable*, *Ludlow*, *Hutchingſon*, *Liveſey*, *Tichbourne*, *Roe*, *Lilbourn*, *Smith*, *Edwards*, *Clement*, *Wogan*, *Norton*, * *Harvey*, *Venn*, *Scot*, * *Andrews*, *Fleetwood*, *Mayne*, *J. Temple*, *Scroope*, *Dean*, *Okey*, *Hewſon*, *Goffe*, * *Holland*, *Carew*, *Jones*, *Corbet*, * *Allen*, *Pelham*, *Blagrave*, *Walton*, *Harriſon*, *Whalley*, *Pride*, *Ewers*, *Grey* of *Groby*, *Danvers*, *Maltrever*, *Moore*, *Alured*, *Cawley*, *Stapeley*, *Downs*, *Horton*, * *Hammond*, * *Love*, *Potter*, *Garland*, *Dixwell*, *P. Temple*, *Waite*.

All theſe likewiſe (except thoſe that have an Afterisk prefixed to their Names) with *Ingoldsby* and *Chaloner*, ſigned the Warrant for the King's Execution.

The End of VOL. XII.

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FINIS.

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NICVM

ERRATA in Vol. XII.

PAGE 4. *line* 25. put *it* after rejected. *p.* 9. *l.* 20. before *retalled* put *not* *p.* 18. *l.* 8. Left r. Right. *Ibid. l.* 9. Right r. Left. *p.* 26. *l.* 32. that r. their. *p.* 32. *l.* 32. levelled r. levied. *p.* 38. *l.* 16. *dele* not. *p.* 56. *l.* 22. r. and beſought. *p.* 103. *l.* 12. taken r. taking, he. *p.* 112. *l.* 30. *dele* help. *p.* 116. *l.* 30. r. made uſe. *Ibid. l.* 30. Touch r. Toothing *p.* 147. *l.* 24. after tediouſneſs put a, *p.* 164. *Note*, Wincheſter r. Mancheſter. *p.* 166, *l. penult.* could not r. not being able to. *p.* 221. *l.* 32. proceeding r. proceeded. *p.* 224. *l.* 3 at r. of. *p.* 292. *l.* 29. r. plauſible. *p.* 294. *Note*, *l. ult.* our r. his. *p.* 318. *l.* 20. Fourteen Hundred Thouſand r. Fourteen Hundred. *p.* 388, *l.* 14. diſown r. diſowned. *p.* 437. *l.* 5. r. Intereſts. *p.* 453. *l.* 21. our r. or. *p.* 485. *l.* 3. *from the bottom*, in r. it. *p.* 491. *l.* 9. *dele* as.